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.. THE ..
Co-operative Wholesale
Societies Limited.



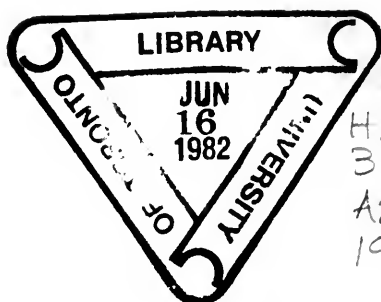
ANNUAL

FOR

.. 1903. ..



PUBLISHED BY
THE CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY LIMITED,
1, BALLOON STREET, MANCHESTER; and
THE SCOTTISH CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY LIMITED,
MORRISON STREET, GLASGOW.



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1963

MANCHESTER:
PRINTED AND BOUND BY THE



AT THEIR WORKS, LONGSIGHT.

❧ PREFACE. ❧

THE present volume will be found to contain, as usual, a wide selection of articles written by competent authors. The contributions upon Co-operative subjects include a paper upon Co-operation abroad by Mr. H. W. Wolff, comprehensive and critical; and an article upon "Co-operative Production," by Mr. Macrosty, who gives evidence of careful thought and clear insight into this oft-discussed problem. "Robert Owen as a Social Reformer" affords Mr. W. S. Murphy a congenial topic, to which he does full justice.

Social questions also claim a place, and that of Education, being now prominent, has an able exponent in Dr. T. J. Macnamara, M.P. The articles on "Wages and Conciliation Boards" and "Social Movements and Reforms," by Messrs. Rees Jeffreys and G. H. Wood respectively, will be read with much interest, especially by students of the democratic tendencies of the past century.

Mr. W. M. J. Williams writes exhaustively on Sugar, reviewing the course of the agitation on this subject and the Convention.

"Land Settlement for Workmen" affords Professor James Long an opportunity for publishing the results of many experiments in this direction, and also for indicating lines of future development.

Mr. W. W. Chapman's article on the resources of the British Isles in Live Stock contains much information respecting the supply of cattle, &c., both in the form of statistics and comment.

Since our last issue the two Wholesale Societies have purchased jointly two Tea Estates in Ceylon. A brief account of this fresh enterprise will be found on page 359.

We trust that this volume may prove as welcome and useful as its predecessors.

THE COMMITTEE.

LIST OF MAPS, DIAGRAMS, PLATES, &c.

CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY.

Diagram: Comparison of the Sales of Wholesale and Retail Co-operation.

" Thirty-nine Years' Progress of Co-operation.

" Thirty-eight Years' Progress of the Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited.

Map of the World, showing Foreign and Colonial Depôts.

" " United Kingdom, showing Depôts, &c., of the Wholesale Societies.

Diagrams showing Purchasing Power of a Sovereign.

Manchester: Ballroom Street and Garden Street.

" Dantzic Street.

Newcastle: West Blandford Street.

" Waterloo Street and Thornton Street.

" Quayside.

" Pelaw.

London: Leman Street.

" Bacon Stoves.

" Grove Street.

" Tea Department.

Nottingham Saleroom.

Northampton Saleroom.

Birmingham Saleroom.

Bristol Depôt.

Cardiff Depôt.

Limerick Depôt.

Armagh Depôt.

Tralee Egg and Butter Depôt.

" Bacon Factory.

Typical Irish Creamery (Bunkay).

Crumpsall Biscuit, Sweet, &c., Works.

Middleton Jam, Pickle, and Peel Works.

Leicester Wheatsheaf Boot and Shoe Works.

" Duns Lane Boot and Shoe Works.

Enderby Boot and Shoe Works.

Heckmondwike Boot, Shoe, and Currying Works.

Rushden Boot and Shoe Works.

Irlam Soap, Candle, and Glycerine Works.

Batley Woollen Cloth Factory.

Luton Cocoa and Chocolate Works.

Leeds Clothing Factory.

Dunston-on-Tyne Flour Mill.

Silvertown (London) Flour Mill.

Broughton (Manchester) Cabinet, Tailoring, Mantle, Shirt, Underclothing, &c., Factories.

Longsight (Manchester) Printing Works.

Hartlepool Lard Refinery and Egg Pickling Warehouse.

Littleborough Flannel Factory.

Manchester Tobacco Factory.

Longton Crockery Depôt.

Herning Bacon Factory.

Sydney Oil and Tallow Factory.

Calais Offices.

S.S. "Pioneer."

S.S. "Progress."

S.S. "Federation."

S.S. "Equity."

S.S. "Liberty."

S.S. "Unity."

Roden Convalescent Home.

" Tomato Houses.

Nugawella Tea Factory.

" Coolies.

" Tea Estate.

Wellaganga Bungalow.

" Tea Estate.

SCOTTISH CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY.

(Following page 72.)

Registered Office and Furniture Warehouse,
95, Morrison Street, Glasgow.

Grocery and Provision Warehouse, 119,
Paisley Road, Glasgow.

Glasgow Grocery and Provision Warehouse
and Hall, Clarence Street.

Grocery, &c., Crookston Street, Glasgow.

Leith Grocery and Provision Warehouse,
Links Place.

Kilmarnock Grocery and Provision Ware-
house, Grange Place.

Dundee Branch.

Enniskillen Depôt: Butter, Eggs, and Bacon.
Warehouse, St. James Street, Glasgow.

Chambers Street, Edinburgh.

Boot Factory, Shieldhall.

Printing Department, Shieldhall.

Cabinet Factory, "

Tobacco Factory, "

Chemical Department, "

Chancelot Roller Flour Mills, Edinburgh.

Ettrick Tweed Mills, Selkirk.

Soap Works, Grangemouth.

Dress Shirt Factory, Leith.

Bladnoch Creamery, Wigtownshire.

❧ INDEX. ❧

	PAGE.
ACTS of Parliament restraining exportation of Tools, &c., used in Cotton, Linen, Woollen, and Silk Manufacture	432
Accidents, Railway. Proportion of Passengers Killed from Causes beyond their own Control.....	385
Administrations in Last Century.....	399
ARTICLES:—	
British Islands: Their Resources in Live Stock.—By W. W. Chapman, F.S.S., M.R.A.S.E., &c.	245
Co-operation in other Lands.—By H. W. Wolff	223
Education in England and Wales in 1902.—By T. J. Macnamara, M.P.	139
Land Settlement for Workmen.—By James Long	321
Robert Owen as a Social Reformer.—By W. S. Murphy	111
Productive Co-operation: Its Principles and Methods.—By H. W. Macrosty, B.A.	161
Social Movements and Reforms of the Nineteenth Century.—By G. H. Wood, F.S.S.	193
Sugar Question in 1902.—By W. M. J. Williams	267
Stoker, the late W.....	356
Tea Estates, The E. and S. C.W.S.....	359
Wages and Conciliation Boards.—By W. Rees Jeffreys.....	291
Average Retail Price of Articles of Domestic Consumption.....	442
BANK Holidays	
Barometer Instructions	453
Births, Marriages, and Deaths, Registers of.....	436
British Islands: Their Resources in Live Stock.—By W. W. Chapman, F.S.S., M.R.A.S.E., &c.....	453
F.S.S., M.R.A.S.E., &c.....	245
CABINET , The	
Calendar for 1903	400
Calendar, Principal Articles of	454
Chapman, W. W., F.S.S., M.R.A.S.E., &c. The British Islands: Their Resources in Live Stock	452
Civil Service Supply Stores, Sales of.....	245
Conciliation Boards, Wages and.—By W. Rees Jeffreys	375
Congresses, Co-operative	291
Consolidated Stock, Average Price of	54
Contributions which have appeared in "The Co-operative Wholesale Societies' Annual" from 1885 to 1903	381
Co-operation in other Lands.—By H. W. Wolff.....	455
Co-operation, Productive: Its Principles and Methods.—By H. W. Macrosty, B.A.	223
Co-operative Congresses	161
" " Papers read at	54
" " Progress, 1862 to 1900 (United Kingdom).....	56
" " Societies, Summary of Law relating to.....	365
" " Union: Its Principles and Constitution.....	68
" " Wholesale Societies' Tea Estates	67
	359

INDEX.

CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETIES:—	PAGE.	
	English.	Scottish.
Artisan Clothing Factory .....	..	93
Advantages of Membership .....	..	80
Bank of Scotland, Branches .....	..	81
Biscuits, Sweet's, &c., Works, Crumpsall	30	..
Bonus to Labour .....	..	108
Boot and Shoe Department	25, 49	.. 89
" " Factory .....	..	95
" " Works, Leicester	32	..
" " " Heckmondwike	32	..
" " " Rushden	34	..
Brush Factory .....	..	98
Business Notices .....	..	77
Business Premises, &c.	2-4	.. 73-74
Cabinet Works	38	.. 96
Coming Events in connection with the Wholesale Society in 1903	11	..
Committees, Auditors, and Scrutineers	5	.. 75
Committees, Past Members of	17-19	..
Committee, Members of, who Died during Office	20	..
Confectionery Works .....	..	101
Drapery Department	24, 49	.. 88
Employés in Departments	9-10	.. 106
Ettrick Tweed Mills .....	..	104
Flannel Mills	44	..
Flour Mills—Chancelot .....	..	103
" " Dunston	38	..
" " Silvertown	46	..
Furnishing Department	26, 49	.. 90
Grocery Department	24, 48	.. 84-87
Hosiery Factory .....	..	97
Lard Refinery	42	..
London Branch	28-30, 52	..
Mantle Factory .....	..	94
Newcastle Branch	26-8, 50	..
Officers and Departments	6-8	.. 76
Offices, &c.	1	.. 73
Preserve Works	44	.. 100
Principal Events	12-14	..
Printing Works	42	.. 99
Progress of the Wholesale Societies	22	.. 72, 82
Shirt Factory .....	..	92
Soap Works, Irlam and Durham	40	..
Tailoring Factory .....	..	91
" " Leeds	36	..
" " Broughton	36	..
Tea Estates	359	..
Telegraphic Addresses	15	..
Telephonic Communication	16	..
Tobacco Factory	46	.. 102
Trade Terms, Conditions of Membership, &c. ....	..	79
Underclothing Factory .....	..	105
Woollen Department	25, 49	..
" Mills, Batley	34	..
Customs and Tariff .....	..	377

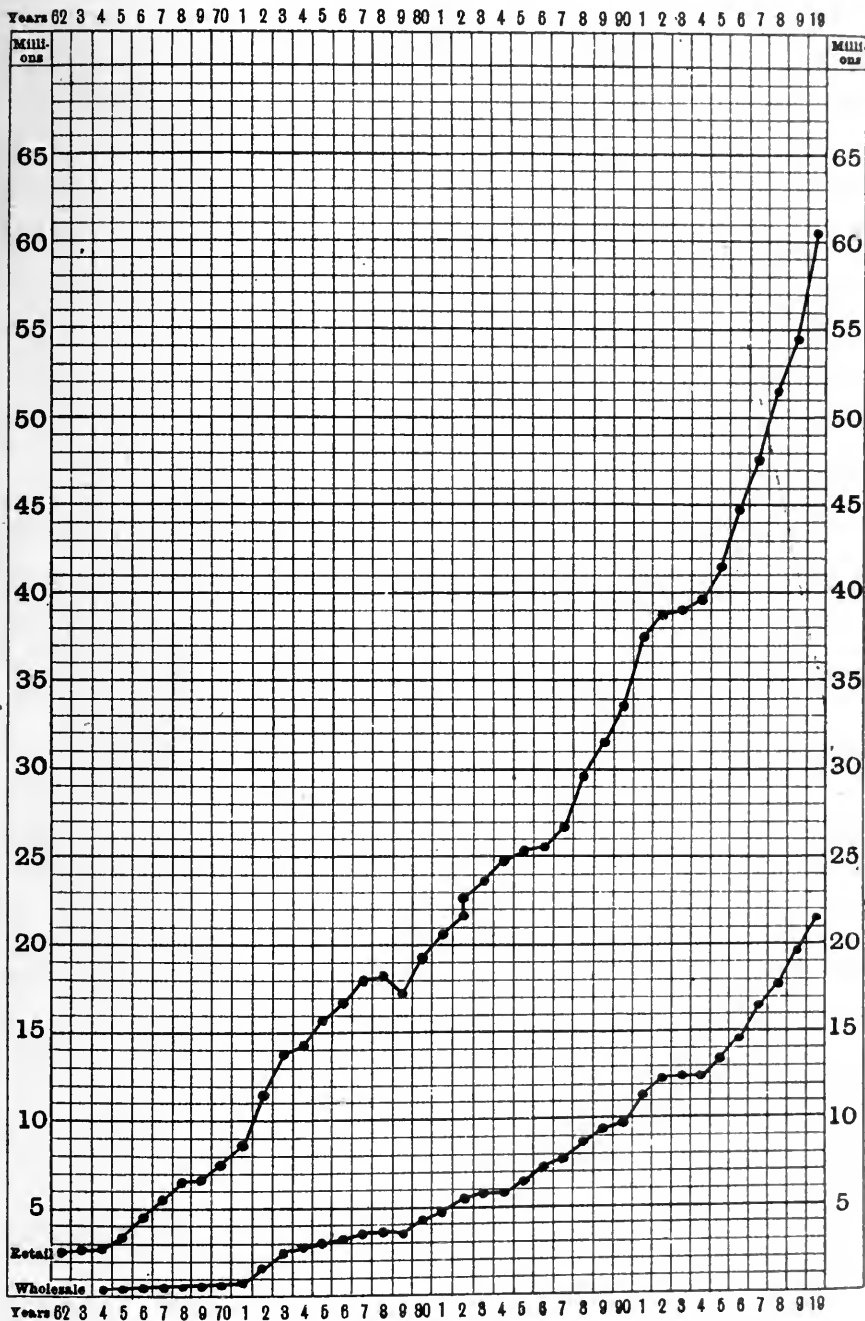
INDEX.

	PAGE.
DEATH Duties, The	386
Discount, Average Minimum Rate per Cent. of	382
Duties, Customs, in the United Kingdom	377
ECLIPSES	453
Education in England and Wales in 1902.—By T. J. Macnamara, M.P. ..	139
English Mile compared with other European Measures	449
Expectation of Life	394
HOLIDAYS , Bank	453
House of Commons—List of Members	402
INCOME Tax Rates from its First Imposition.....	380
Income and Expenditure of the United Kingdom, year ending March 31st, 1902	376
Income under Review by Inland Revenue	435
Intestate, Rules by which the Personal Estates of Persons Dying, are Distributed	389
Intestate, Rules of Division according to the Law of Scotland of the Movable Estate of a Person who has Died	391
JEFFREYS , W. Rees. —Wages and Conciliation Boards	291
KING and Royal Family	398
LAND , Dealings with	383
Land Settlement for Workmen.—By James Long.....	321
Law Relating to Societies, Summary of the	68
Law Sittings	453
Life, Expectation of	394
Live Stock, The British Islands; Their Resources in.—By W. W. Chapman, F.S.S., M.R.A.S.E., &c.....	245
Long, Professor James.—Land Settlement for Workmen.....	321
MACNAMARA , Dr., M.P.—Education in England and Wales in 1902 ..	139
Macrosty, H. W., B.A.—Productive Co-operation: Its Principles and Methods	161
Meteorological Tables	439
Mile, The English, compared with other European Measures	449
Ministers, His Majesty's	400
Movements and Reforms of the Nineteenth Century, Social.—By G. H. Wood, F.S.S.	193
Murphy, W. S.—Robert Owen as a Social Reformer.....	111
OWEN , Robert, as a Social Reformer.—By W. S. Murphy	111

INDEX.

	PAGE.
PARLIAMENTS of the United Kingdom	398
Presidents of the United States of America	431
Price of Three per Cent. Consolidated Stock	381
Prime Ministers since 1834	401
Principal Articles of the Calendar for the Year 1903	452
Productive Co-operation: Its Principles and Methods.—By H. W. Macrosty, B.A.	161
Progress of Co-operation (United Kingdom)	365
Public Income and Expenditure of the United Kingdom for the Year ending March 31st, 1902	376
RAILWAY Accidents, Proportion of Passengers Killed, &c.	385
Registers of Births, Marriages, and Deaths	453
Royal Family, The King and	398
Rules by which the Personal Estates of Persons Dying Intestate are Distributed	389
Rules of Division according to the Law of Scotland of the Movable Estate of a Person who has Died Intestate	391
SETTLEMENT , Land, for Workmen.—By James Long	321
Social Movements and Reforms of the Nineteenth Century.—By G. H. Wood, F.S.S.	193
Stoker, The late W.	356
Sugar Question in 1902.—By W. M. J. Williams	267
TABLE Showing Number of Days from any Day of one Month to same Day of any other Month	450
Table Showing the Number of Days between any Two Dates	447
Tea Estates, The E. and S. C.W.S.	359
Terms and Abbreviations Commonly Used in Business	451
Tide Table, Liverpool	443
" Goole	445
Time all over the World	435
UNION , Co-operative, its Principles and an Account of	67
United Kingdom, the Public Income and Expenditure, year ending March 31st, 1902	376
United Kingdom, Customs Tariff of the	377
" " Parliaments of the	398
" " States, Presidents of	431
WAGES and Conciliation Boards.—By W. Rees Jeffreys	291
Williams, W. M. J.—The Sugar Question in 1902	267
Wolff, H. W.—Co-operation in other Lands	223
Wood, G. H., F.S.S.—Social Movements and Reforms of the Nineteenth Century	193
Wrecks, United Kingdom	433

Comparative Progress of Wholesale and Retail Co-operative Societies in the United Kingdom.



THIRTY-NINE YEARS' PROGRESS
OF
Co-operative Societies in the United Kingdom.

YEARS.	SALES. £
1862	2,333,523
1863	2,673,778
1864	2,836,606
1865	3,373,847
1866	4,462,676
1867	6,001,153
1868	7,122,360
1869	7,353,363
1870	8,201,685
1871	9,463,771
1872	13,012,120
1873	15,639,714
1874	16,374,053
1875	18,499,901
1876	19,921,054
1877	21,390,447
1878	21,402,219
1879	20,382,772
1880	23,248,314
1881	24,945,063

YEARS.	SALES. £
1882	27,541,212
1883	29,336,028
1884	30,424,101
1885	31,305,910
1886	32,730,745
1887	34,483,771
1888	37,793,903
1889	40,674,673
1890	43,731,669
1891	49,024,171
1892	51,060,854
1893	51,803,836
1894	52,110,800
1895	55,100,249
1896	59,951,635
1897	64,956,049
1898	68,523,969
1899	73,533,686
1900	81,020,428

TOTAL SALES IN THE THIRTY-NINE YEARS, 1862 TO 1900. } **£1,163,746,108.**

TOTAL PROFITS IN THE THIRTY-NINE YEARS, 1862 TO 1900. } **107,248,027.**

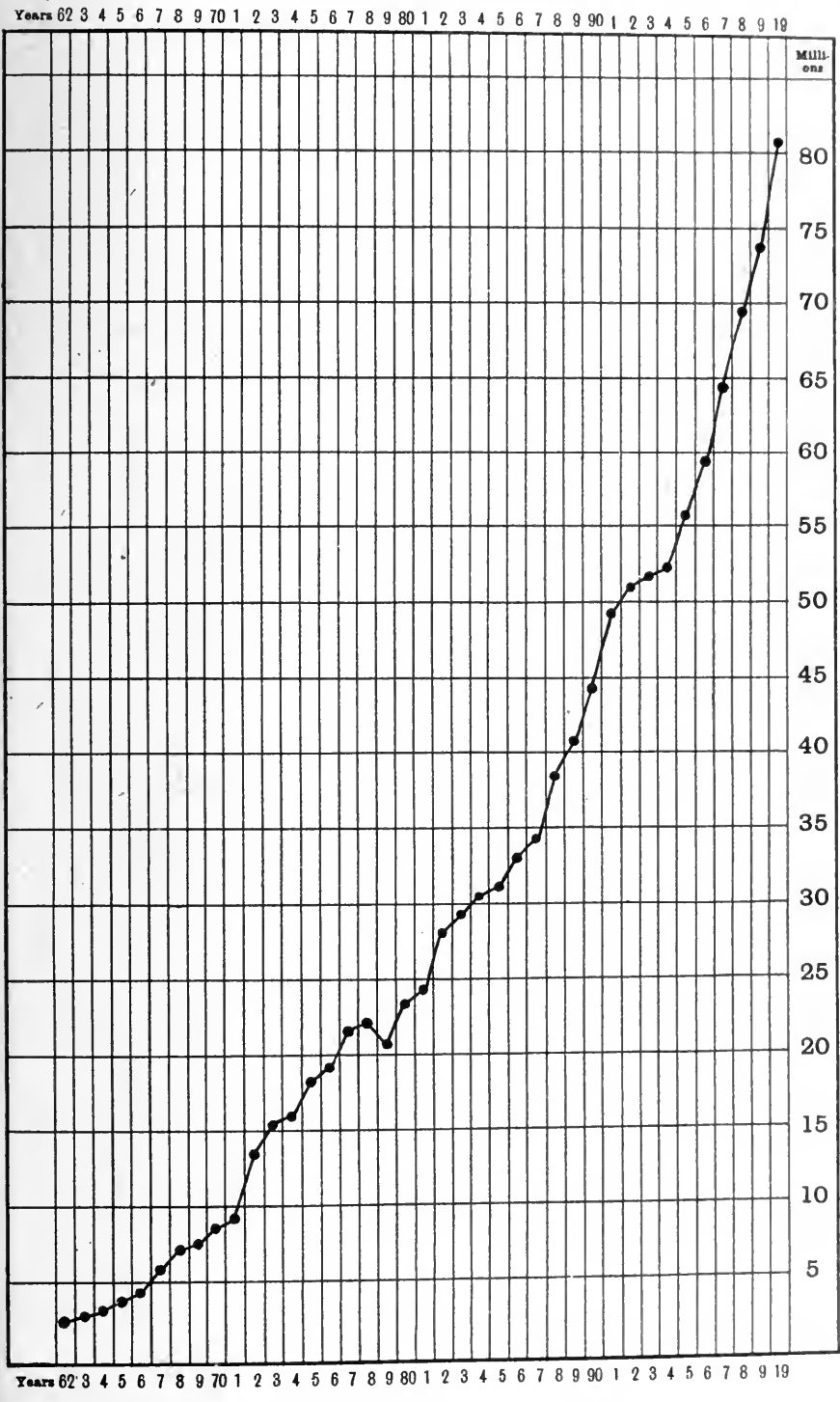
STATISTICAL POSITION OF CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES
IN THE UNITED KINGDOM,

DECEMBER 31ST, 1900.

*Compiled from the Returns made by Societies to the Registrar and
Co-operative Union.*

Number of Members	... ..	1,886,252	£
Share Capital	... ..	24,156,310	
Loan Capital	... ..	12,010,771	
Sales for 1900...	... ..	81,020,428	
Net Profits for 1900	... ..	8,177,822	
Devoted to Education, 1900	... ..	65,699	

Thirty-nine Years' Progress of Co-operative Societies in the United Kingdom.



THIRTY-EIGHT YEARS' PROGRESS
OF THE
Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited.

YEARS.	SALES. £
1864 (⁸⁰ Weeks)	51,857
1865	120,754
1866	175,489
1867 (⁶⁵ Weeks)	331,744
1868	412,240
1869	507,217
1870 (⁵⁸ Weeks)	677,734
1871	758,764
1872	1,153,132
1873	1,636,950
1874	1,964,829
1875	2,247,395
1876 (⁵³ Weeks)	2,697,366
1877	2,827,052
1878	2,705,625
1879 (⁵⁰ Weeks)	2,645,331
1880	3,339,681
1881	3,574,095
1882	4,038,238

YEARS.	SALES. £
1883	4,546,889
1884 (⁵⁸ Weeks)	4,675,371
1885	4,793,151
1886	5,223,179
1887	5,713,235
1888	6,200,074
1889 (⁵³ Weeks)	7,028,944
1890	7,429,073
1891	8,766,430
1892	9,300,904
1893	9,526,167
1894	9,443,938
1895 (⁵⁰ Weeks)	10,141,917
1896	11,115,056
1897	11,920,143
1898	12,574,748
1899	14,212,375
1900	16,043,889
1901 (⁵⁰ Weeks)	17,642,082

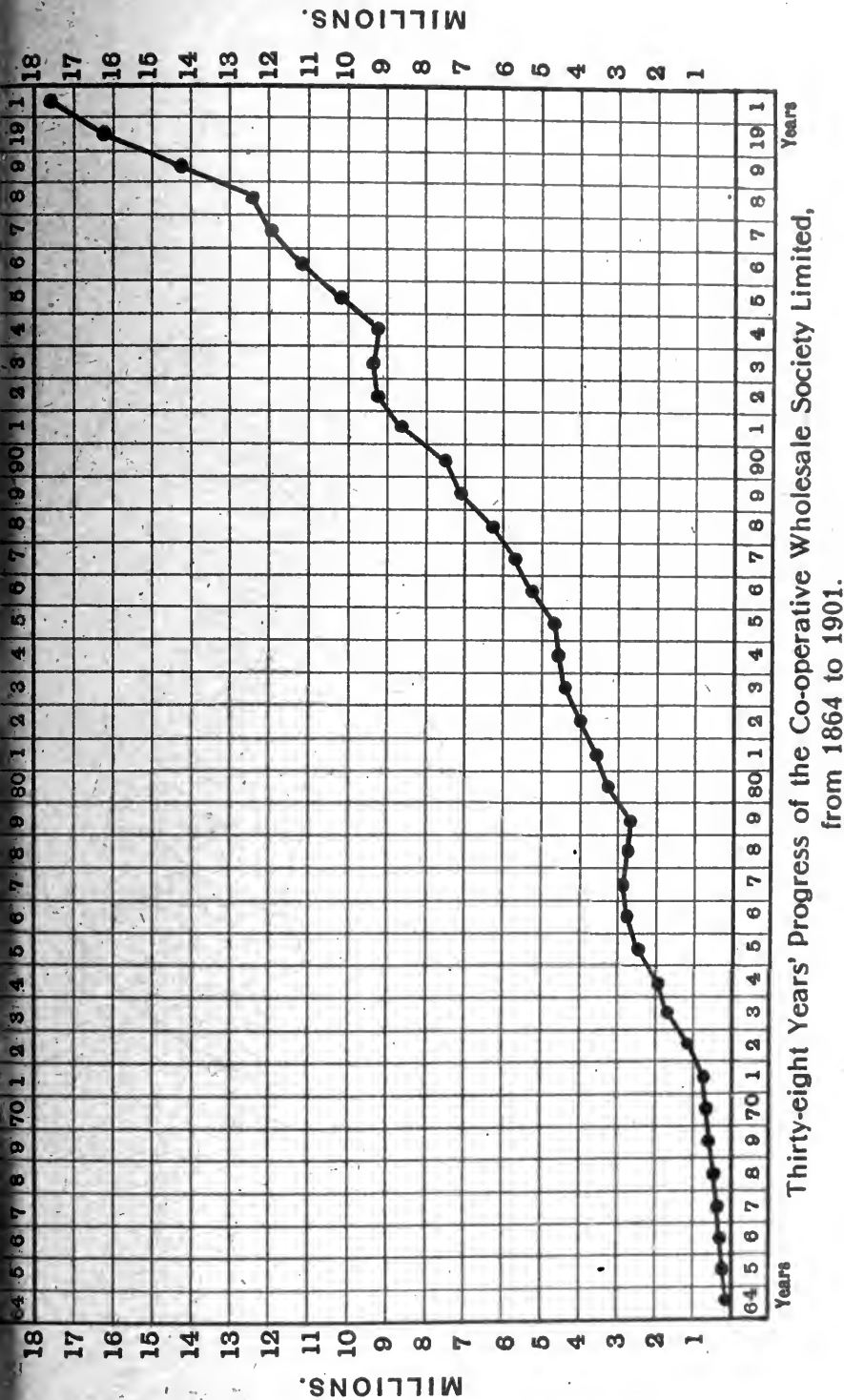
TOTAL SALES IN THE THIRTY-EIGHT YEARS, 1864 TO 1901. } ... **£208,163,058.**

TOTAL PROFITS IN THE THIRTY-EIGHT YEARS, 1864 TO 1901. } ... **3,073,251.**

STATISTICAL POSITION OF THE CO-OPERATIVE
WHOLESALE SOCIETY LIMITED,

DECEMBER 28TH, 1901.

Number of Societies holding Shares...	1,092	
Number of Members belonging to Shareholders,	1,315,235	£
Share Capital (Paid up)	948,944	
Loans and Deposits	1,664,765	
Reserve Fund—Trade and Bank	285,132	
Insurance Fund	477,904	
Sales for the Year 1901 (53 Weeks)	17,642,082	
Net Profits for Year 1901	288,321	



Thirty-eight Years' Progress of the Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited, from 1864 to 1901.

Map of the World, showing



° JOINT WITH SCOTTISH WHOLESALE SOCIETY

Foreign and Colonial Depôts.



• JOINT WITH SCOTTISH WHOLESALE SOCIETY
• CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY

Map of the United Kingdom, showing
 Dépôts, &c., of the Wholesale Societies.



DIAGRAMS AND TABLES

.. SHOWING ..

PURCHASING POWER OF A SOVEREIGN,

IN SELECTED ARTICLES, 1882 TO 1901.

A SOCIETY'S PURCHASING POWER FOR A SOVEREIGN, IN WEIGHT,
OF SELECTED ARTICLES IN THE YEARS UNDER-MENTIONED
(WHOLESALE PRICES).

Goods.	1882.	1887.	1892.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
Butter.....	18.45	20.71	20.30	23.00	23.06	21.24	20.71	20.60
Cheese	34.09	33.72	35.86	38.30	46.93	40.24	39.16	43.39
Flour	140.13	213.80	197.86	209.06	192.83	246.61	243.05	248.43
Sugar	75.93	131.40	120.33	164.53	161.56	154.82	149.33	139.62
Tea	10.43	12.00	13.52	14.71	14.83	15.14	14.29	14.04
Coffee.....	17.40	18.06	17.20	17.83	18.43	19.26	19.35	20.31
A combined parcel in proportion to trade done in above articles	57.61	74.61	67.98	77.22	83.39	84.19	83.22	83.87

Taking 100 as representing the unit for the turnover of weight
per £ sterling in the year 1882, the figures (*i.e.*, weight) for
succeeding years would be as follows:—

Goods.	1882.	1887.	1892.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.
Butter.....	100	112	110.	125	125	115	112	112
Cheese	100	99	105	112	138	118	115	127
Flour	100	152	141	149	138	176	173	177
Sugar	100	173	158	216	213	204	196	184
Tea	100	115	130	141	142	145	137	135
Coffee.....	100	104	99	102	106	111	111	117
A combined parcel in proportion to trade done	100	129	118	134	145	146	144	145½

FISCAL CHANGES.

Tea duty reduced from 6d. to 4d. in 1890.

" " advanced " 4d. " 6d. " 1901.

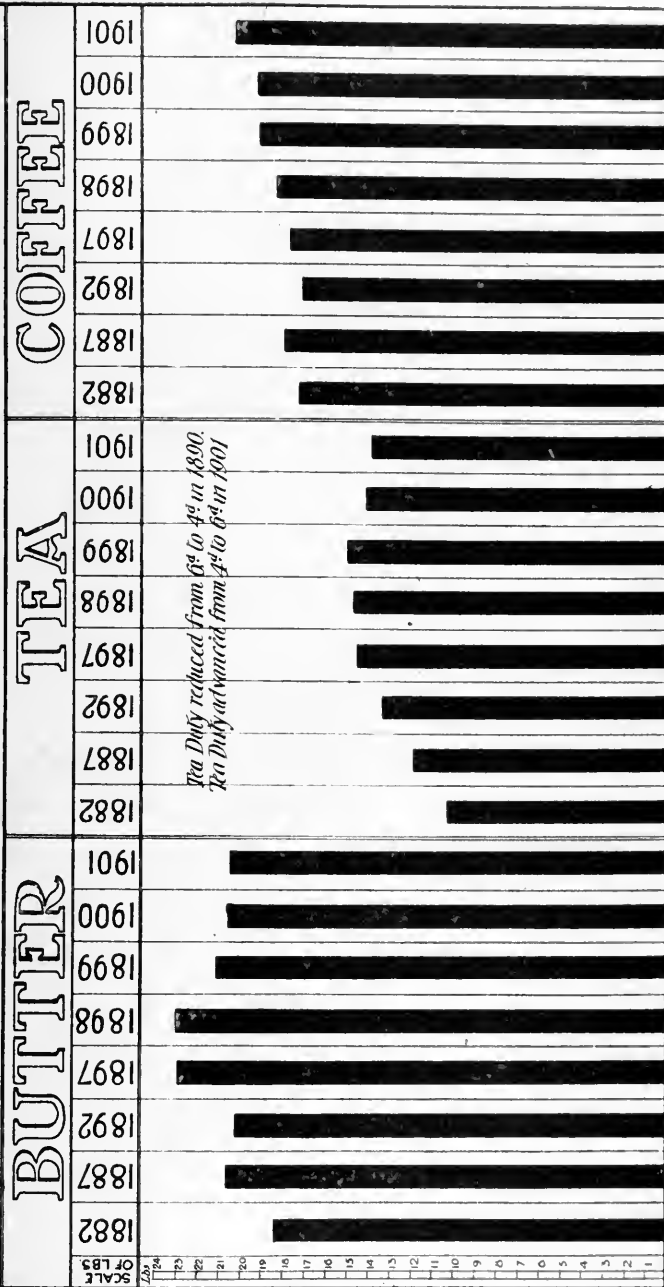
Duty imposed on Sugar, Conservative Government, April 18th, 1901.

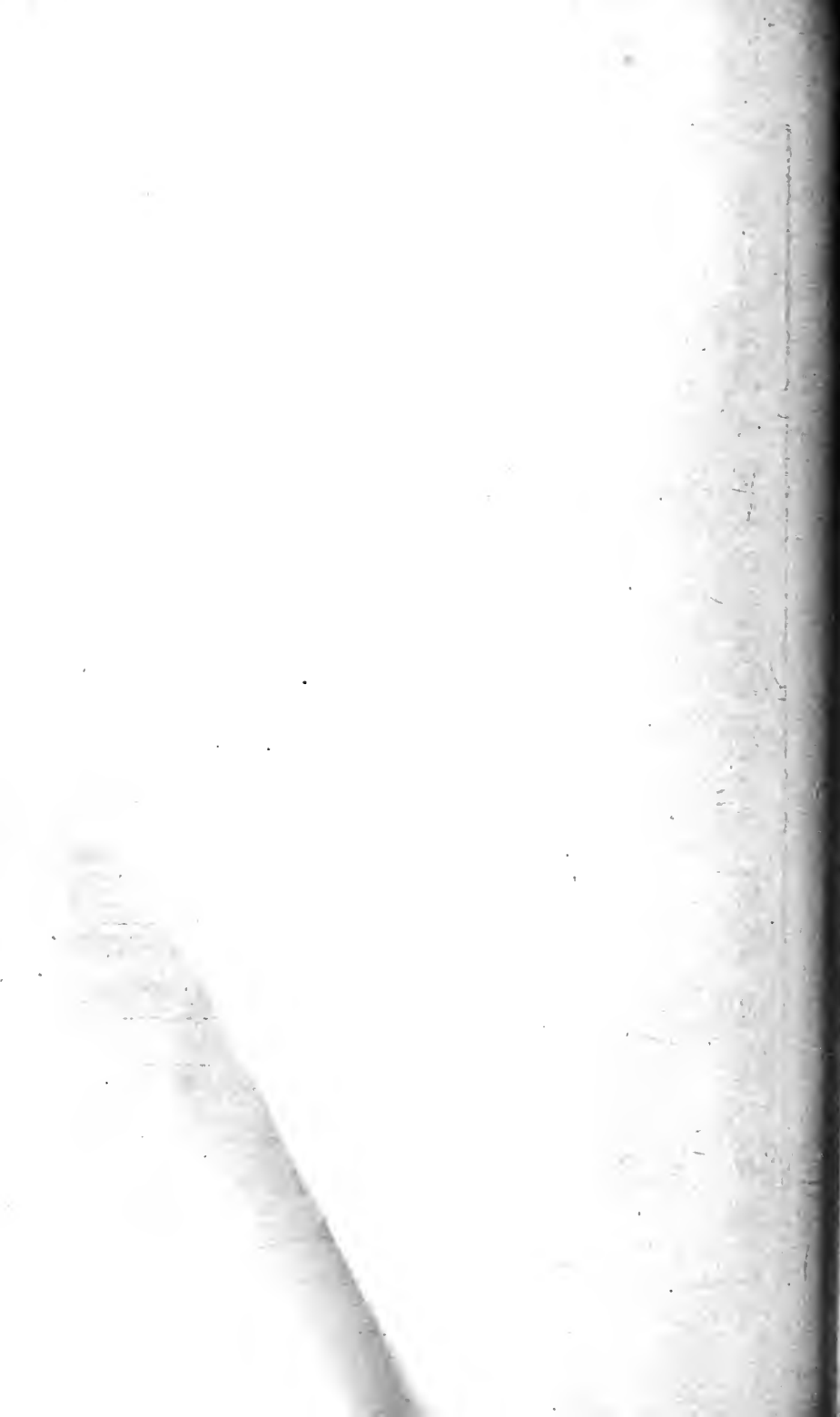
" " " Flour, " " " 15th, 1902.



A SOCIETY'S PURCHASING POWER FOR A SOVEREIGN,

IN WEIGHT, OF SELECTED ARTICLES,
IN THE UNDER-MENTIONED YEARS (AT WHOLESALE PRICES):





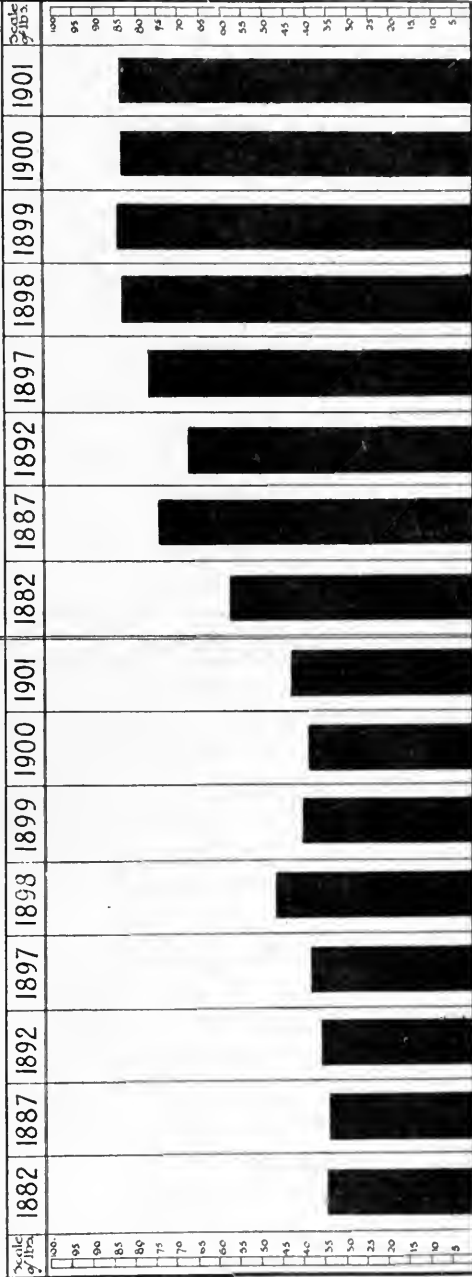
A SOCIETY'S PURCHASING POWER FOR A SOVEREIGN,

IN WEIGHT, OF SELECTED ARTICLES.

IN THE UNDER-MENTIONED YEARS (AT WHOLESALE PRICES):

CHEESE

A combined parcel of Butter, Tea, Coffee, Flour, Sugar and Cheese, in proportion to Trade done in these articles.

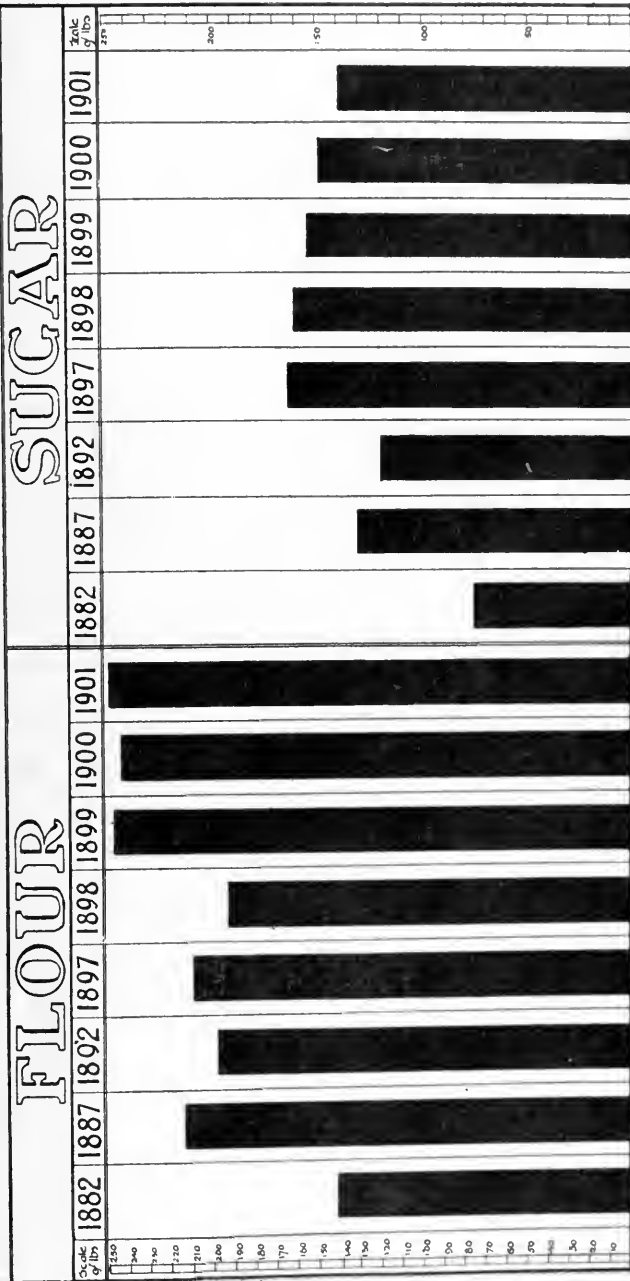




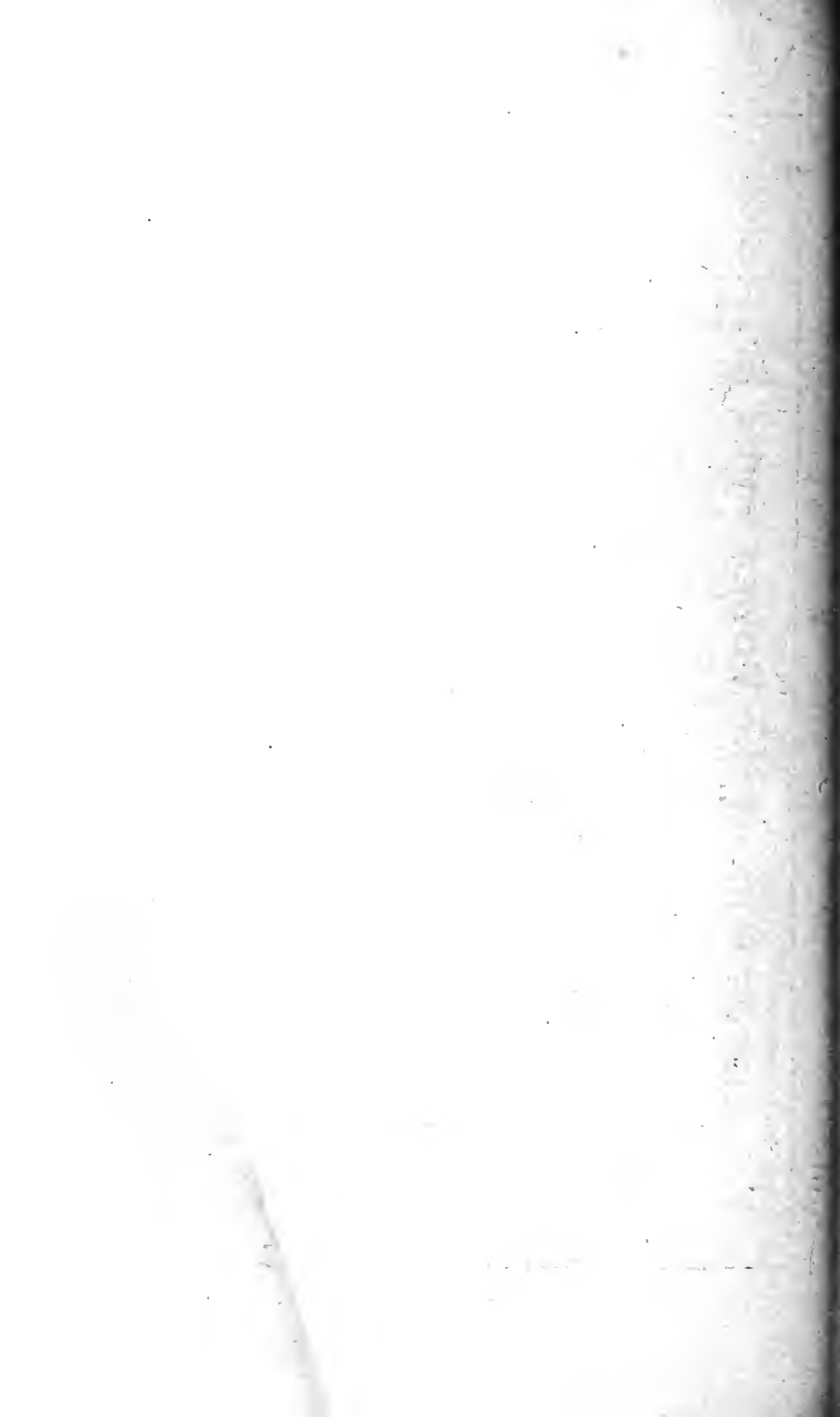
A SOCIETY'S PURCHASING POWER FOR A SOVEREIGN,

IN WEIGHT, OF SELECTED ARTICLES,

IN THE UNDER-MENTIONED YEARS (AT WHOLESALE PRICES):



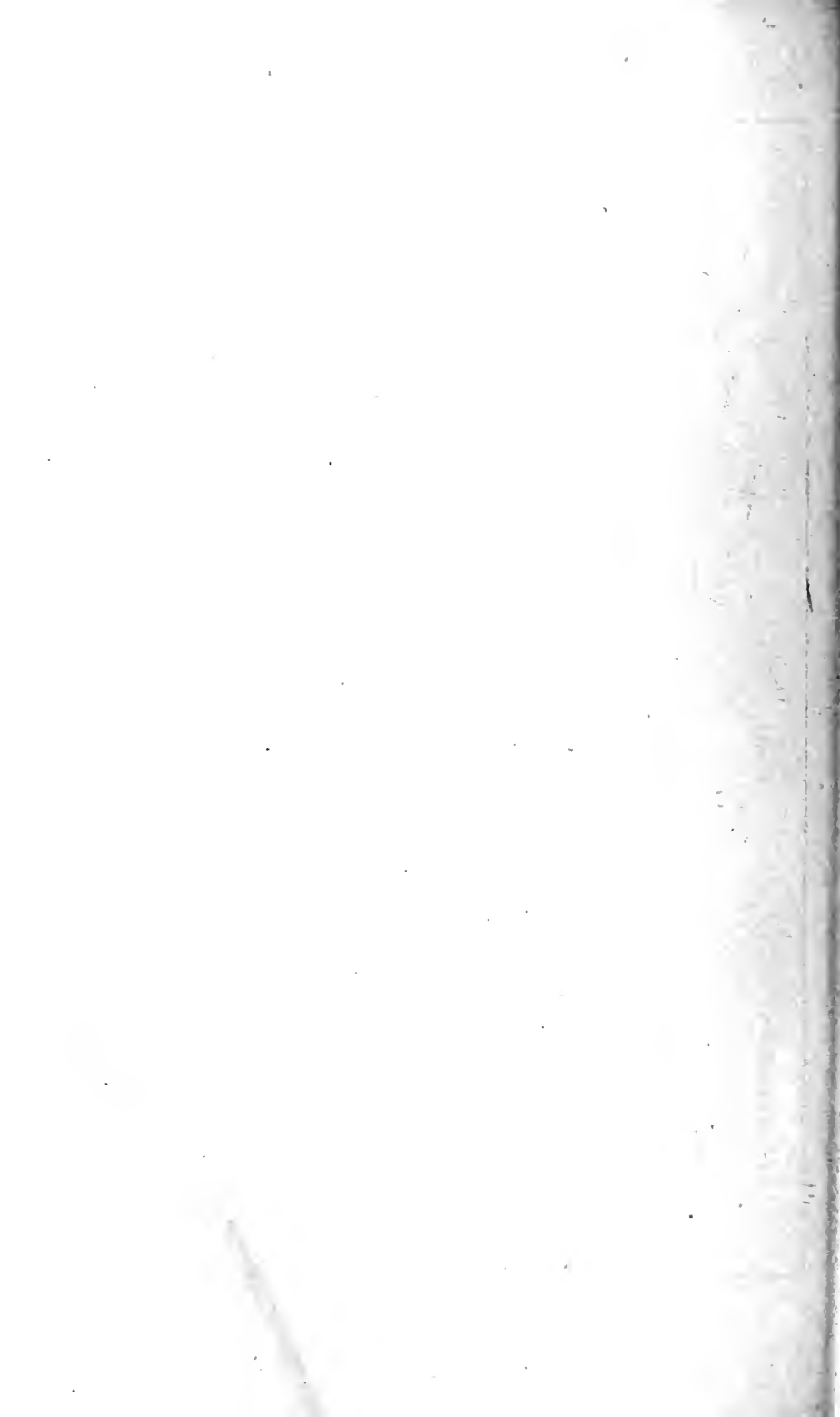
DUTY IMPOSED ON SUGAR, CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT, APRIL 18TH, 1901.
 " " " FLOUR, " " 15TH, 1902.

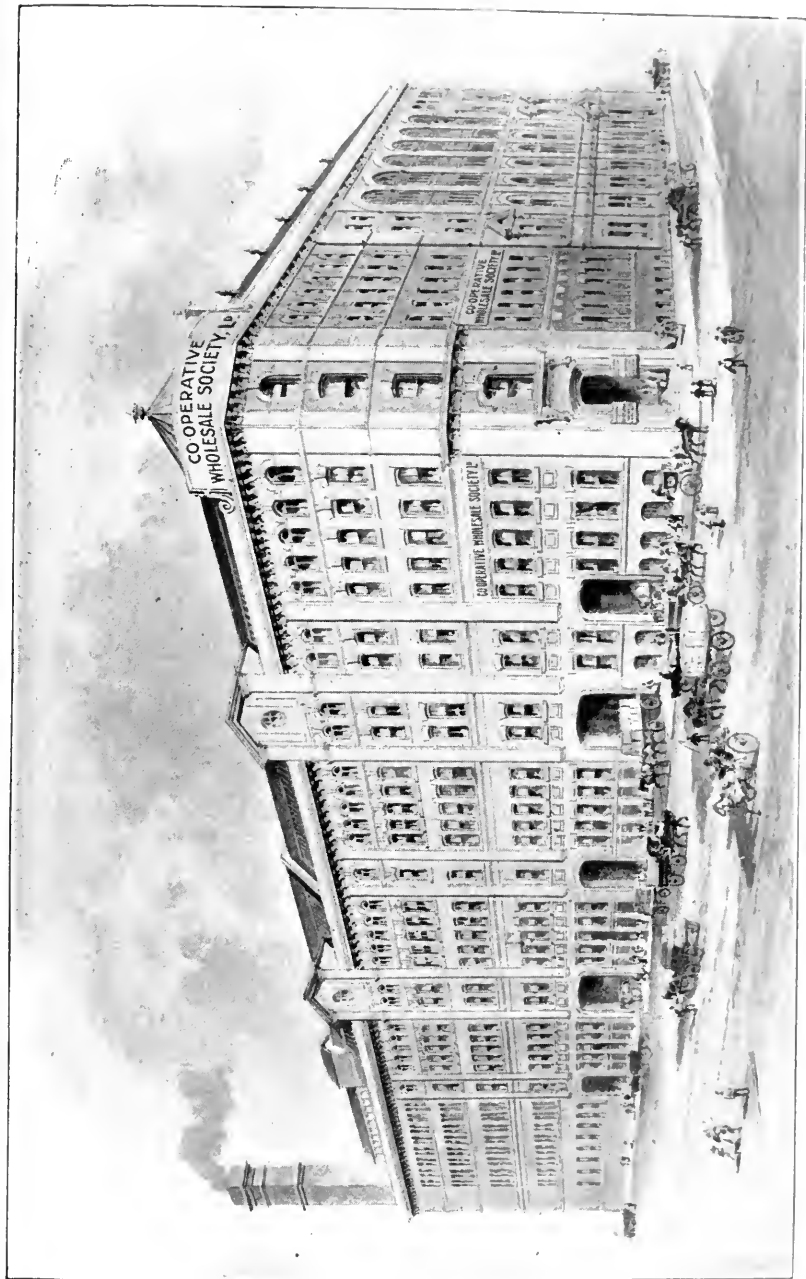


BUSINESS PREMISES,
&C.,

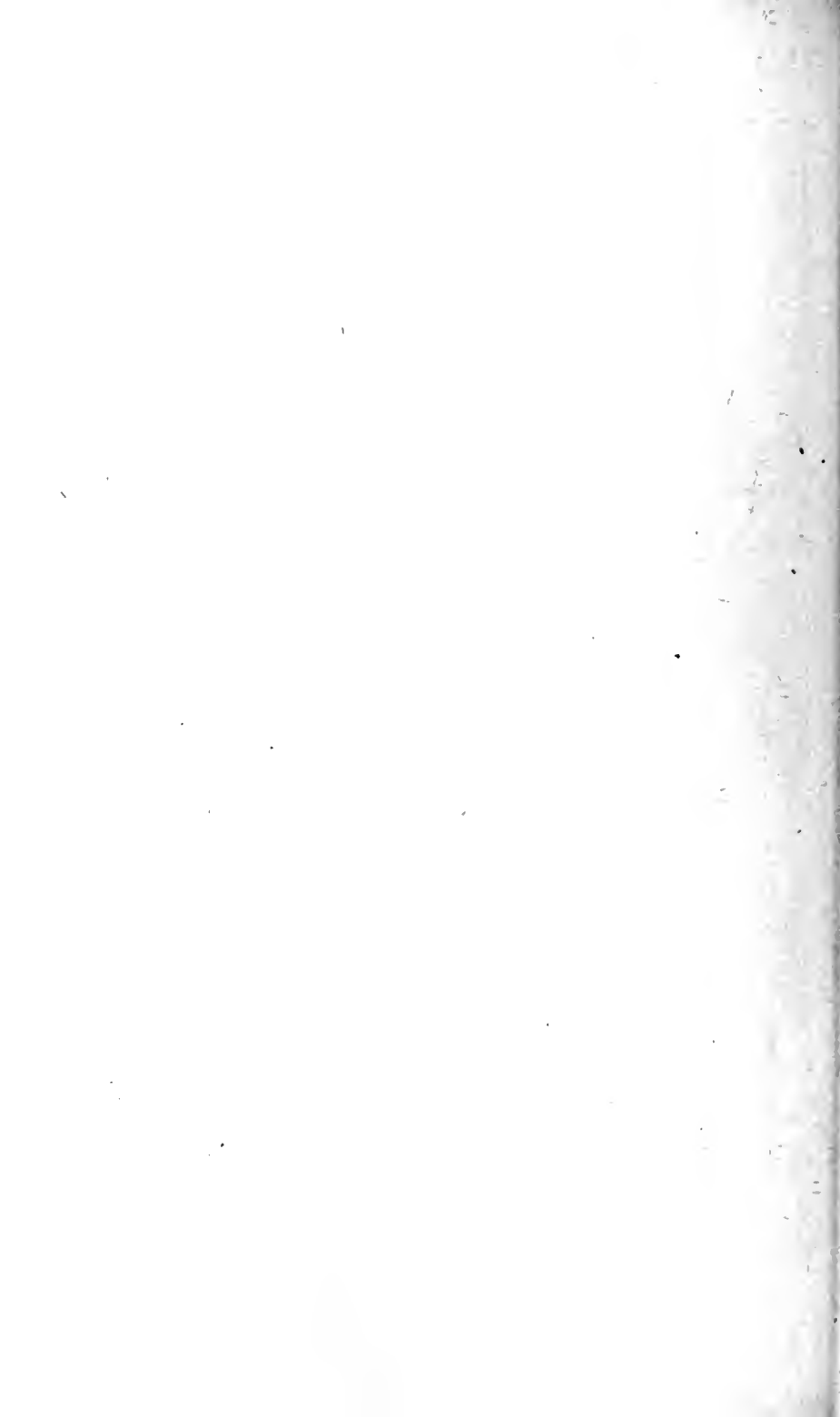
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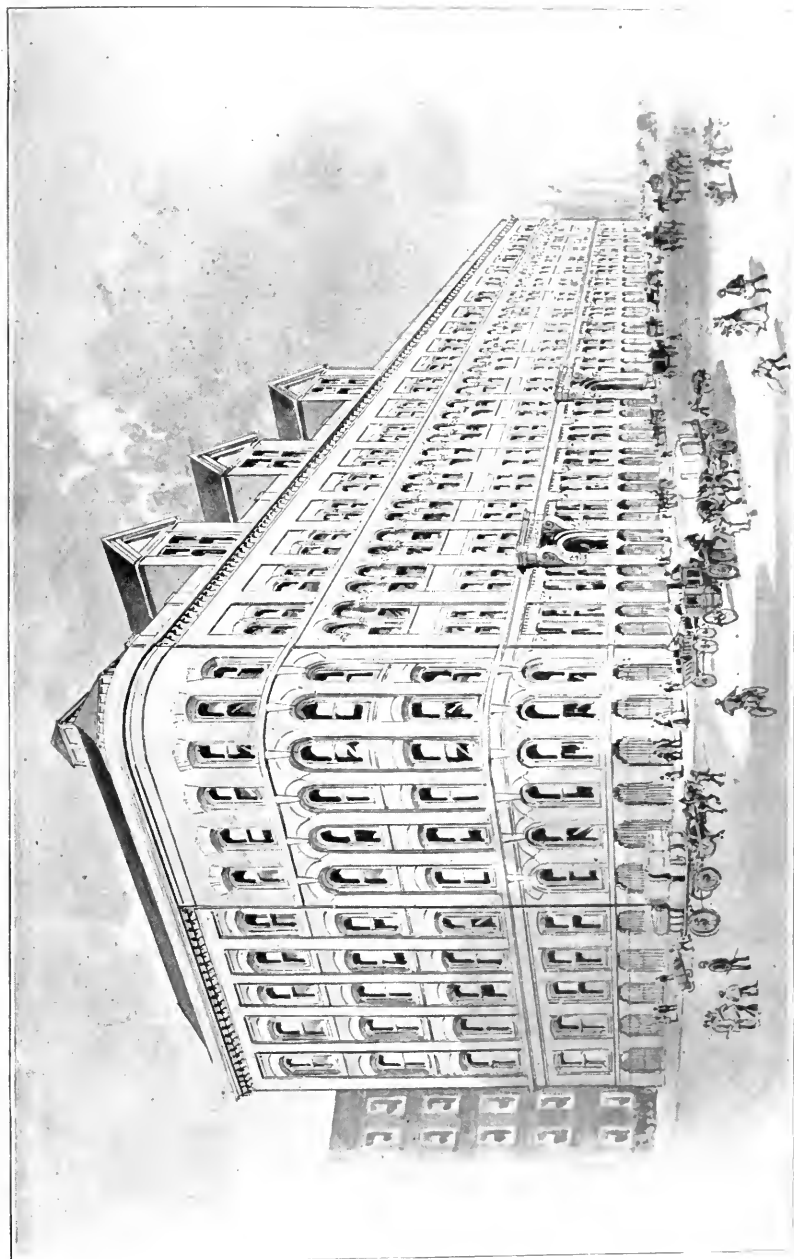
THE CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE
SOCIETY LIMITED.



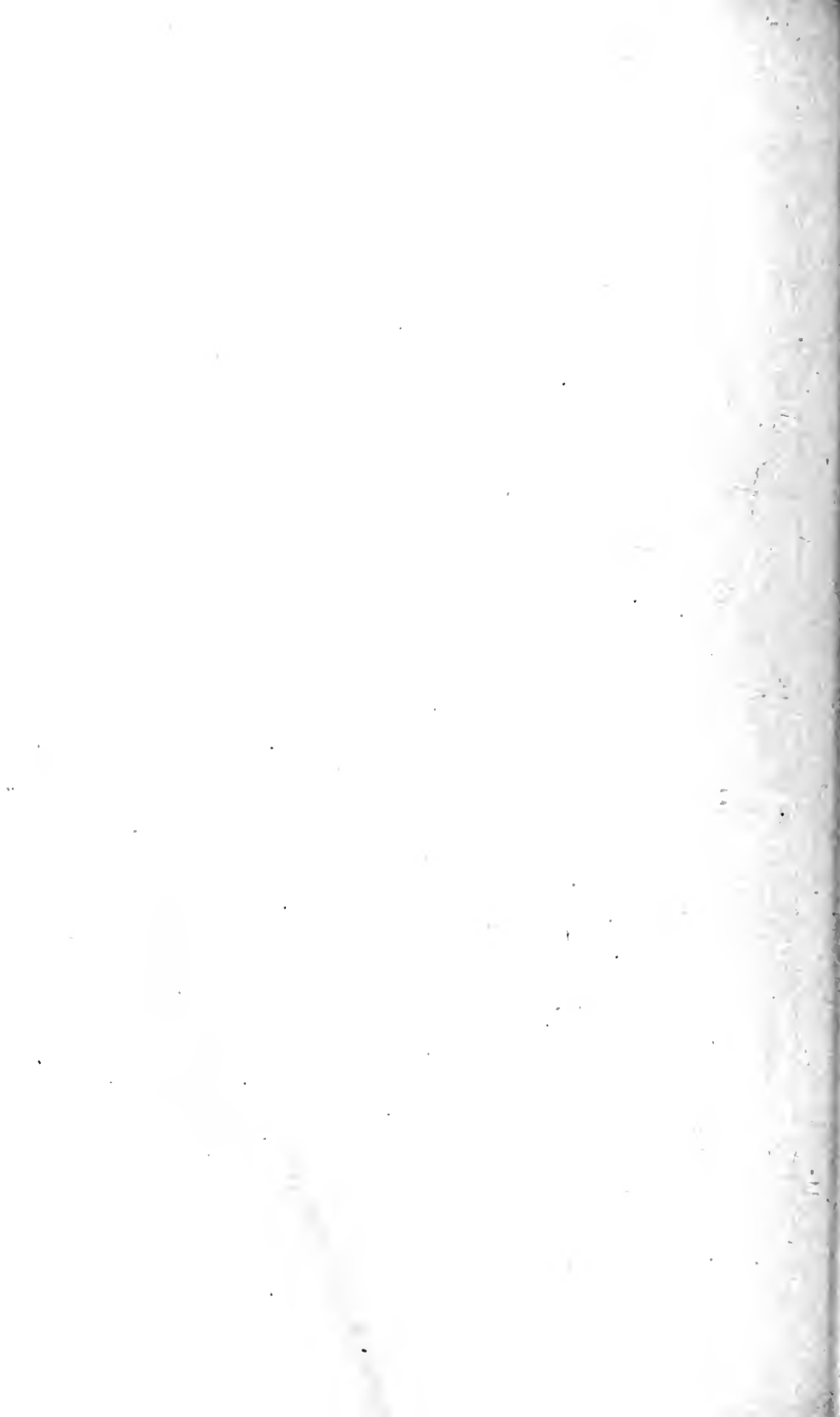


Manchester: Balloon Street and Garden Street.
(See pages 24-26 and 48.)





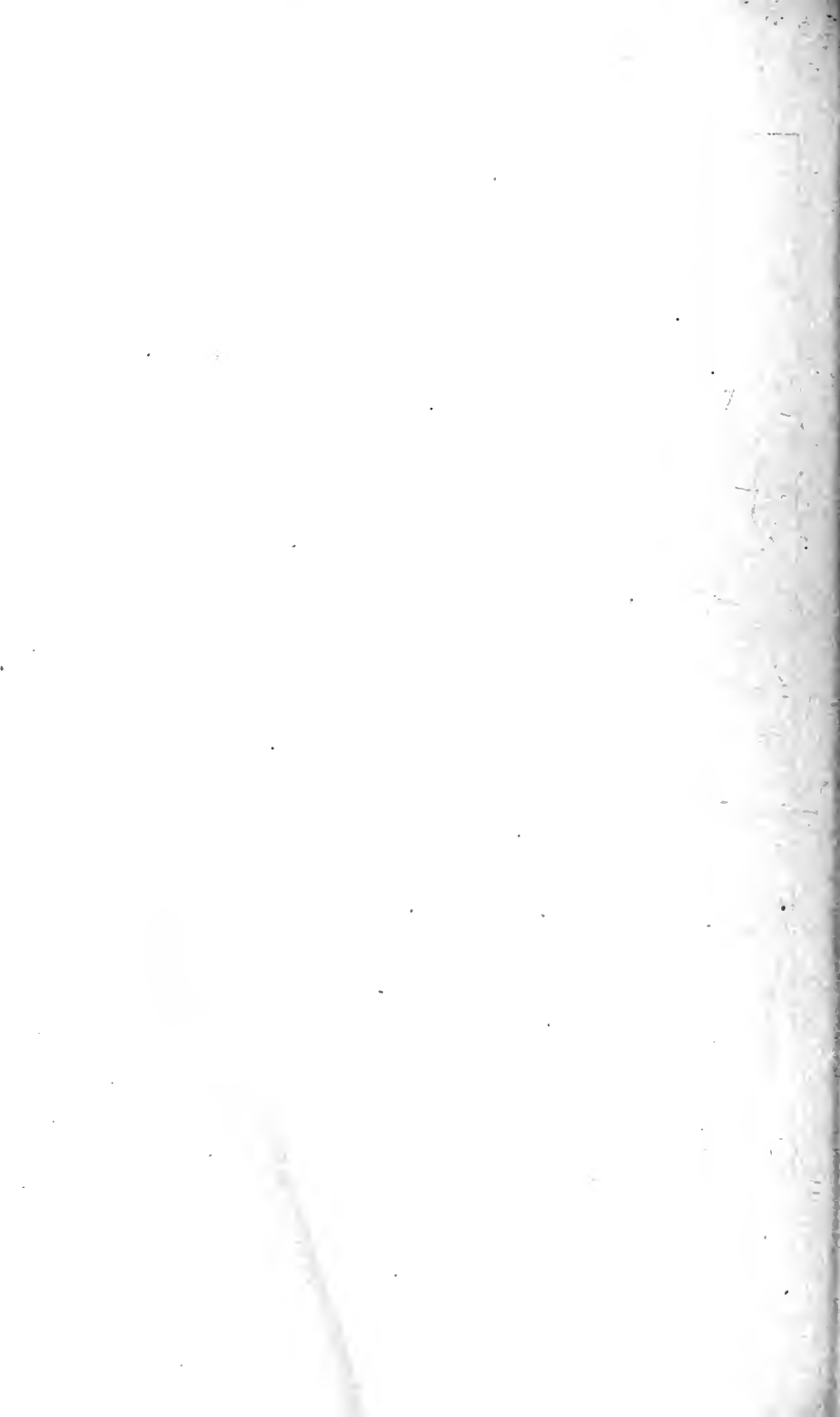
Manchester : Dantzic Street.
(See pages 24 and 49.)

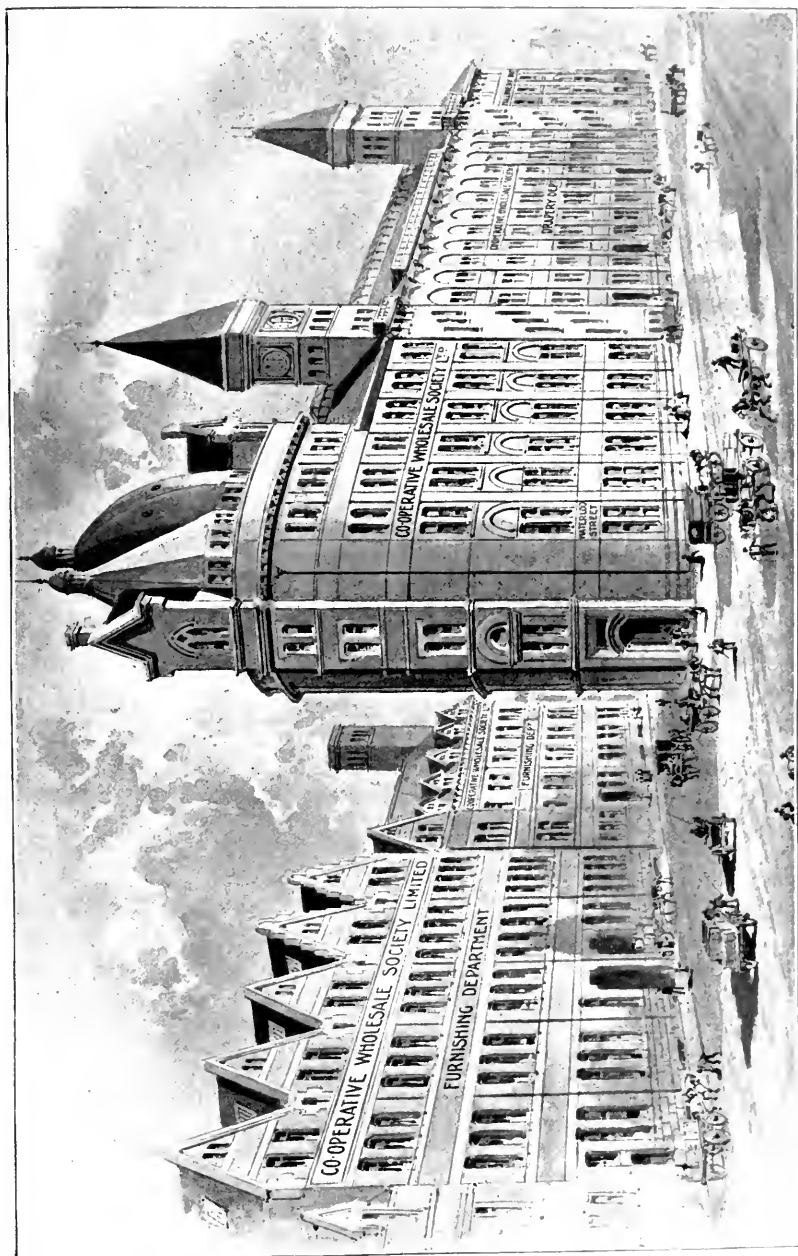




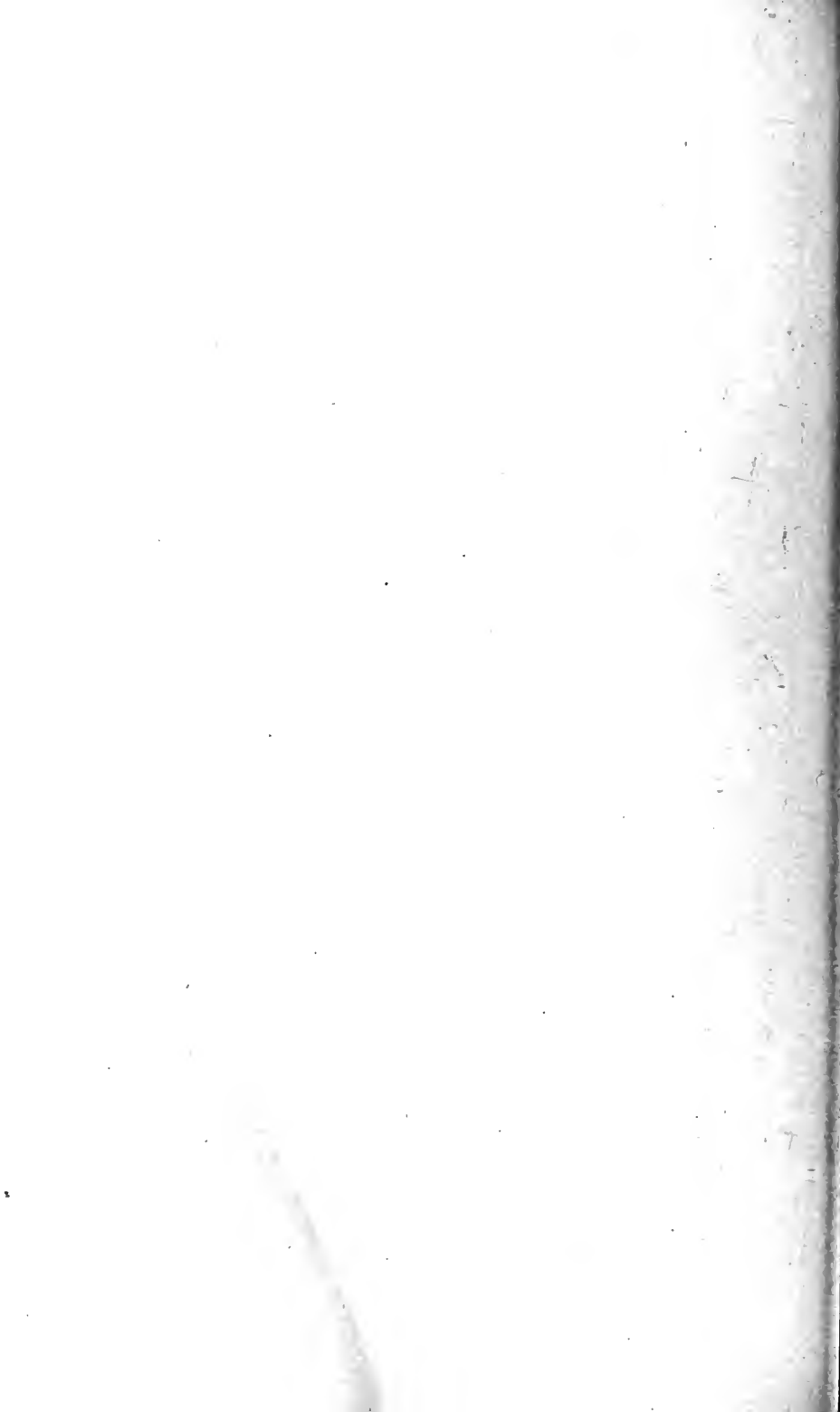
Newcastle: West Blandford Street.

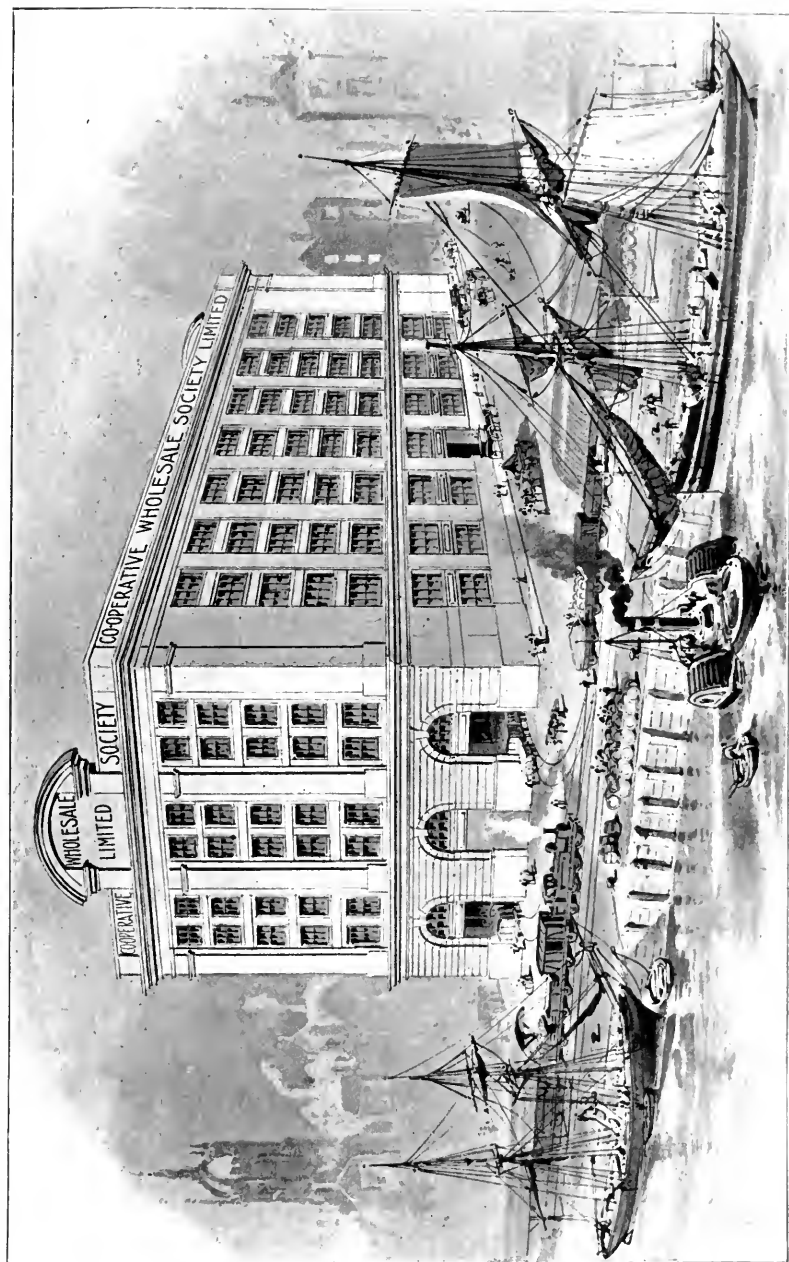
(See pages 26-28 and 30.)



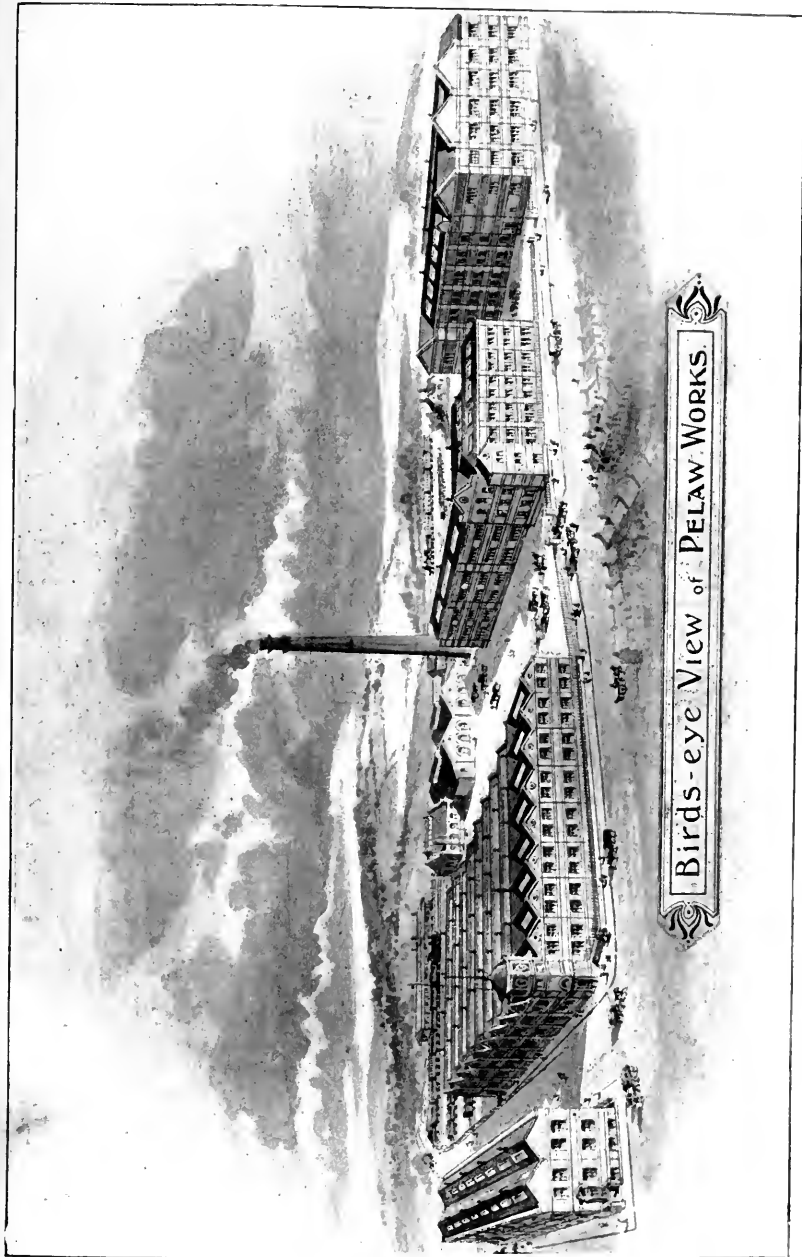


Newcastle Waterloo Street and Thornton Street.



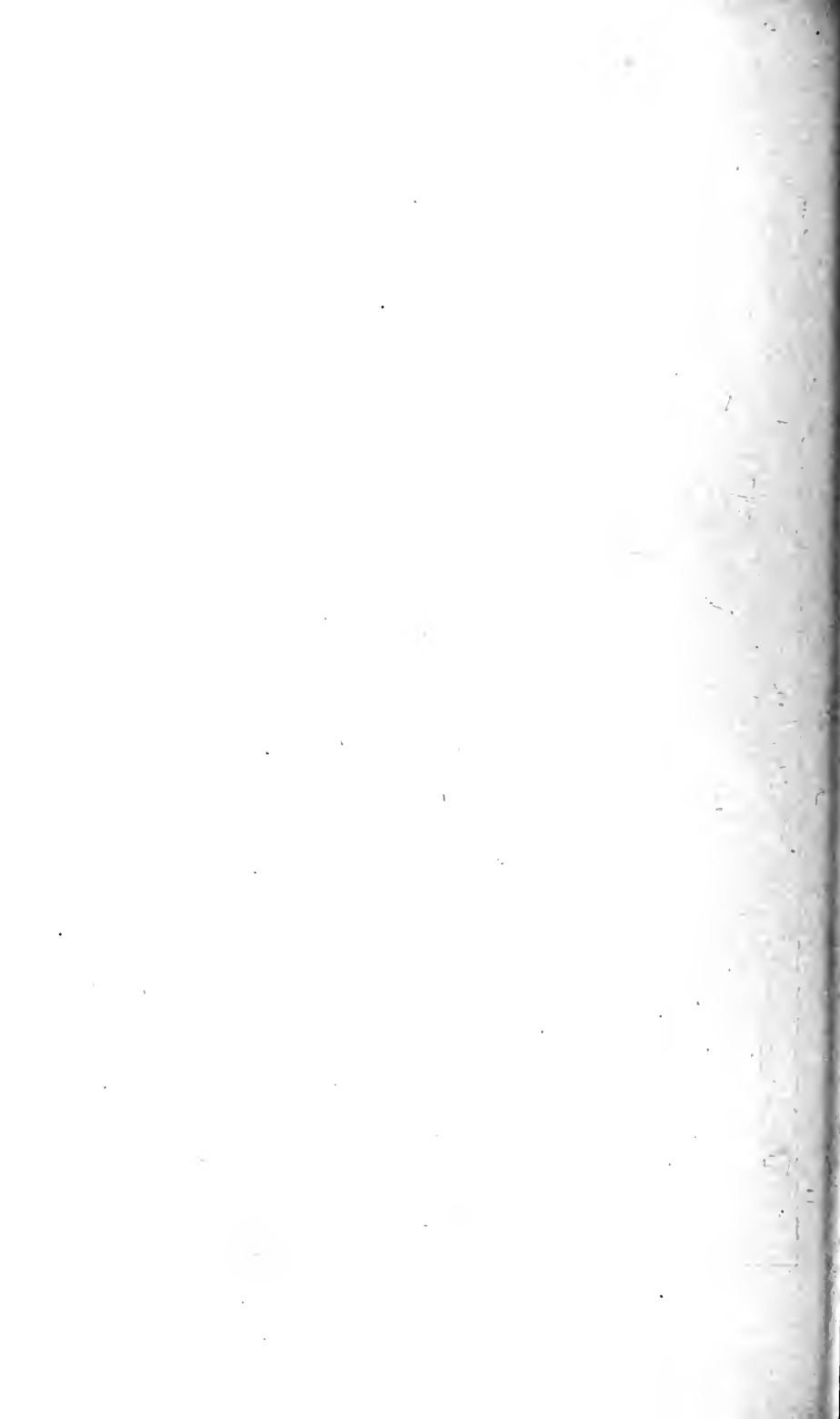


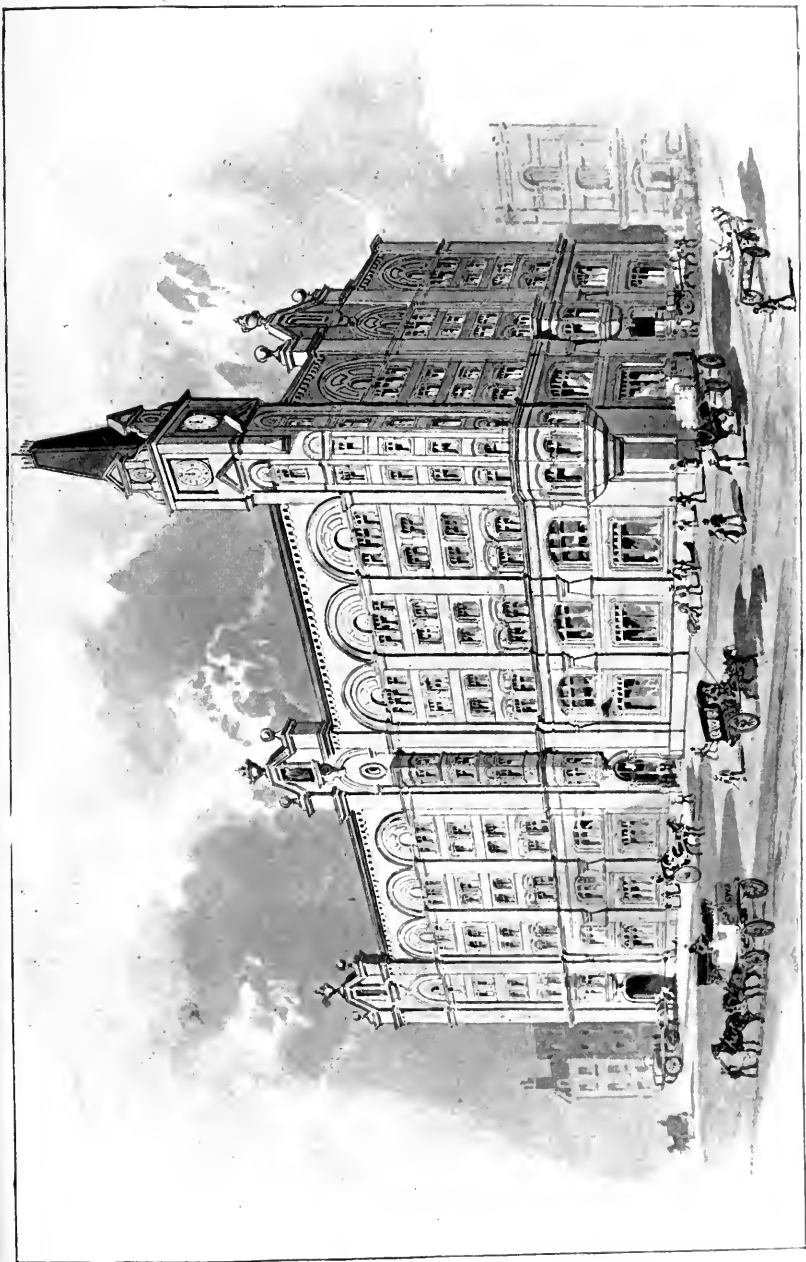
Newcastle : Quayside.



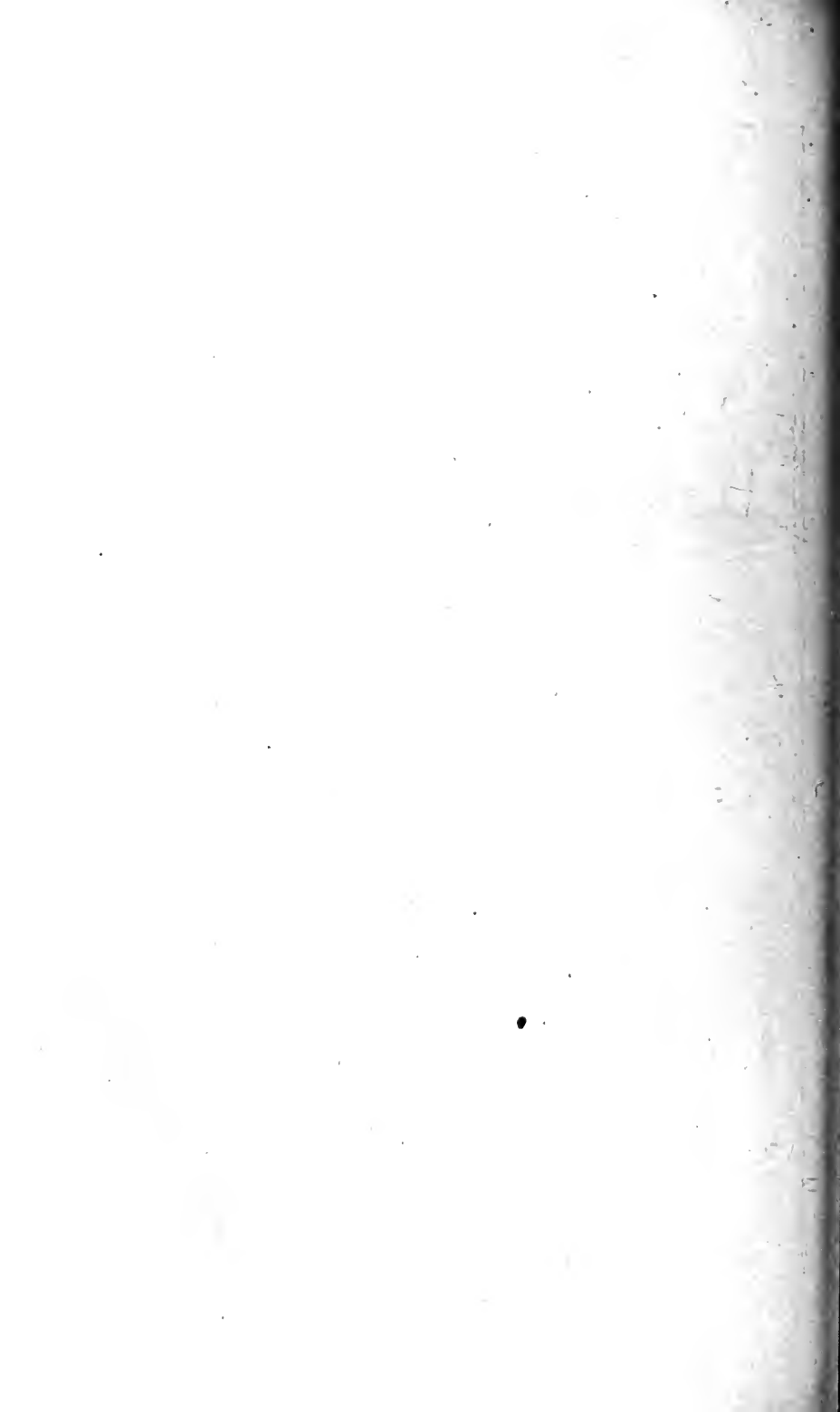
Birds-eye View of PELAW WORKS

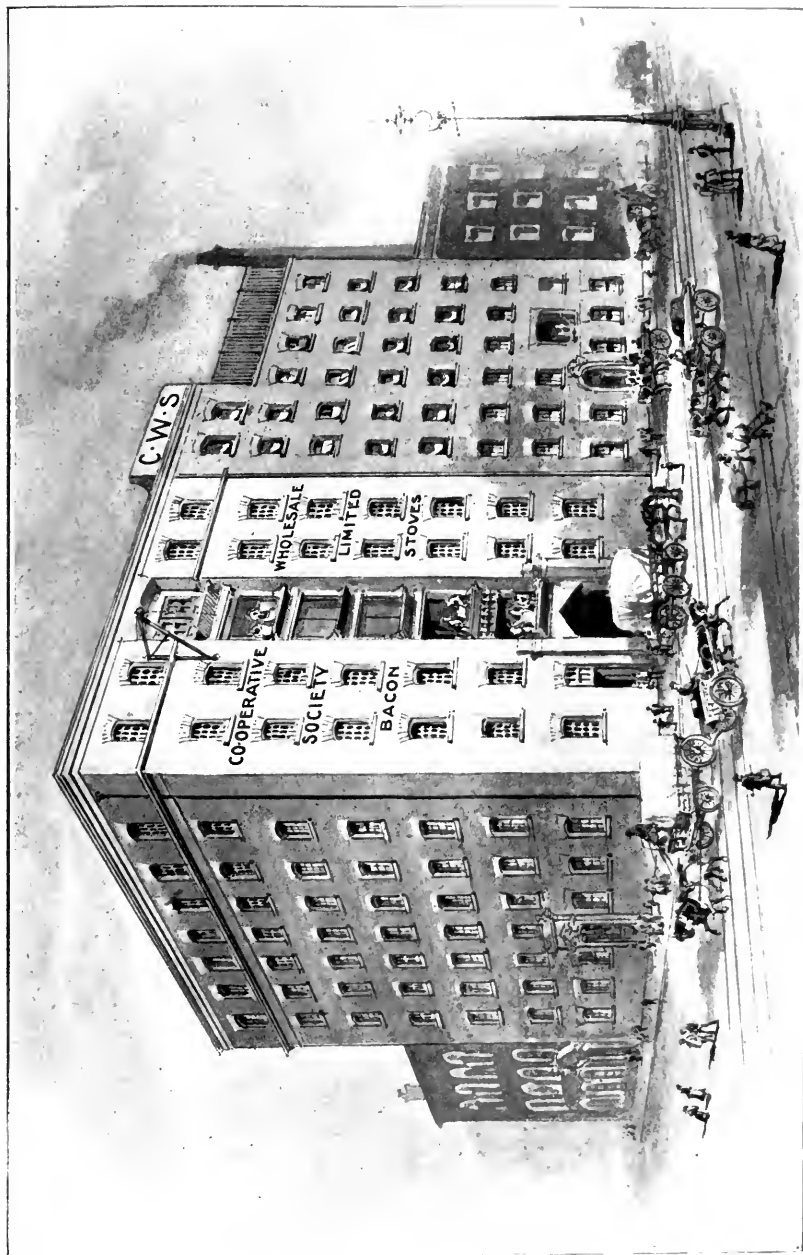
Newcastle : Pelaw.



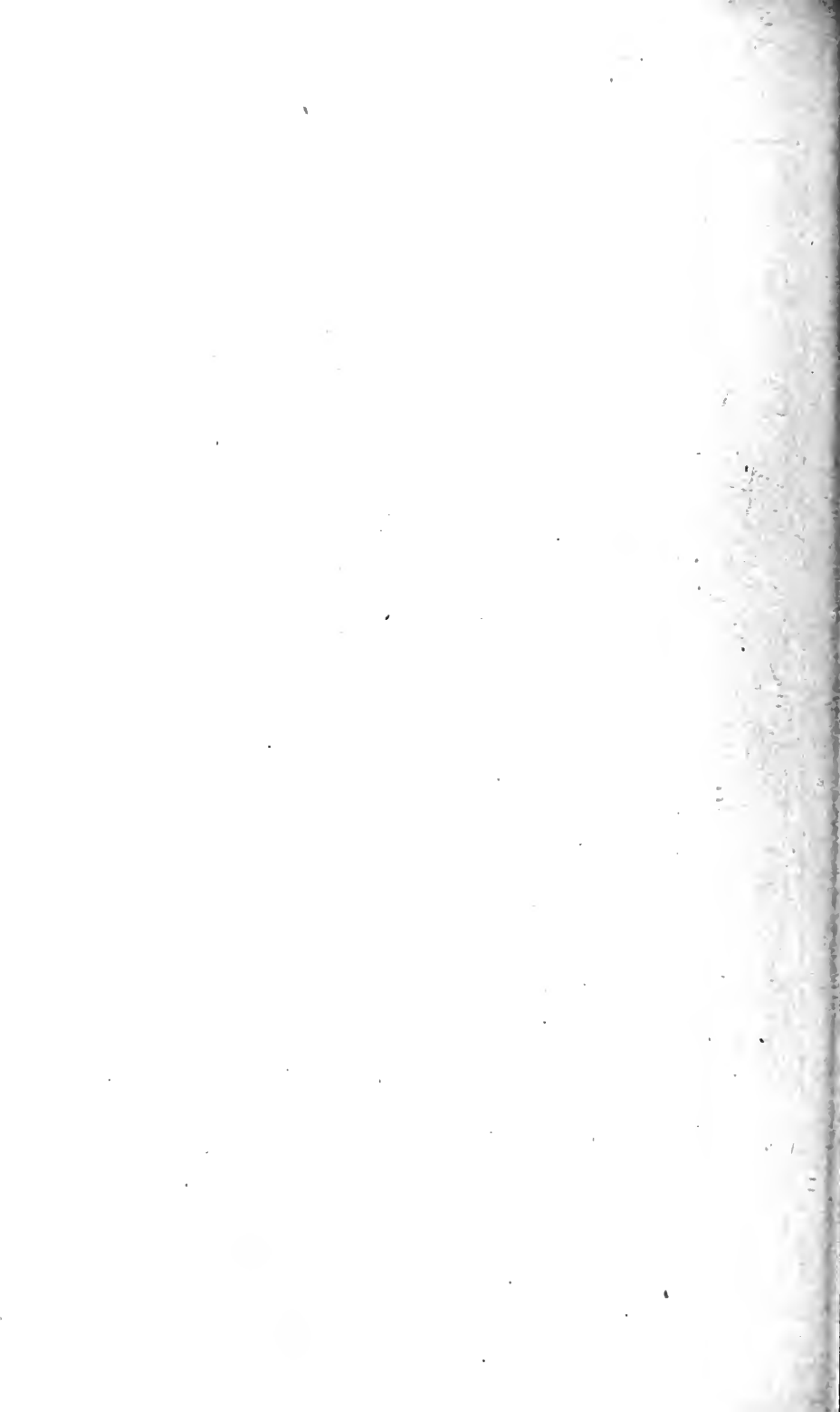


London: Leman Street.
(See pages 28-30 and 52.)



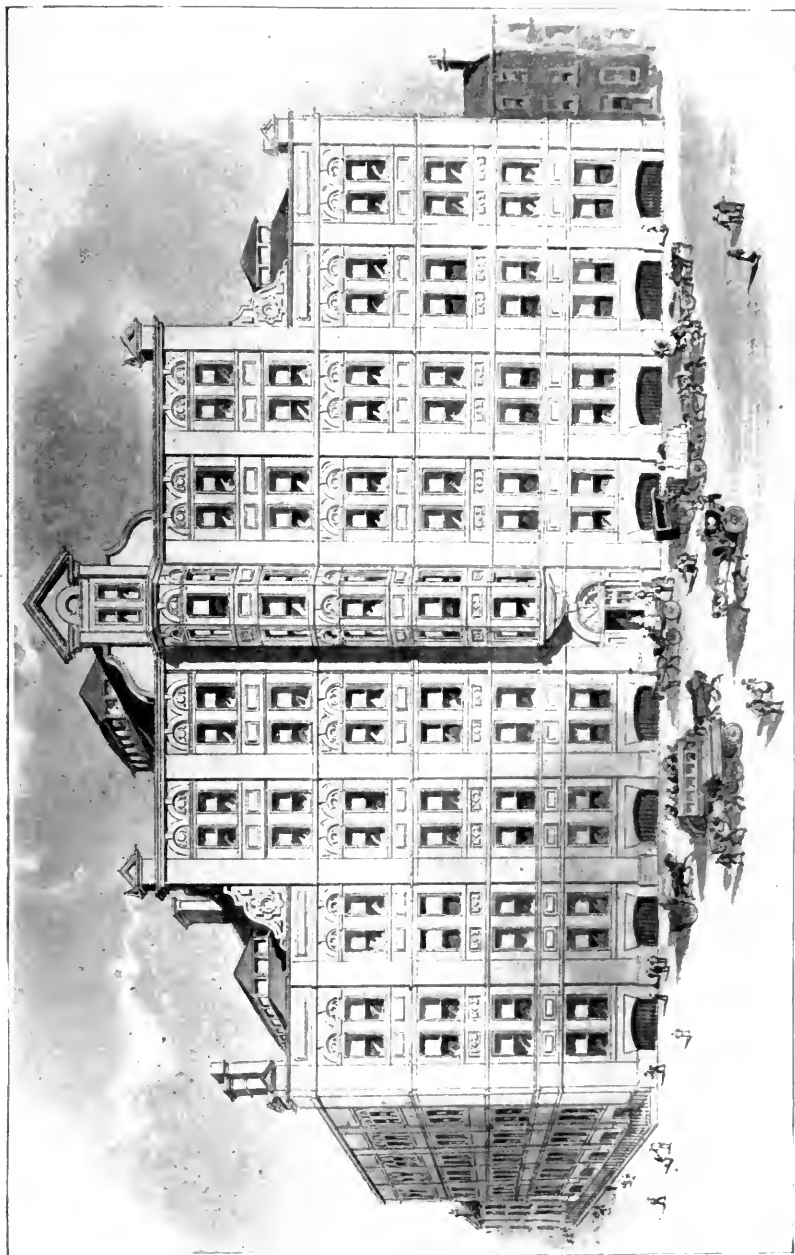


London: Bacon Stoves.

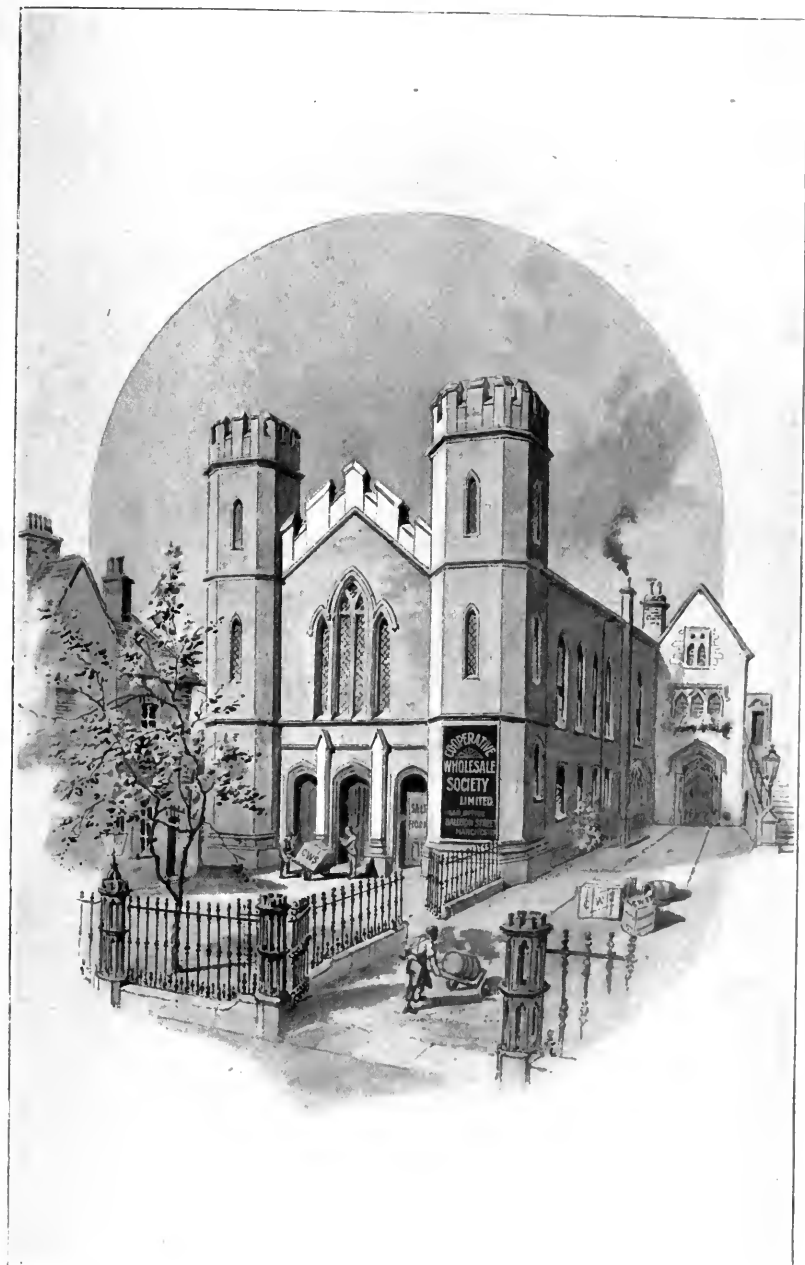




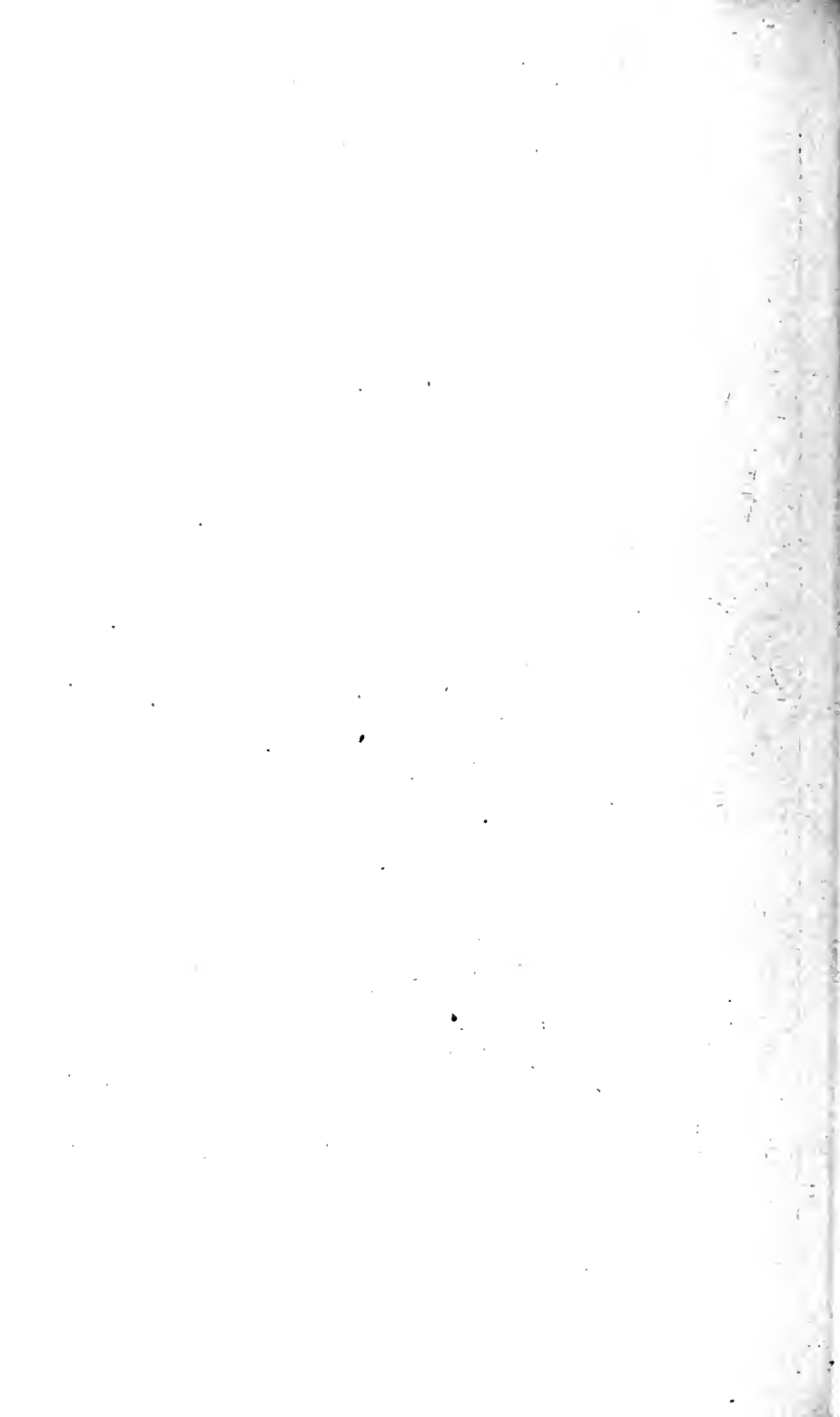
London : Grove Street.

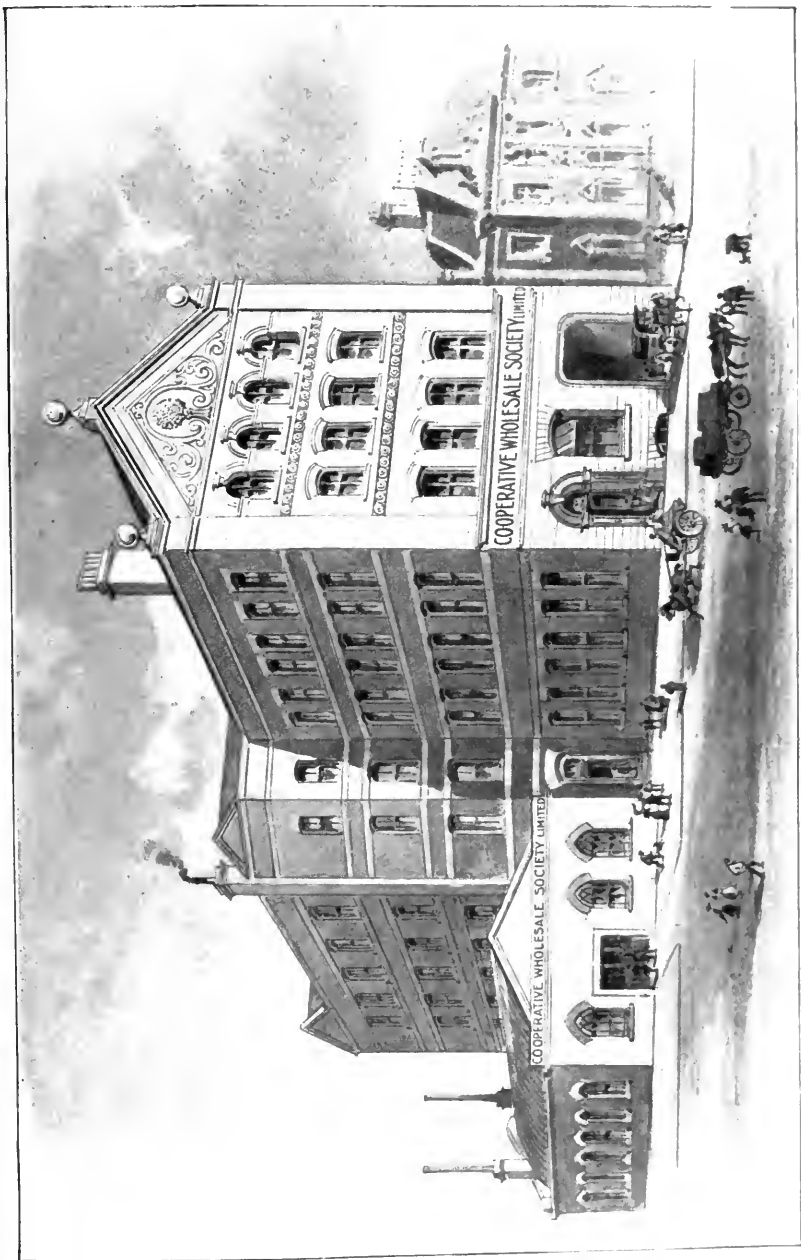


London: Tea Department.



Nottingham Saleroom.

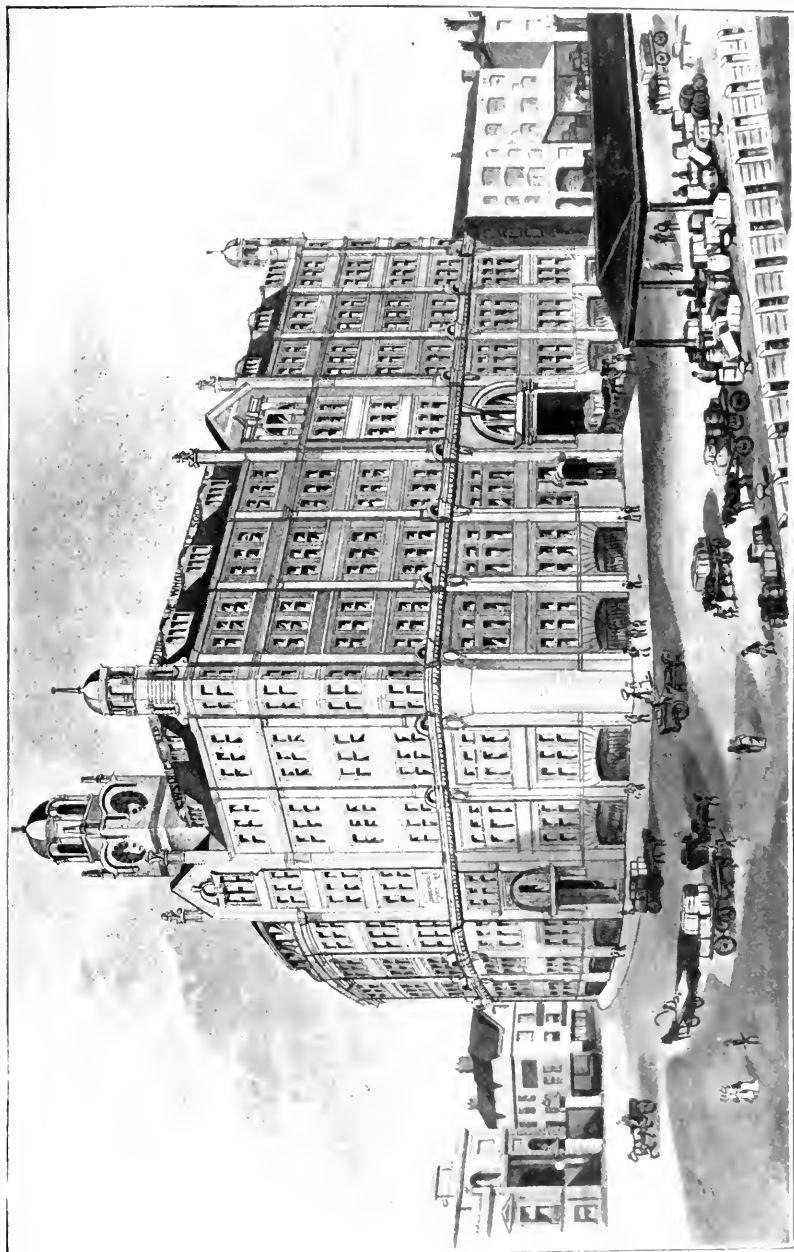




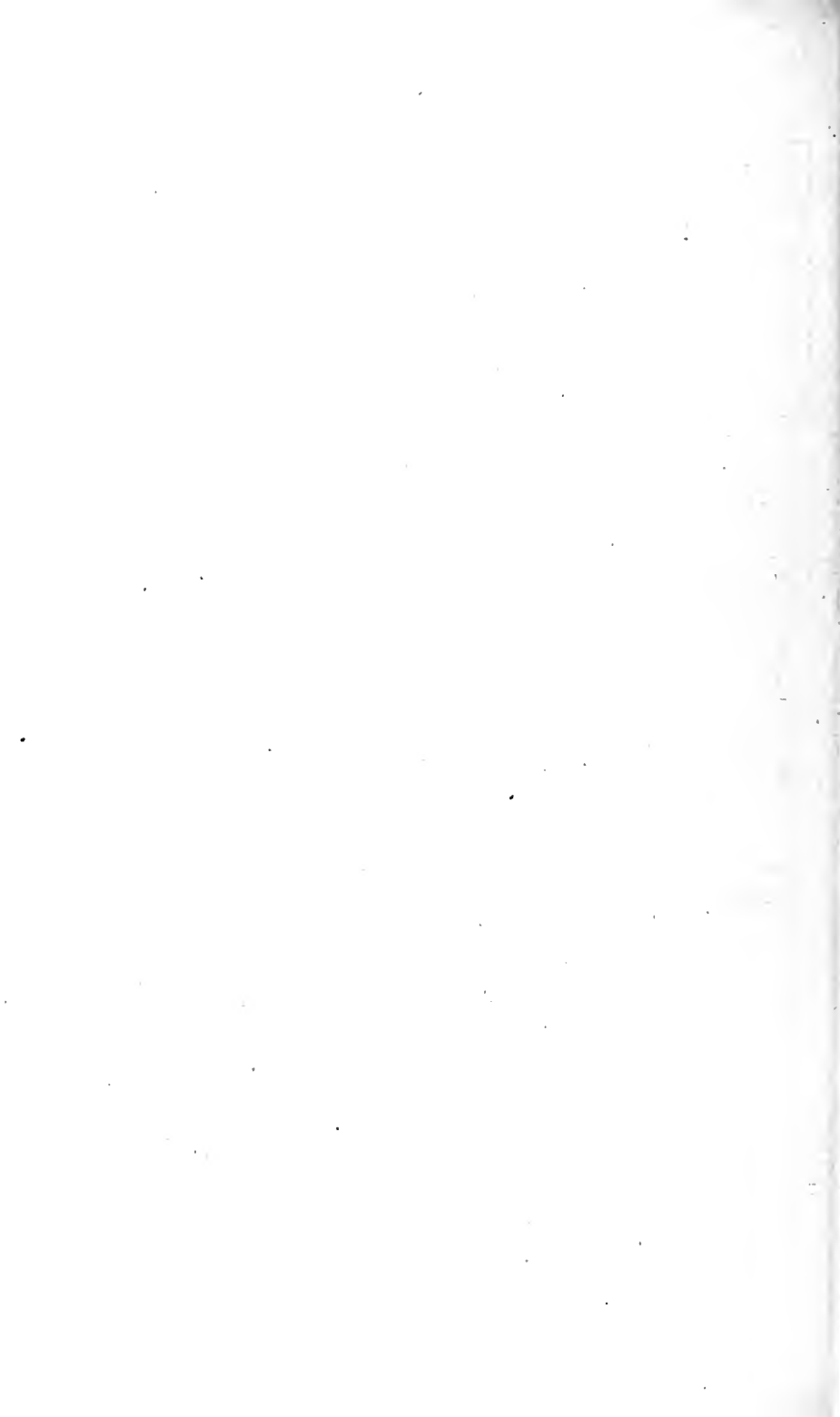
Northampton Saleroom.

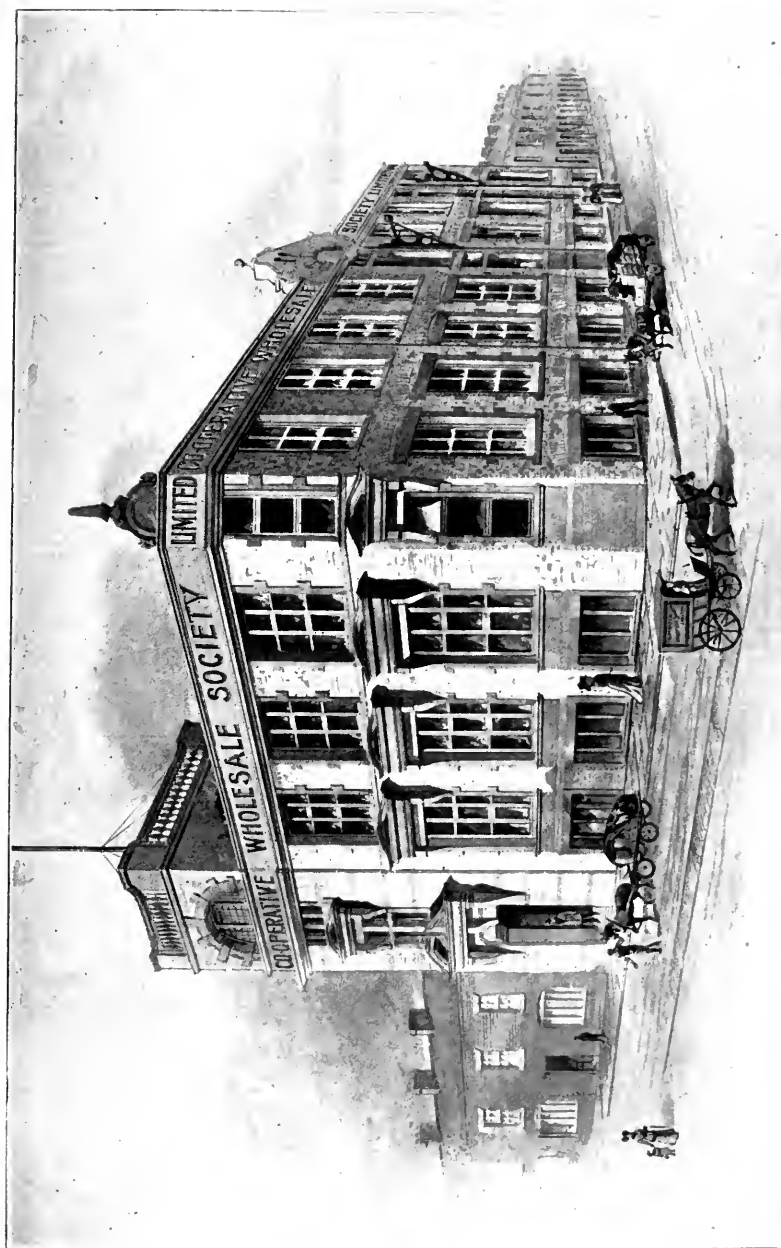


Birmingham Saleroom.

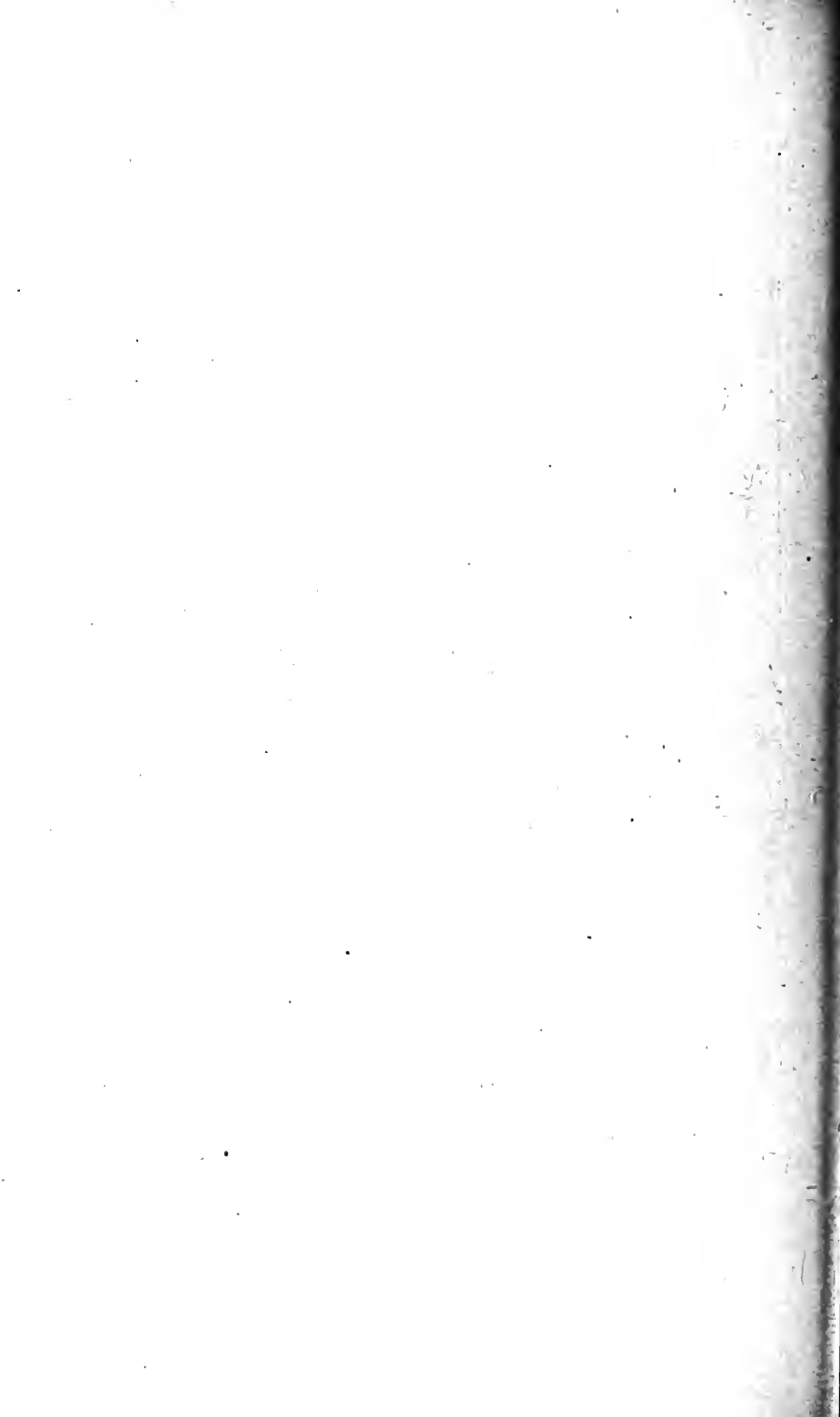


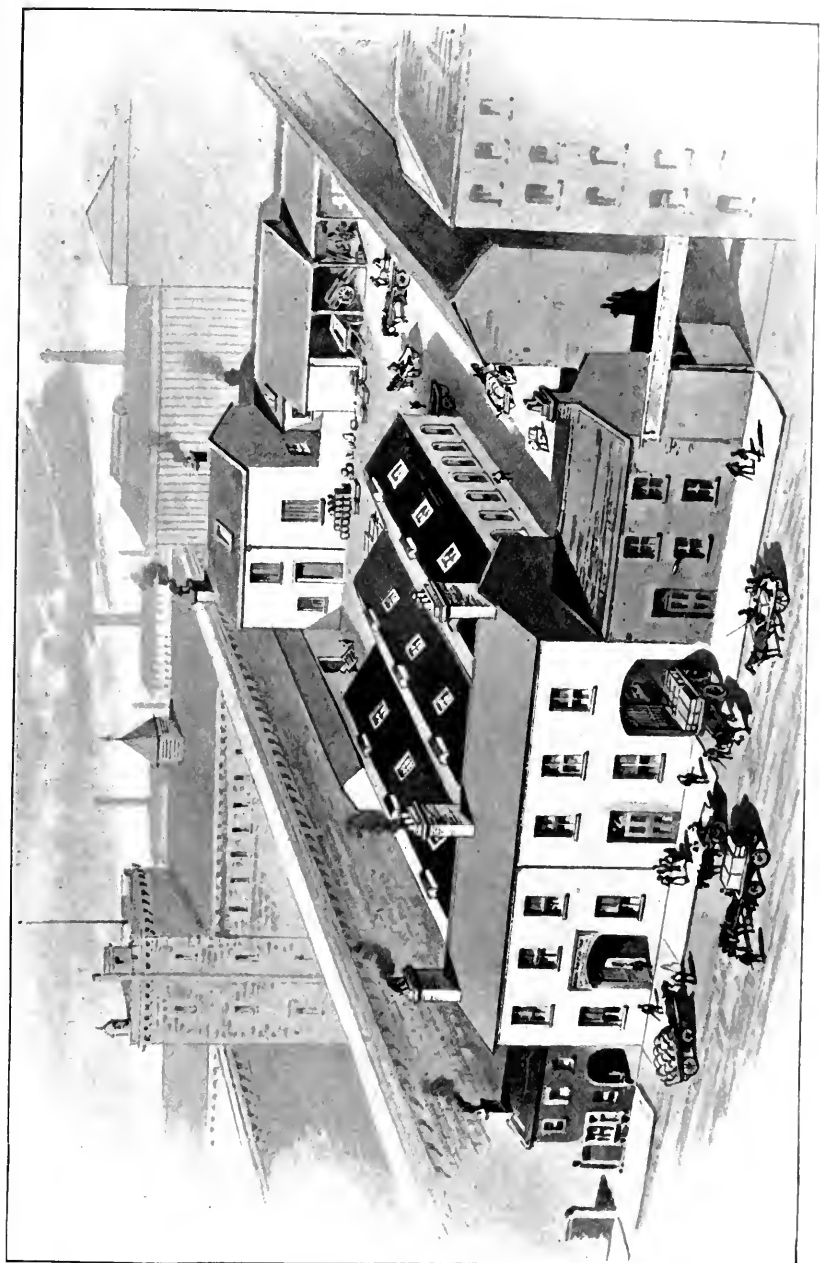
Bristol Depot.



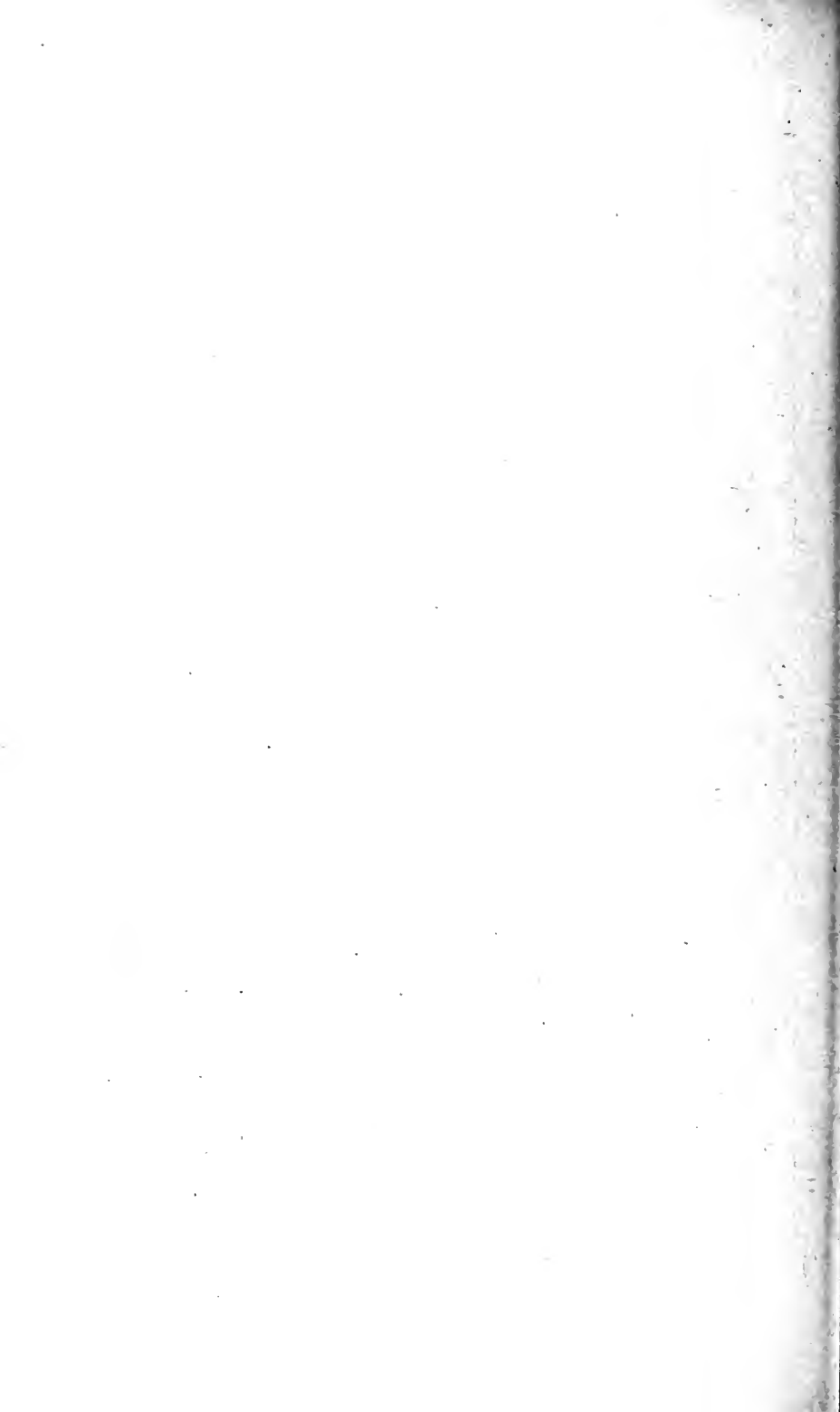


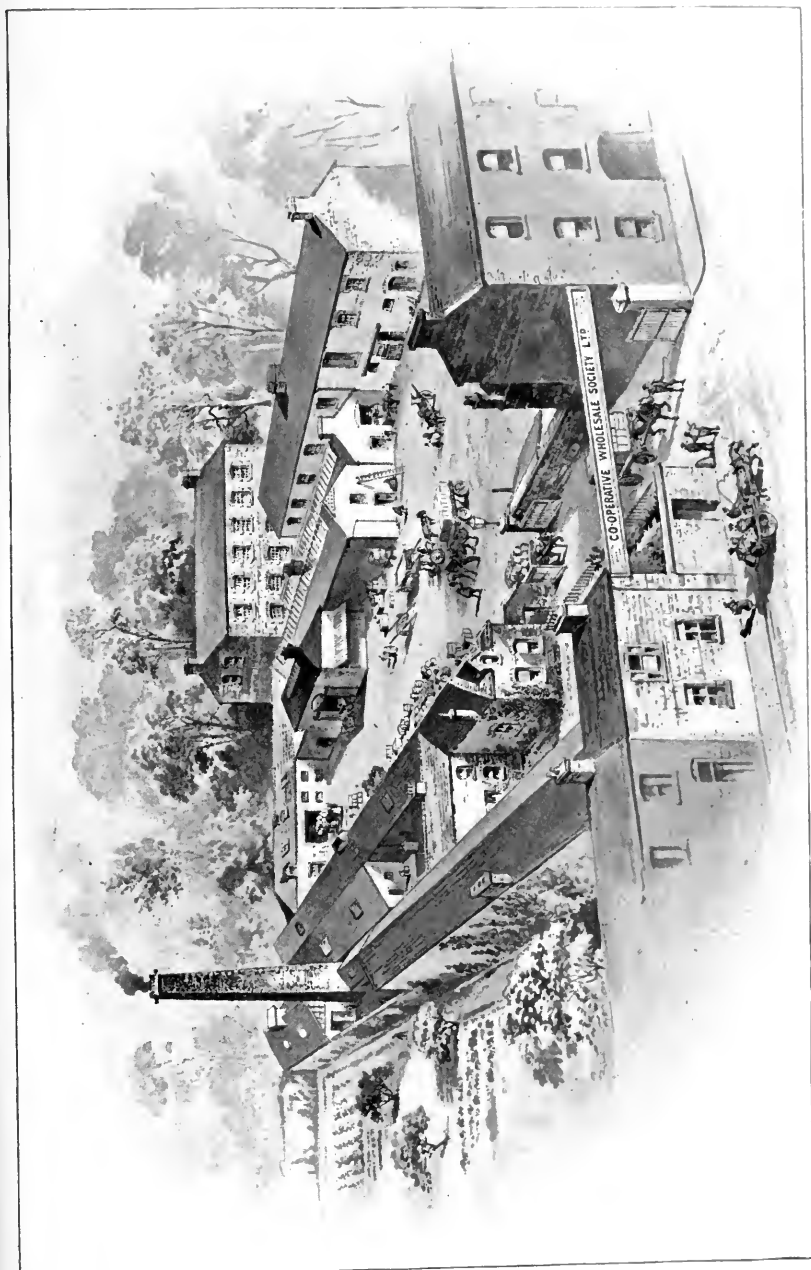
Cardiff Depot.



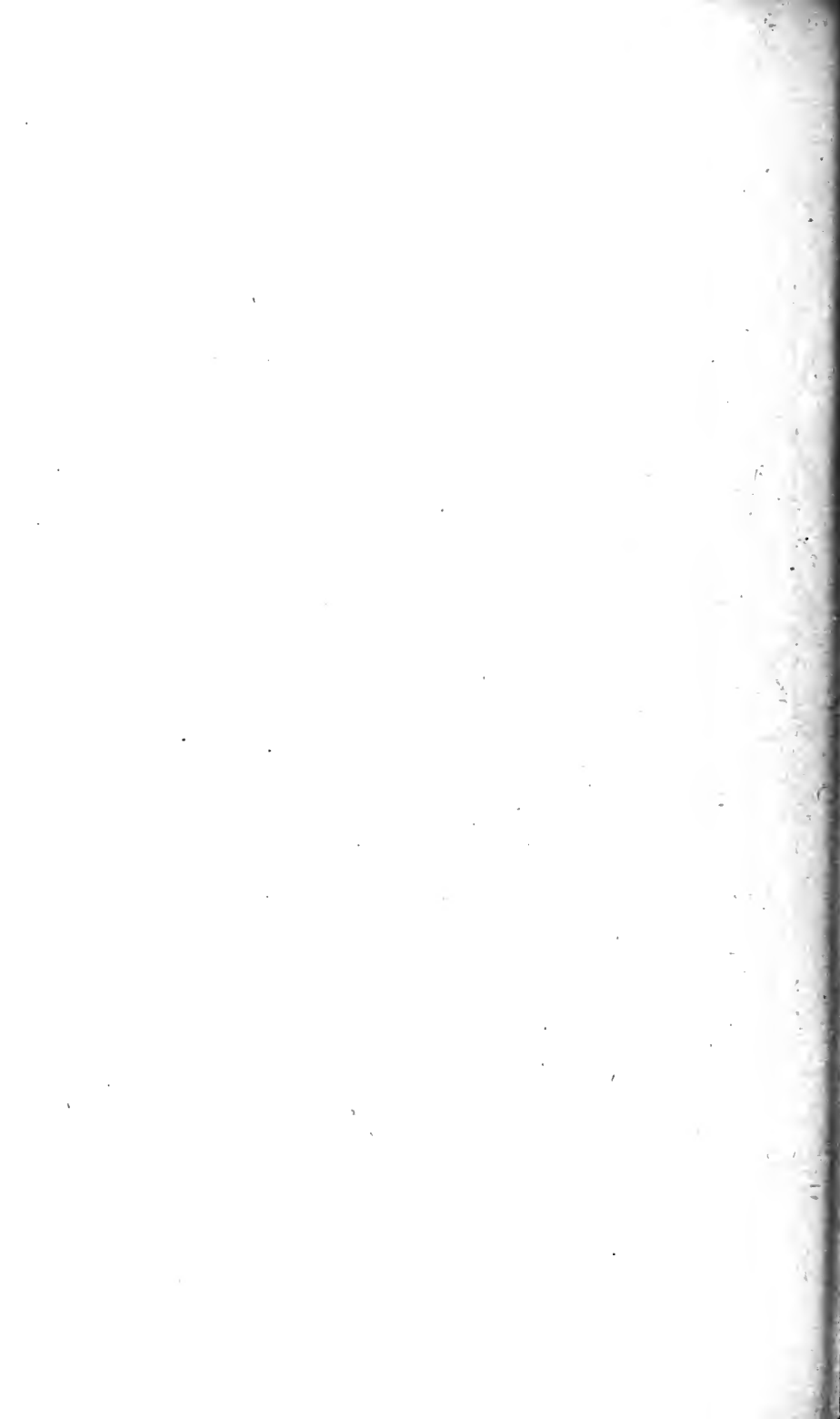


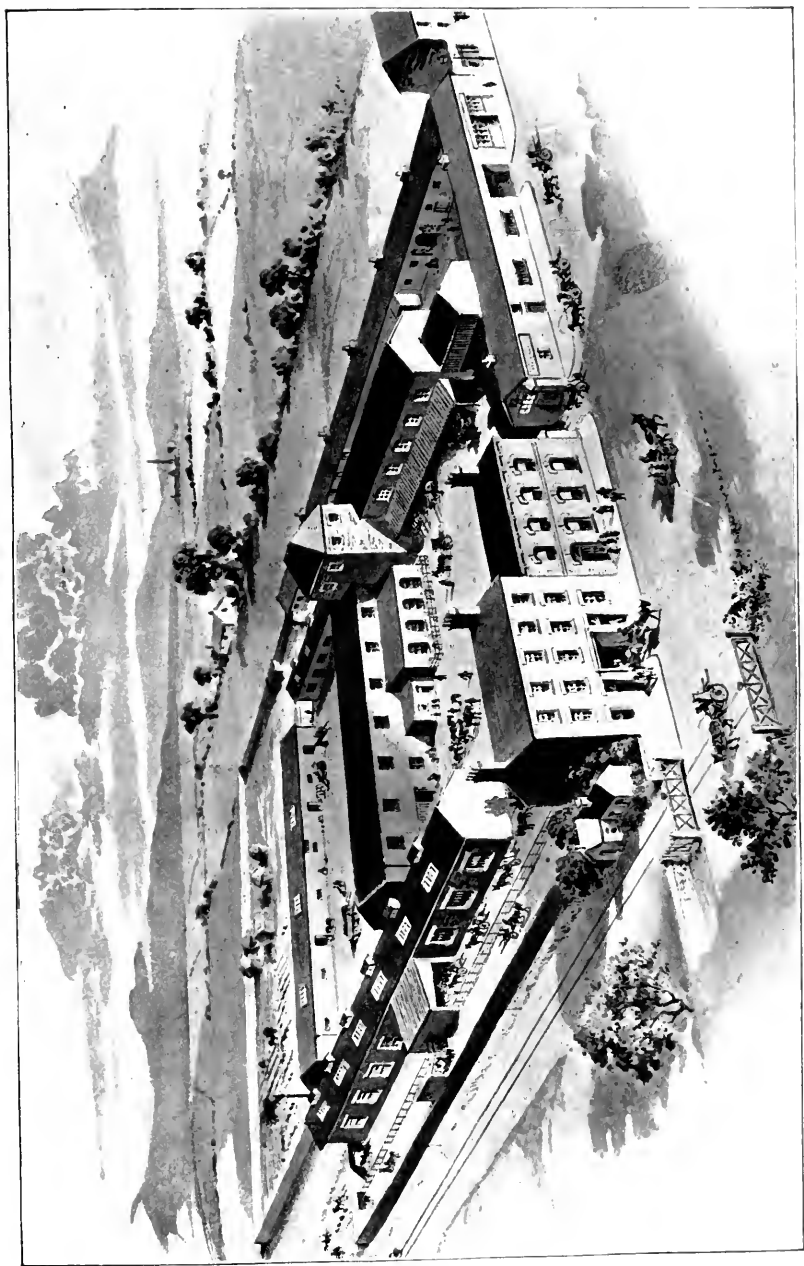
Limerick Depôt.



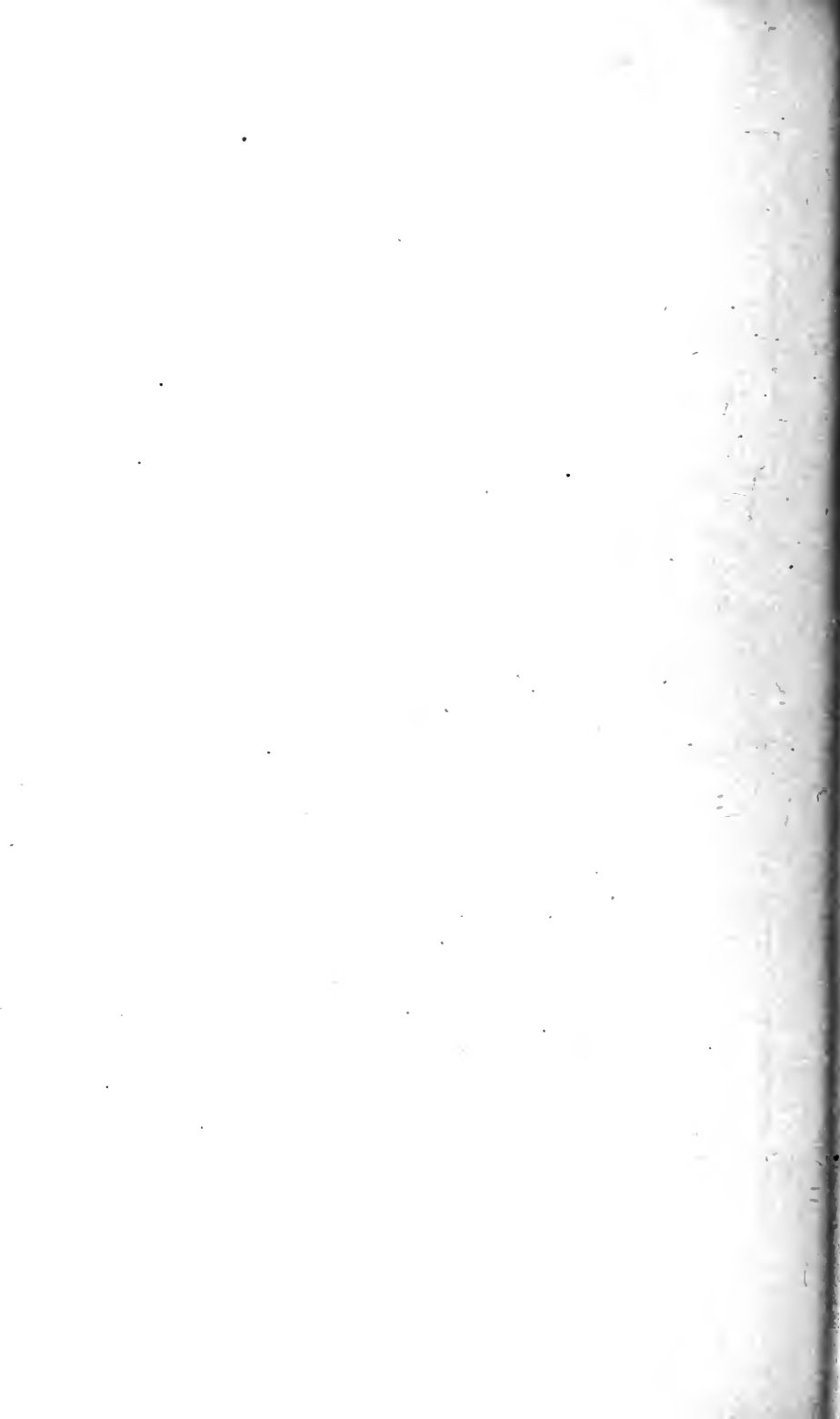


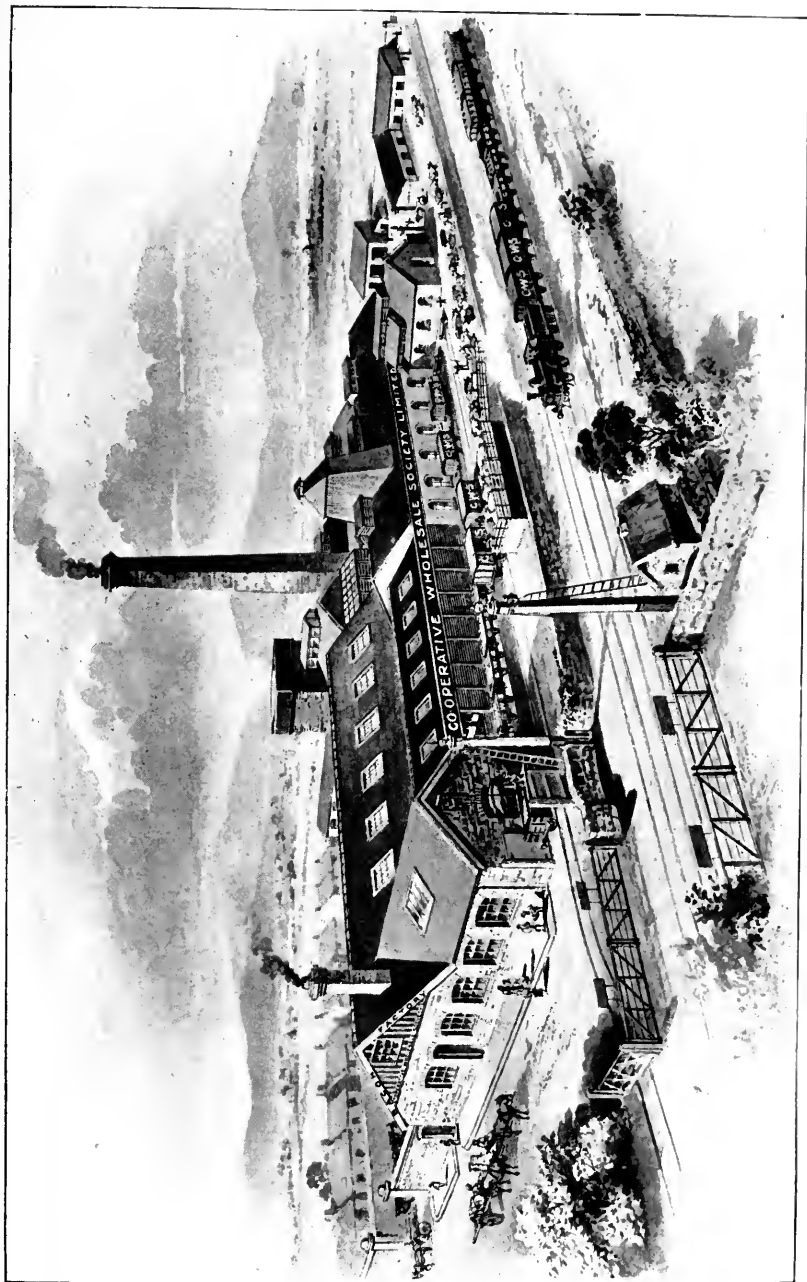
Armagh Depot.



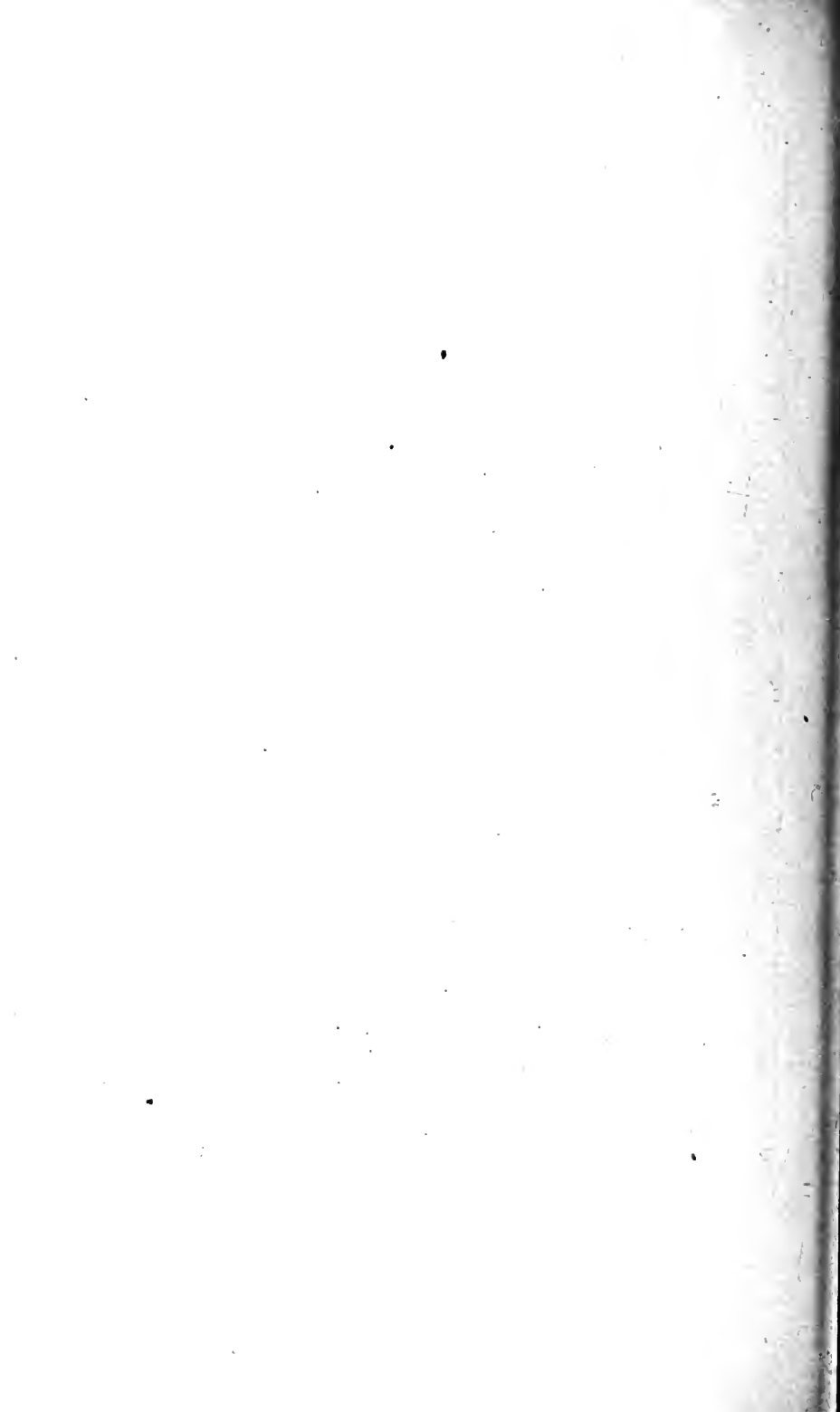


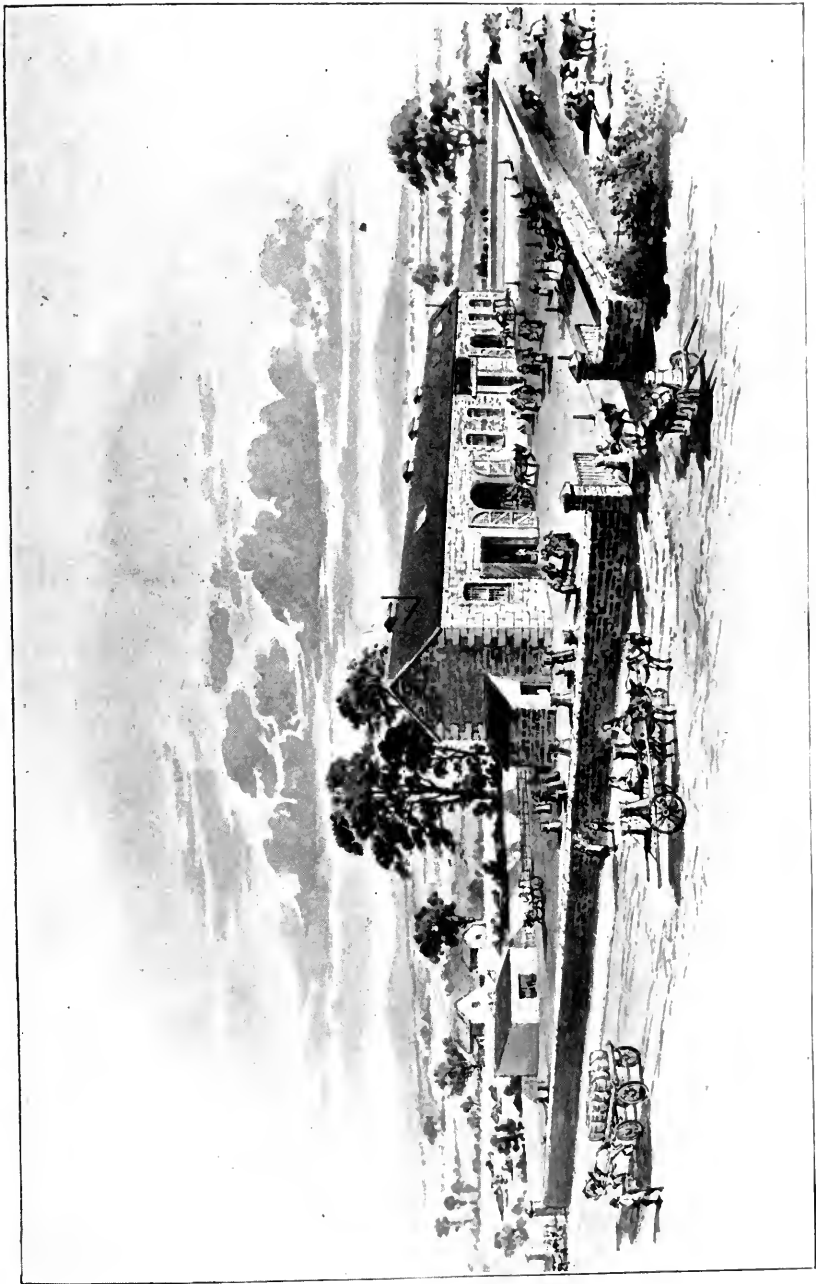
Tralee Egg and Butter Depot.



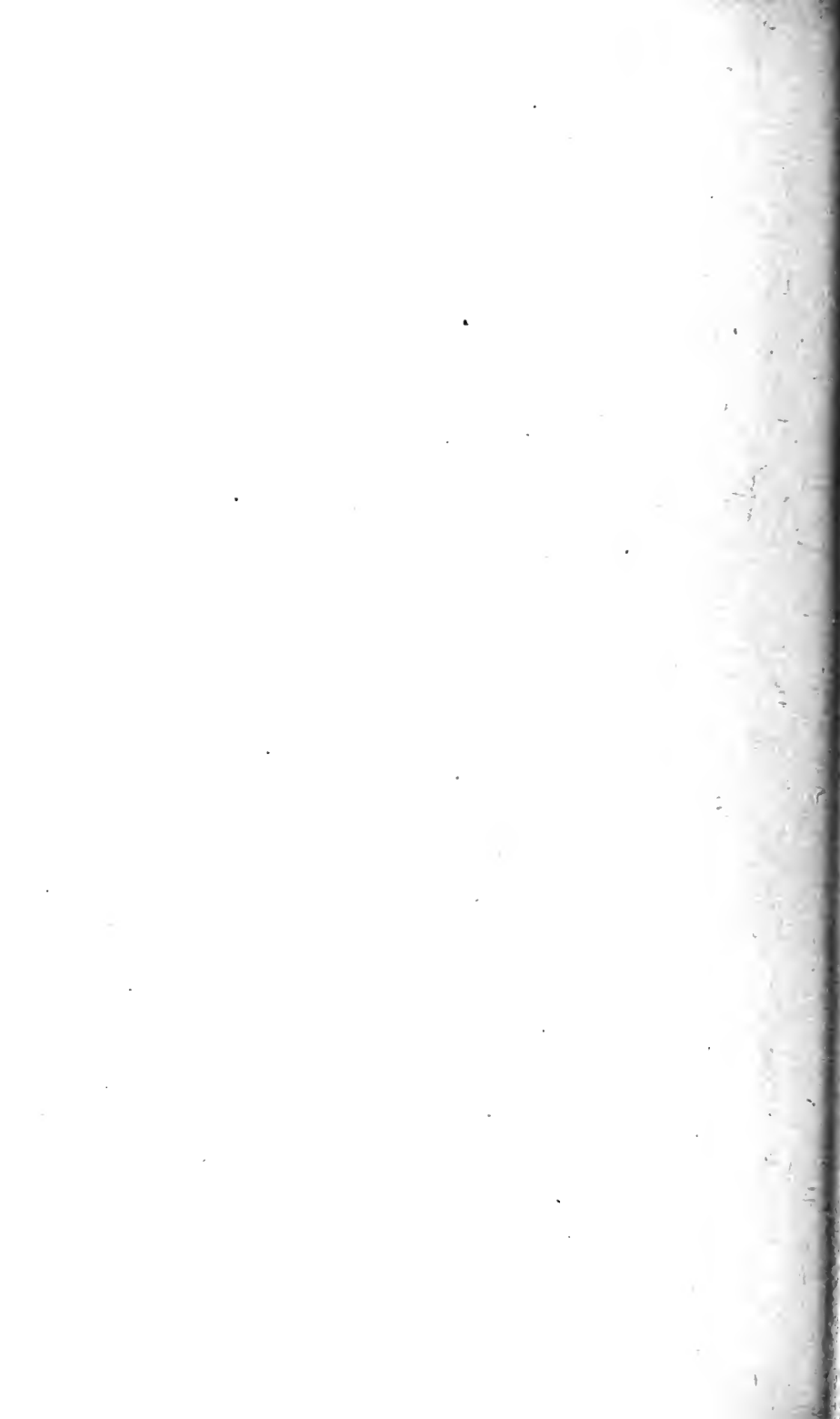


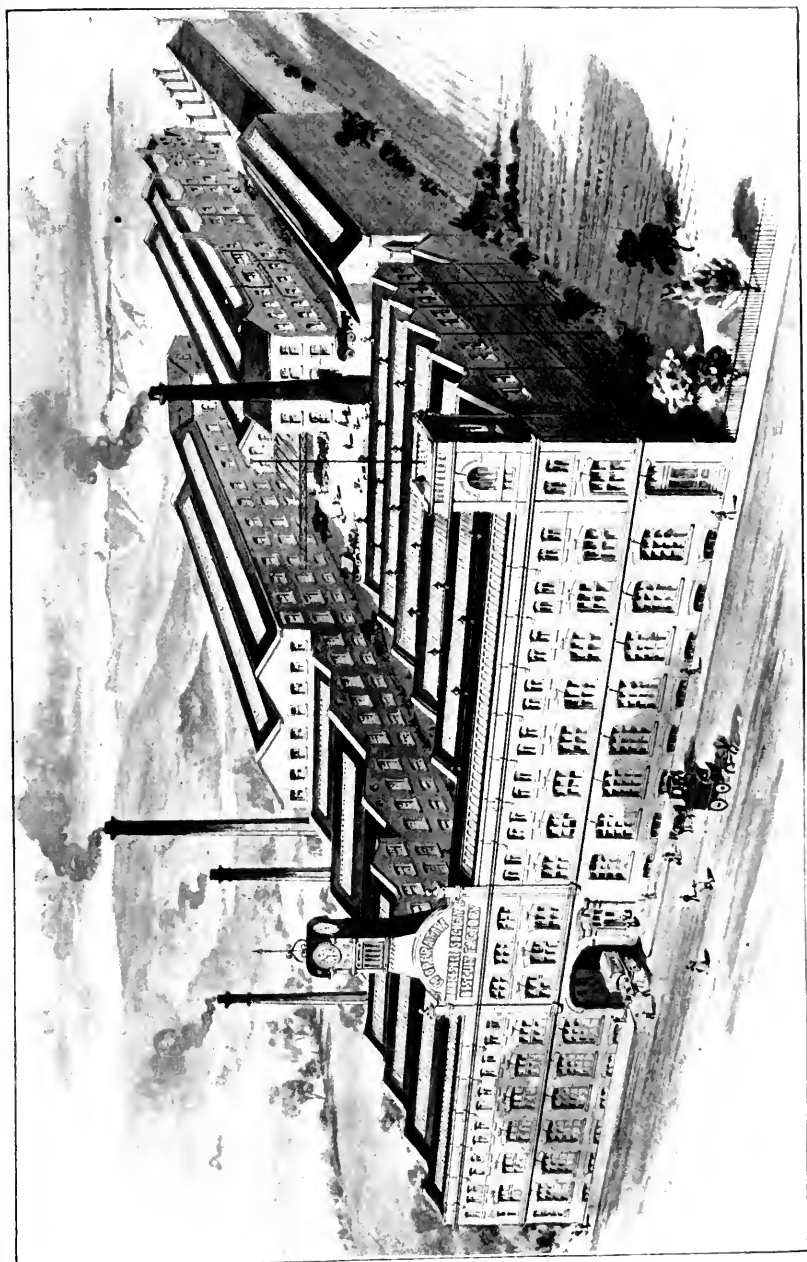
Tralee Bacon Factory.



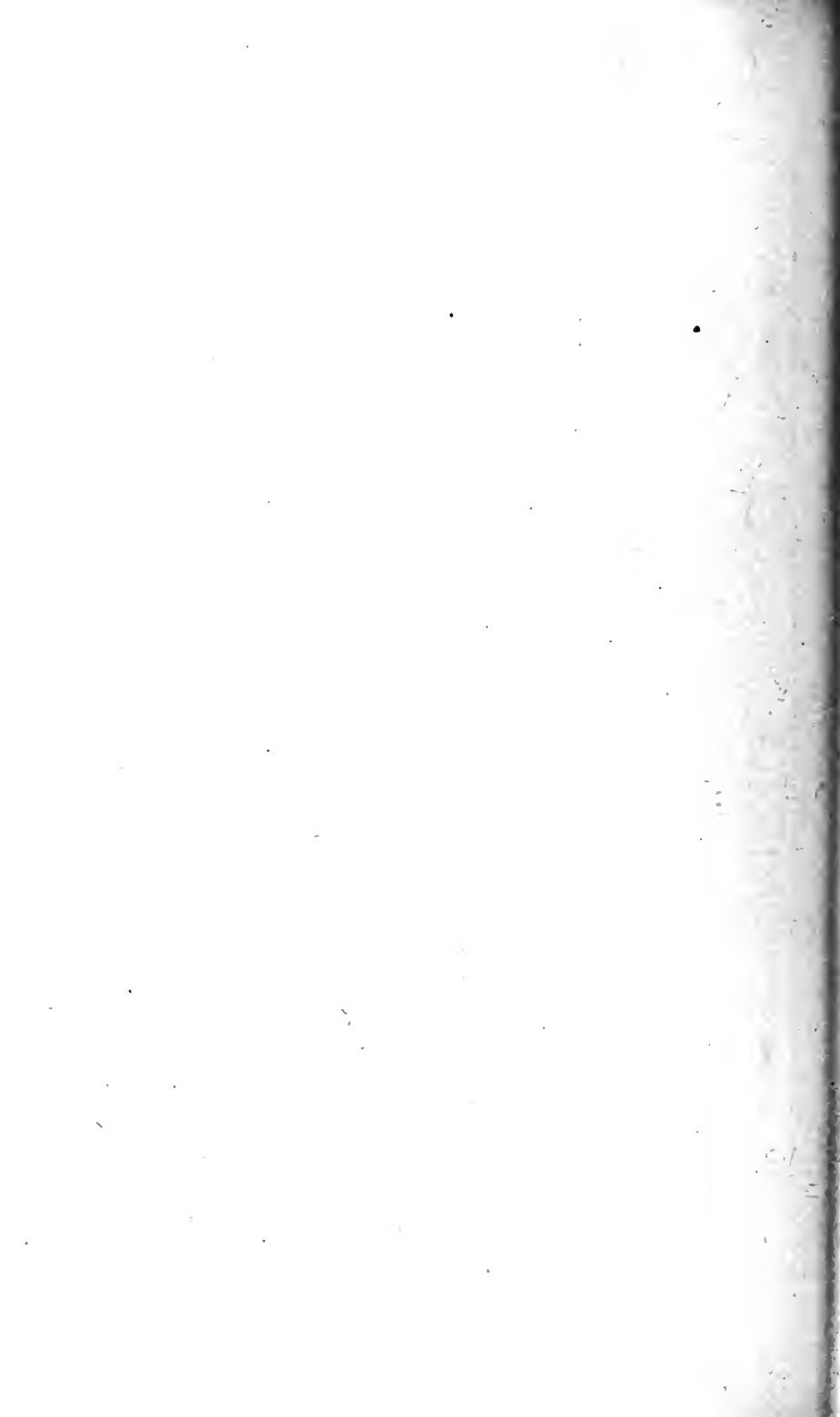


Typical Irish Creamery (Bunkay).



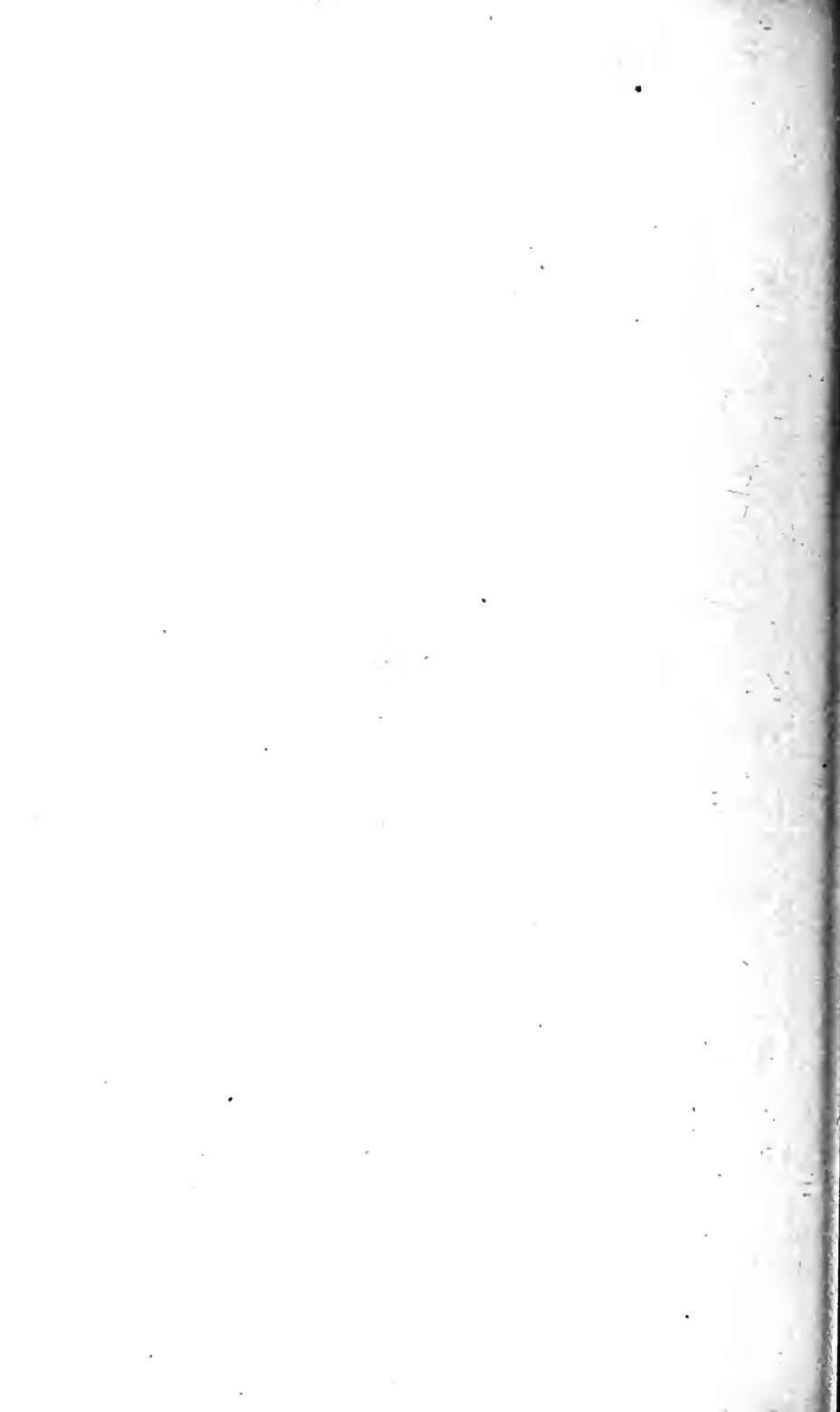


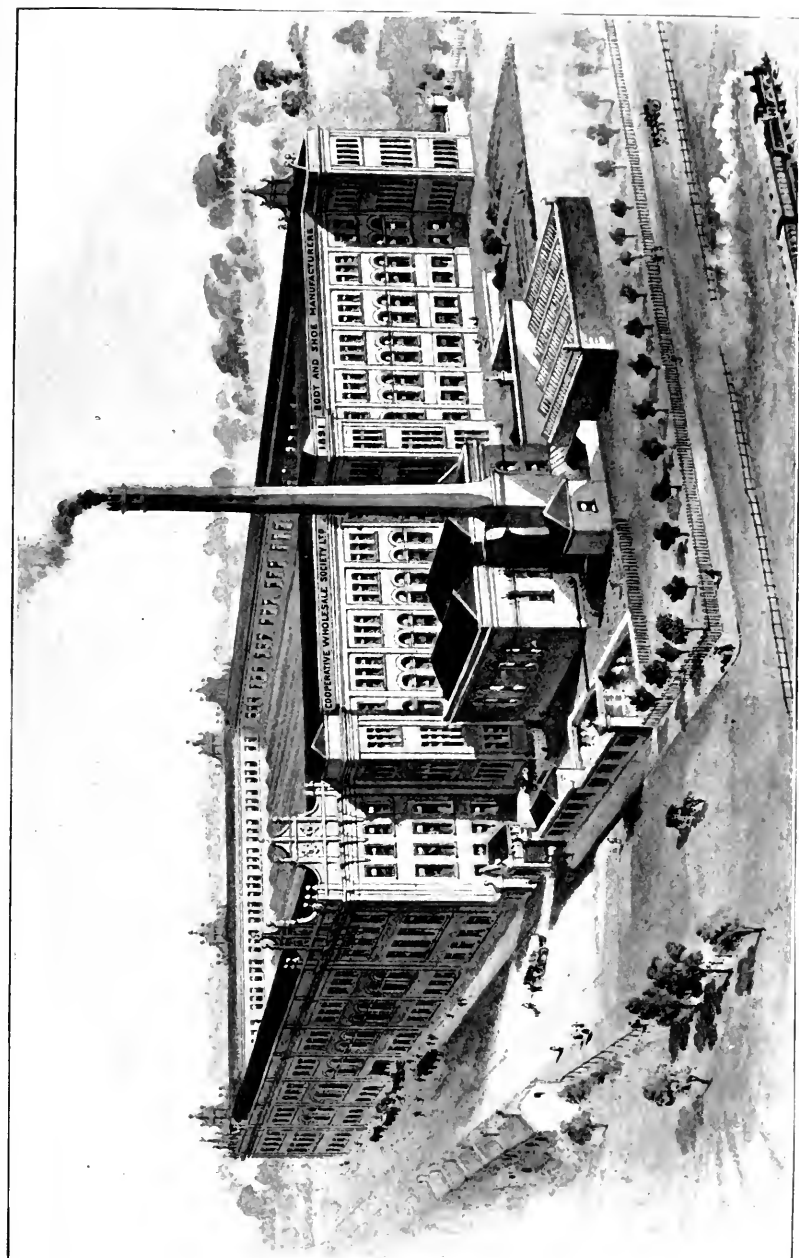
Crumpsall Biscuit, Sweet, &c., Works
(See page 30.)





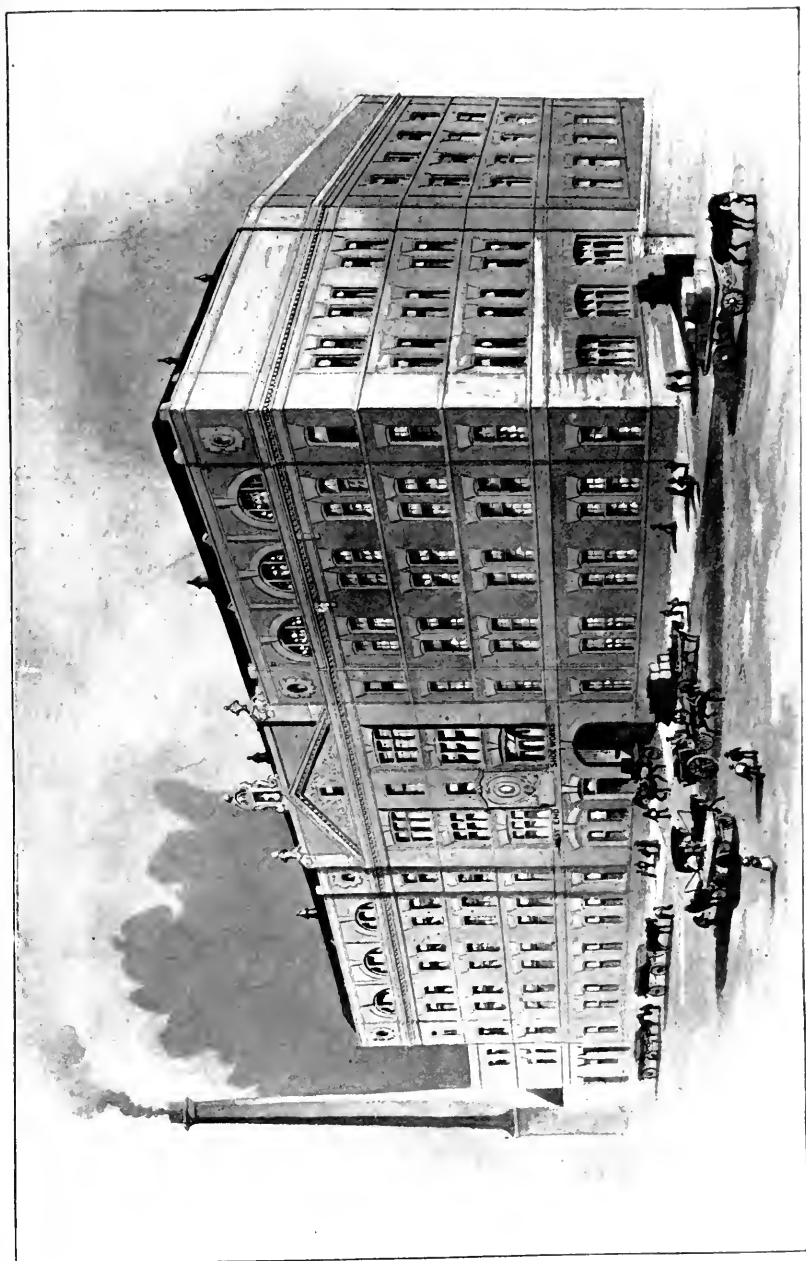
Middleton Jam, Pickle, and Peel Works.
(See page 44.)





Leicester Wheatsheaf Boot and Shoe Works.

(See page 32.)

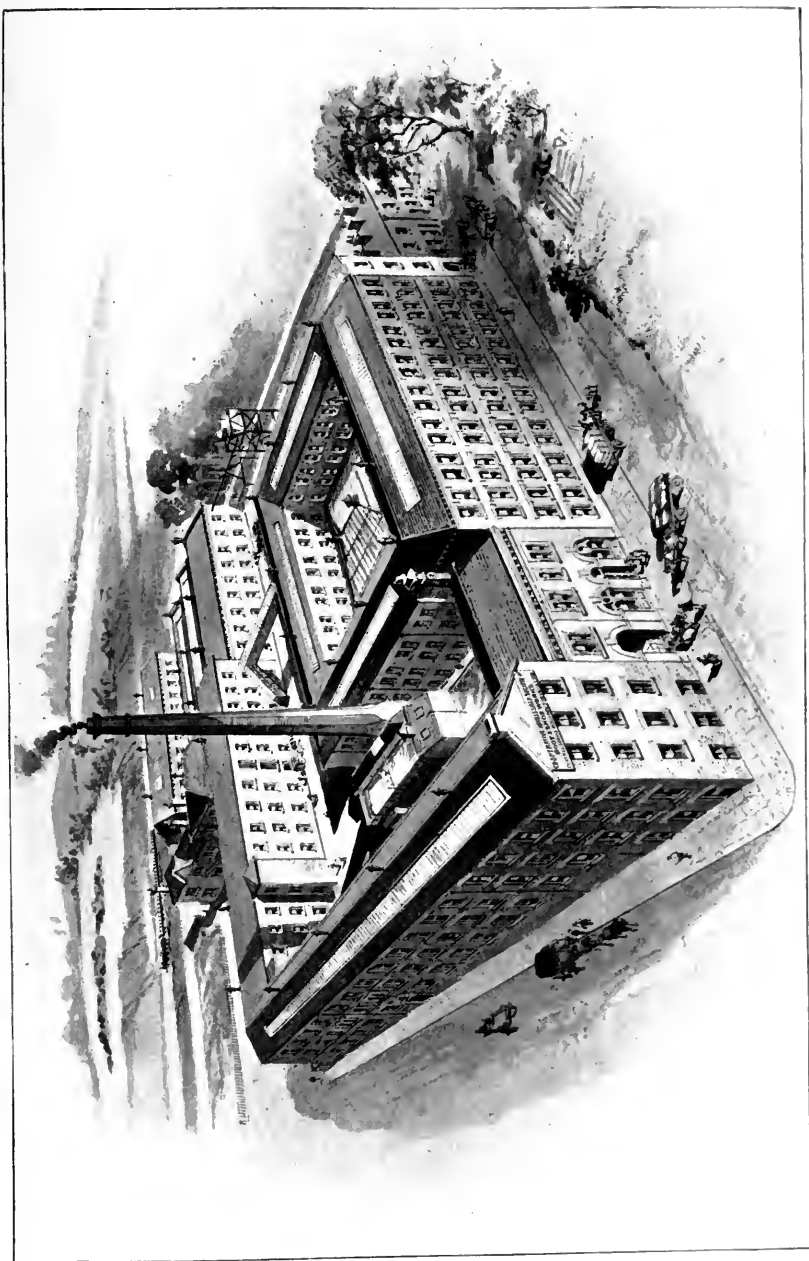


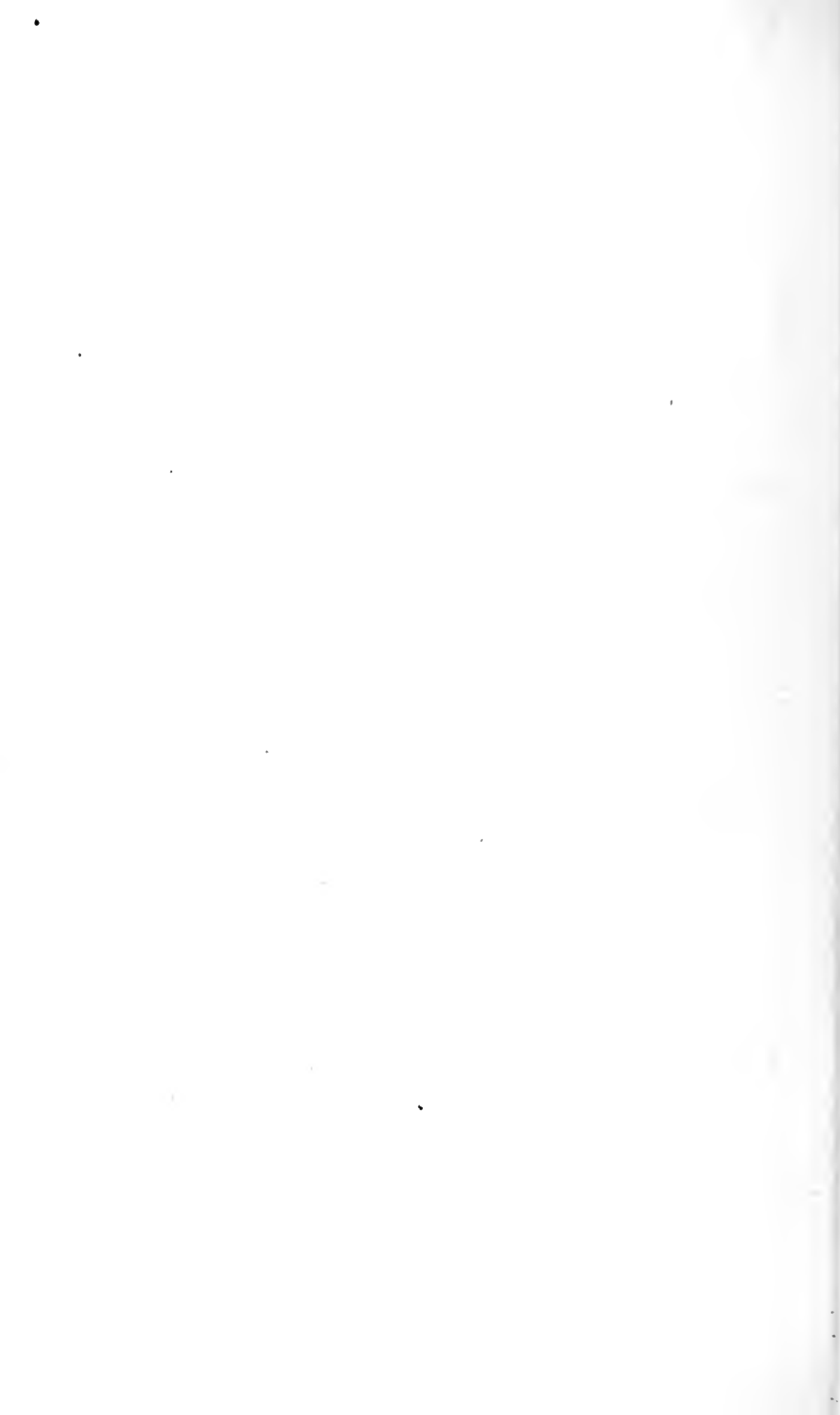
Leicester, Duns Lane, Boot and Shoe Works.

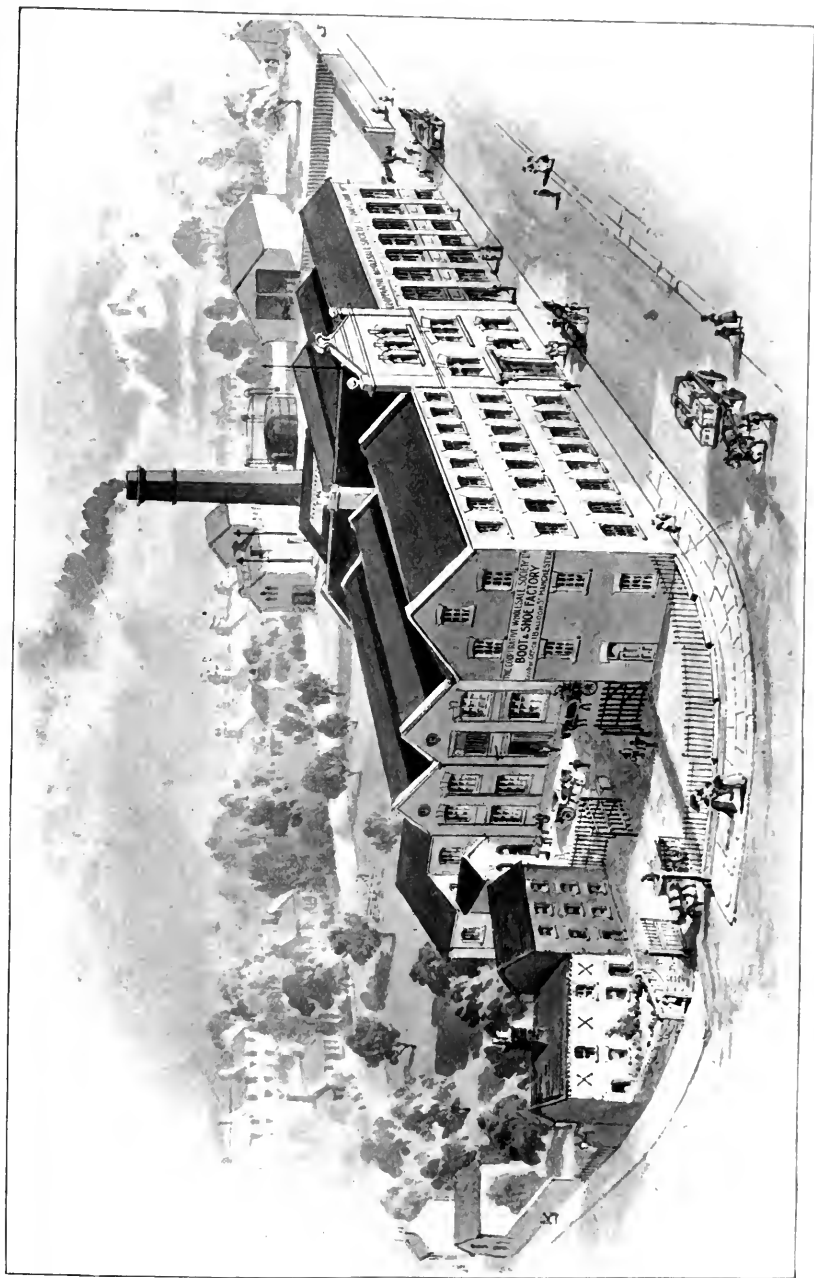


Enderby Boot and Shoe Works.

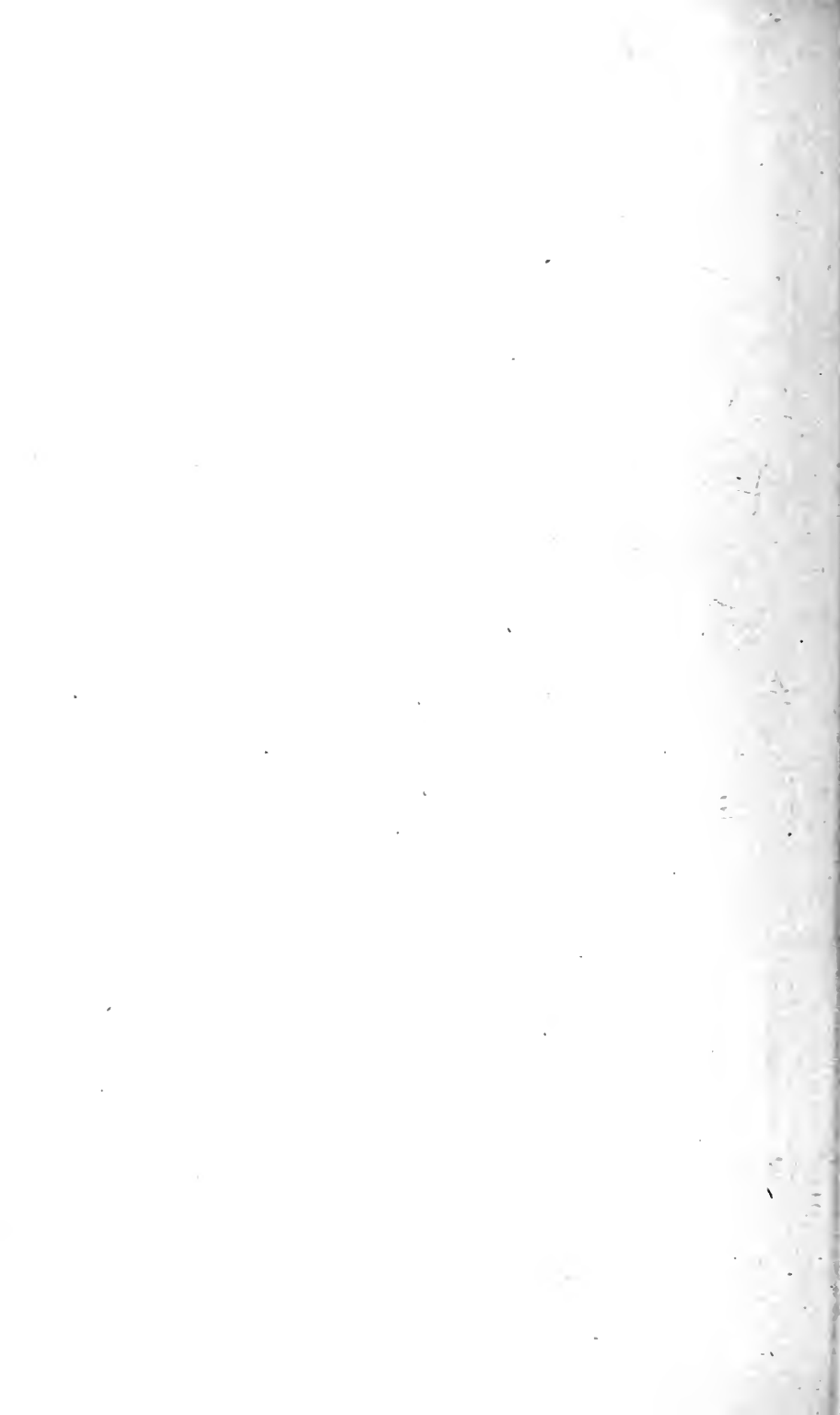


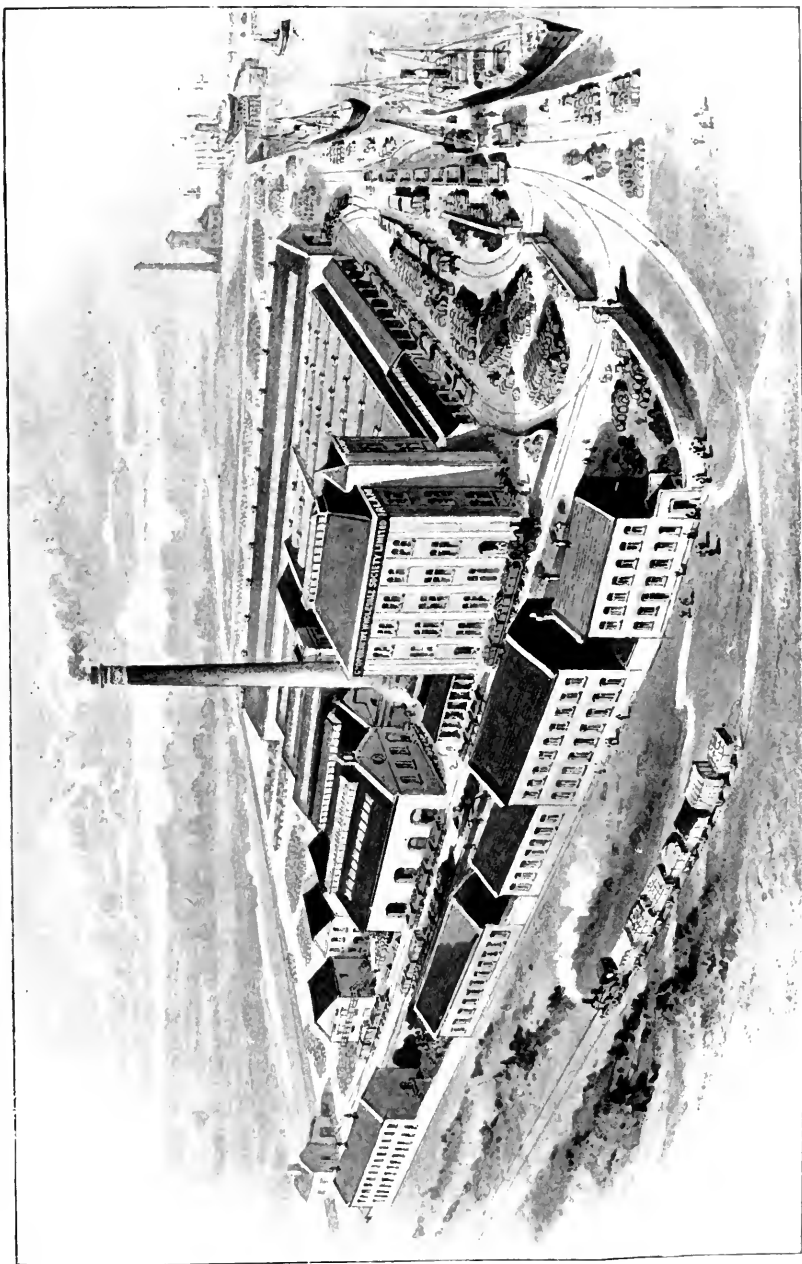


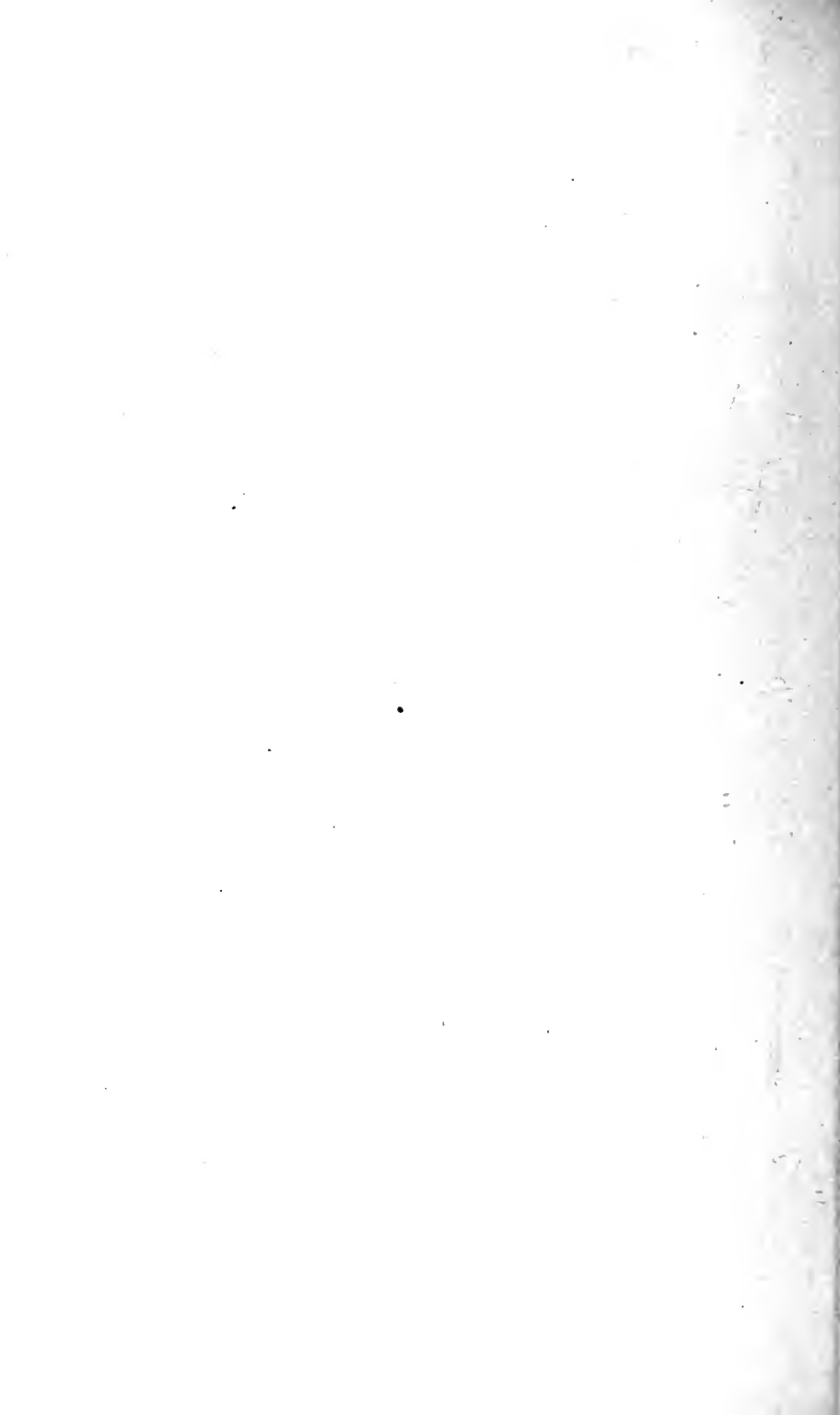


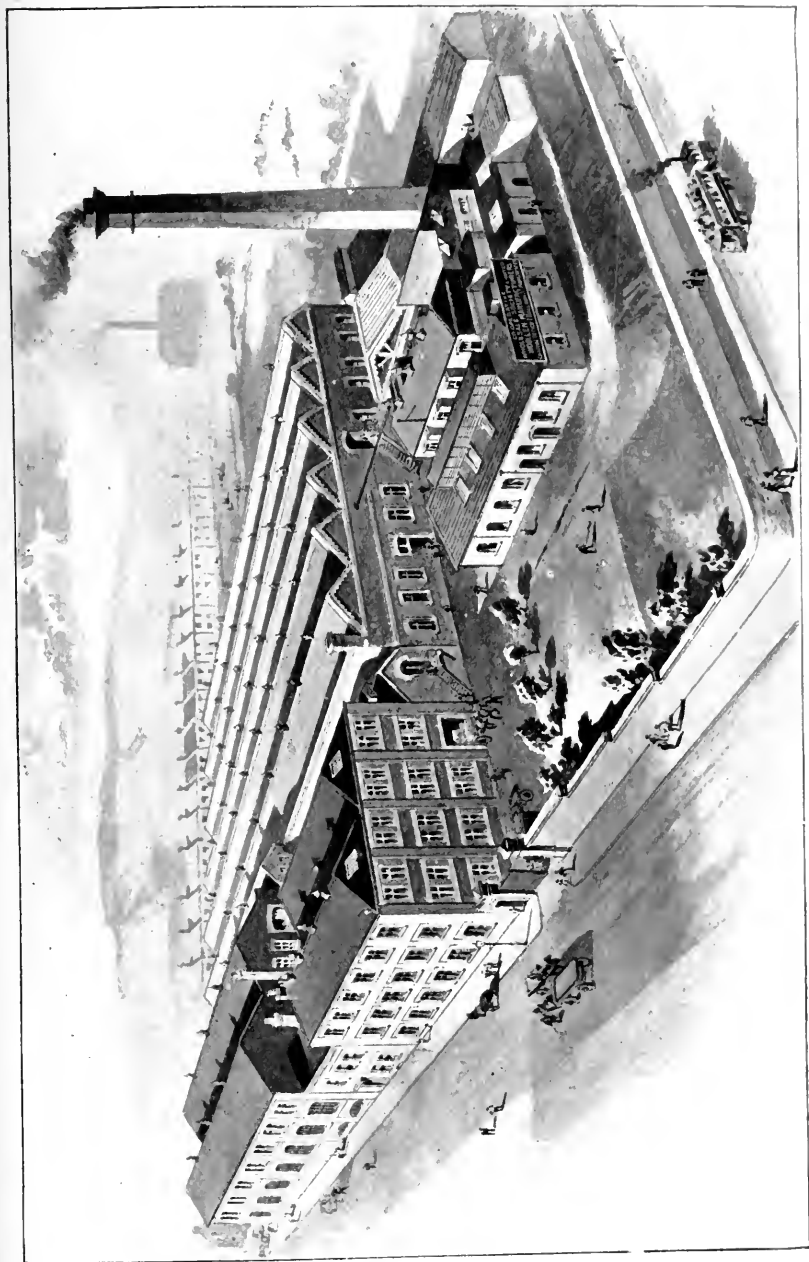


Rushden Boot and Shoe Works.

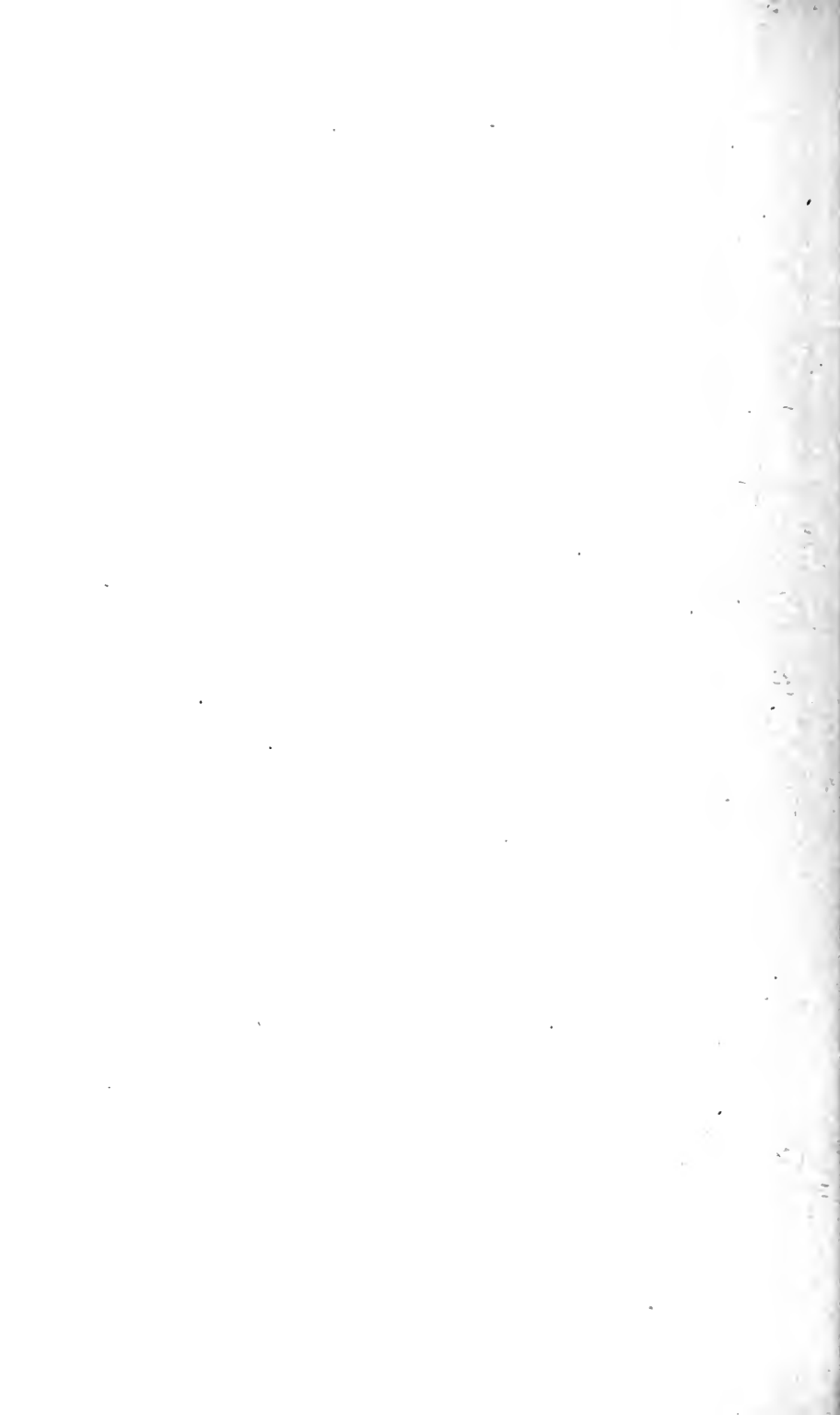


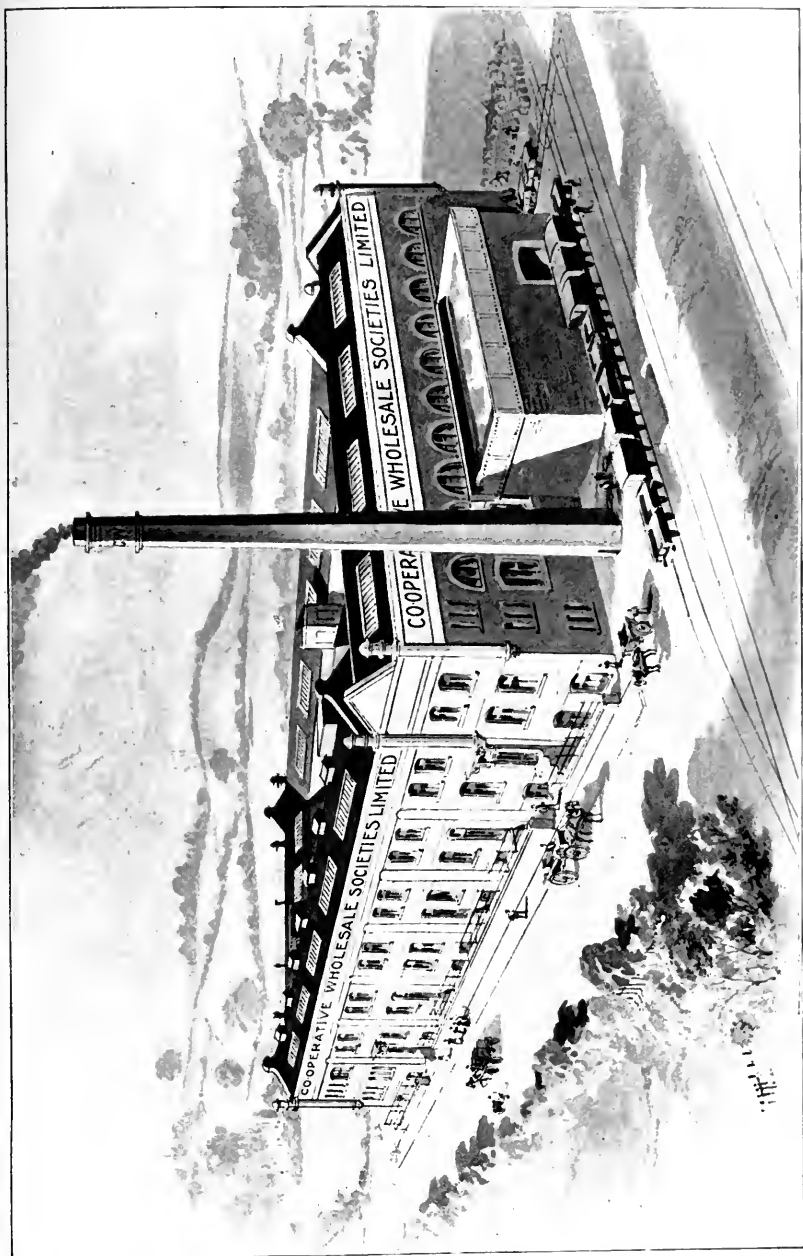




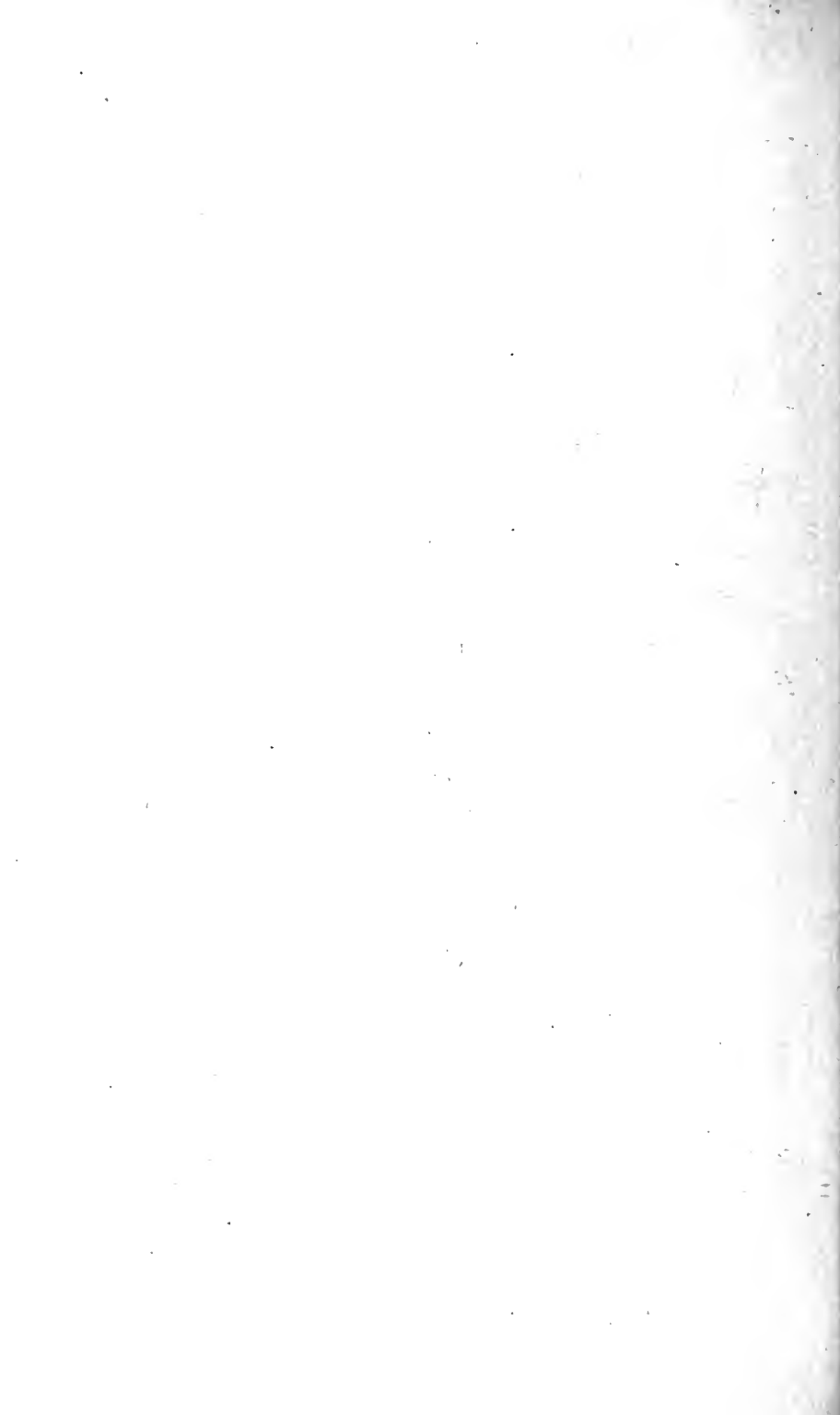


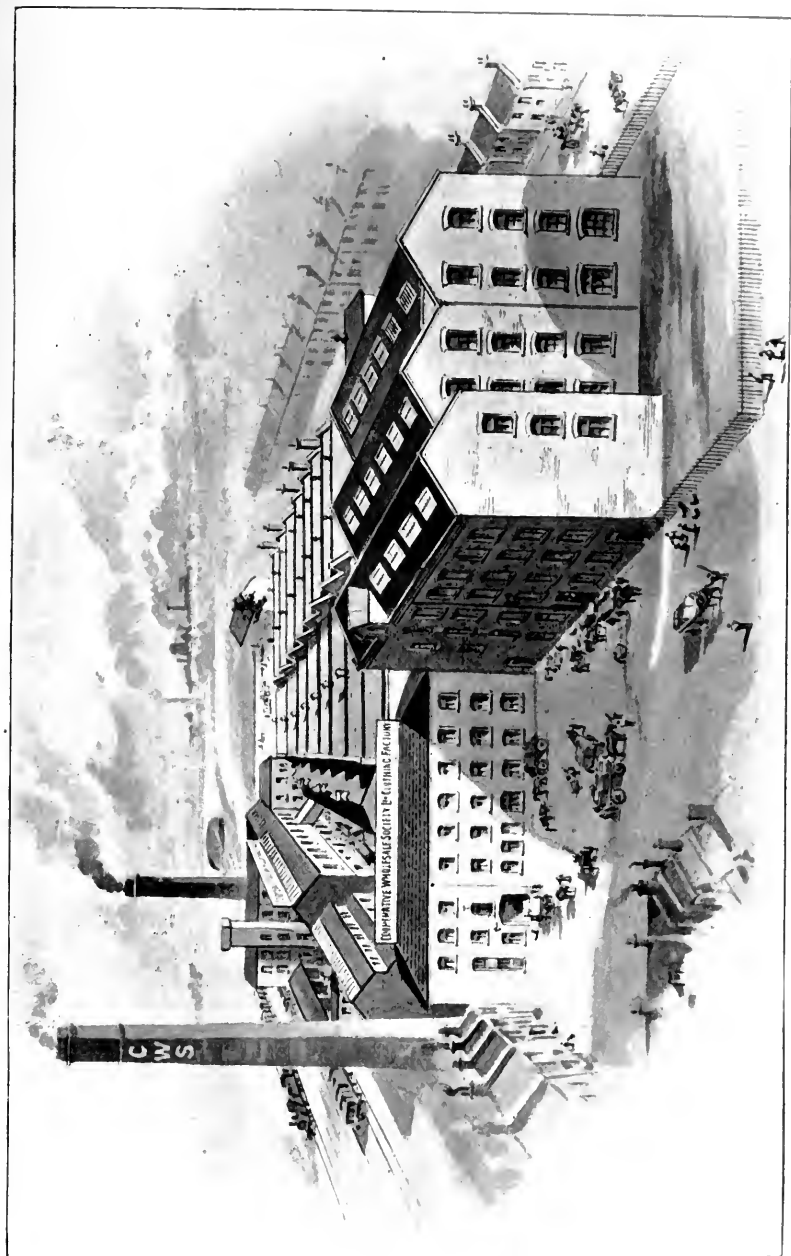
Batley Woollen Cloth Factory.
(See page 34.)



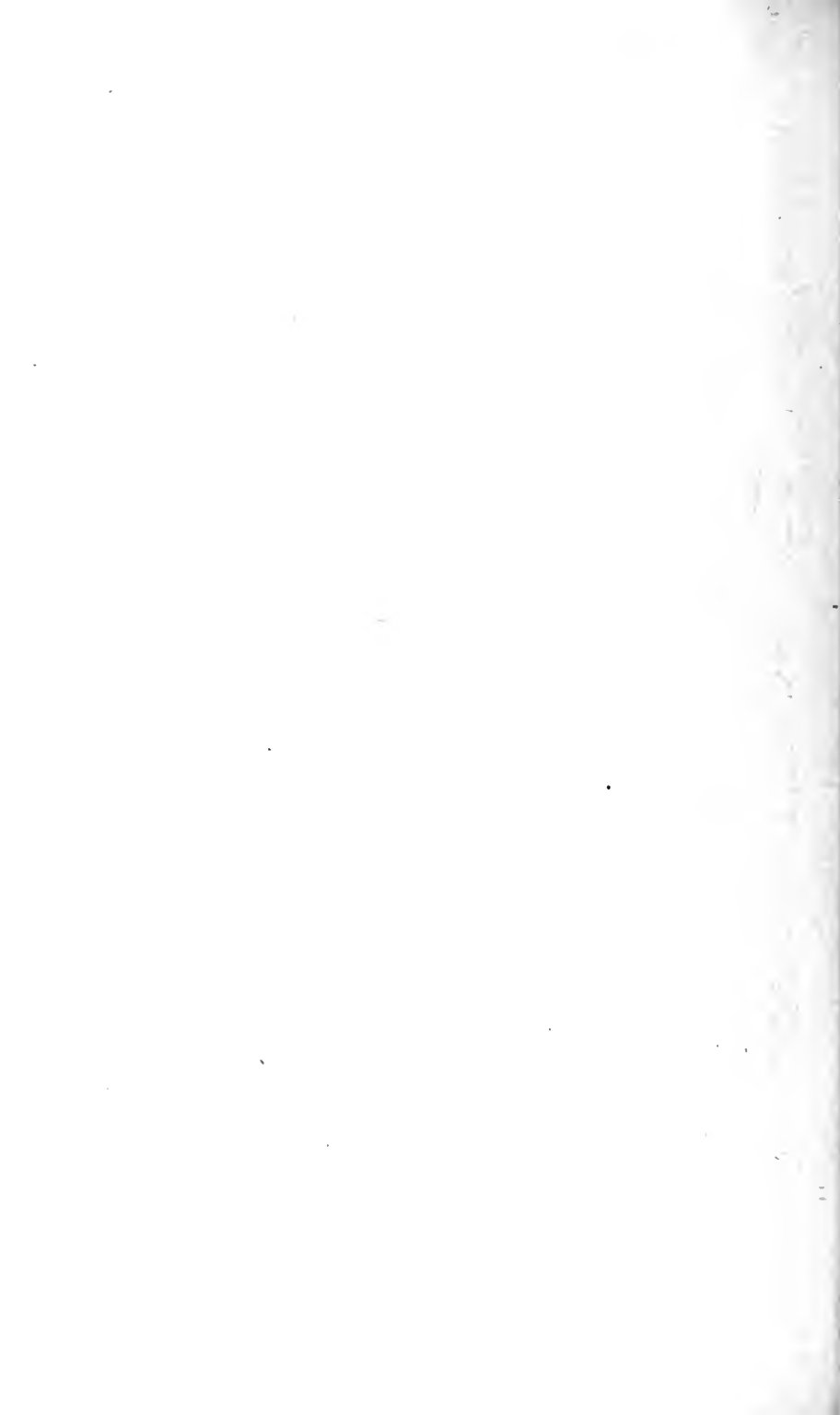


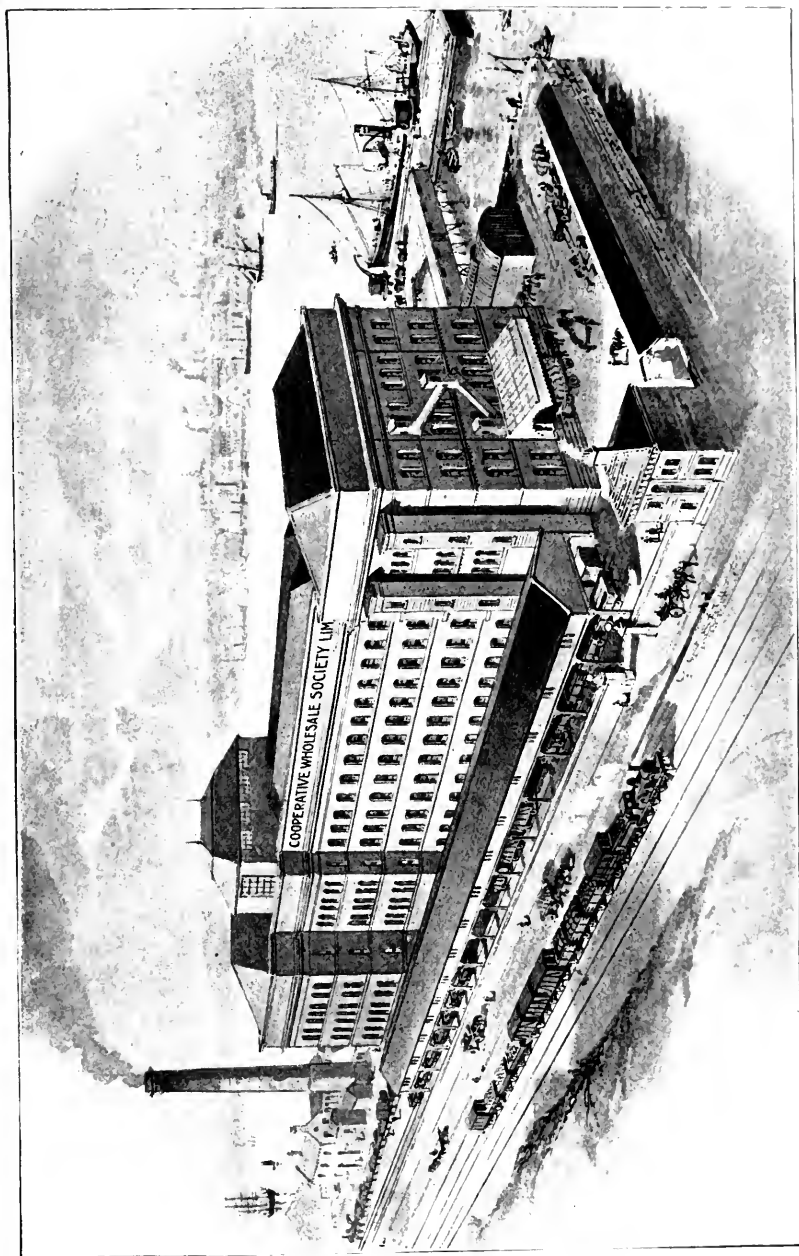
Luton Cocoa and Chocolate Works.



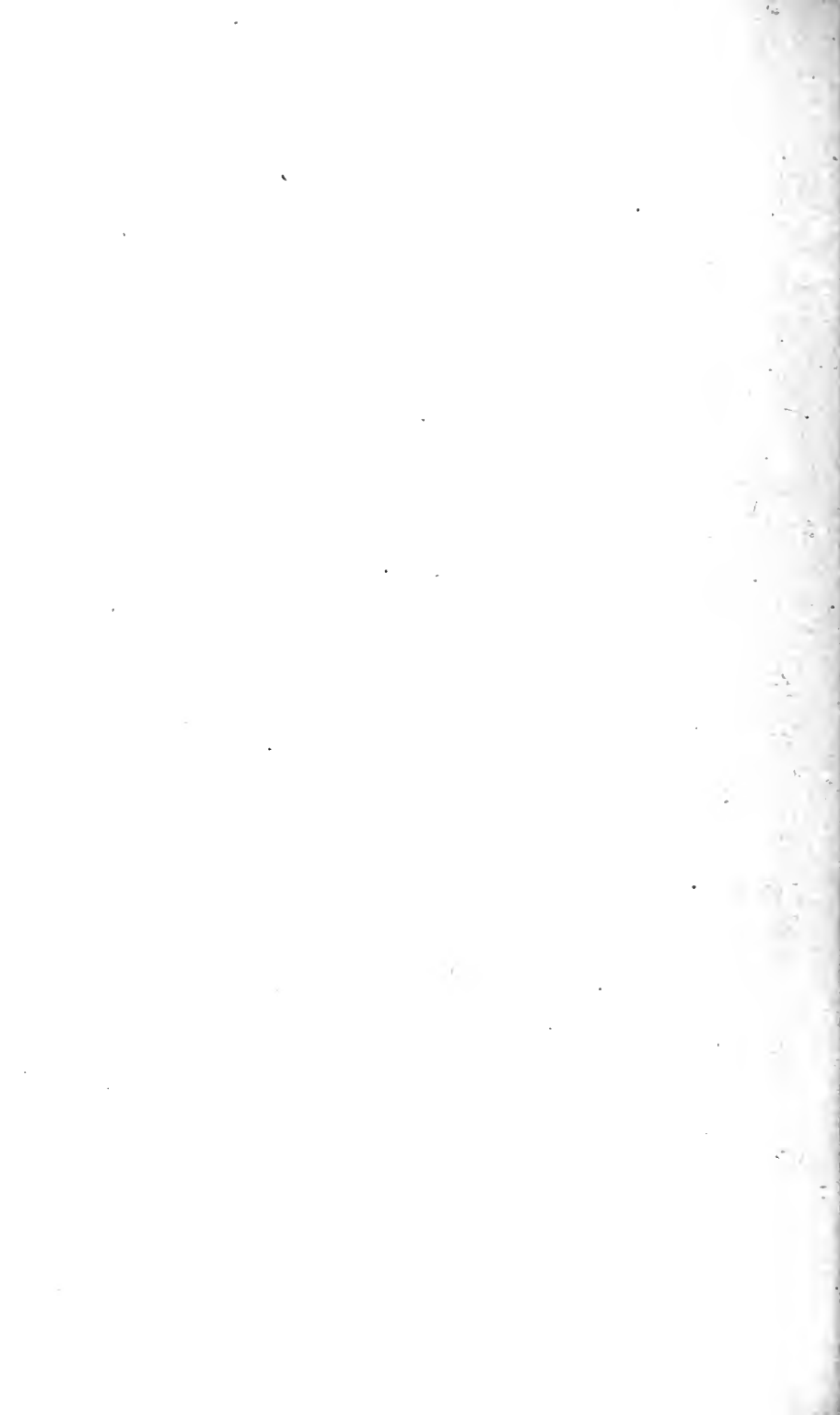


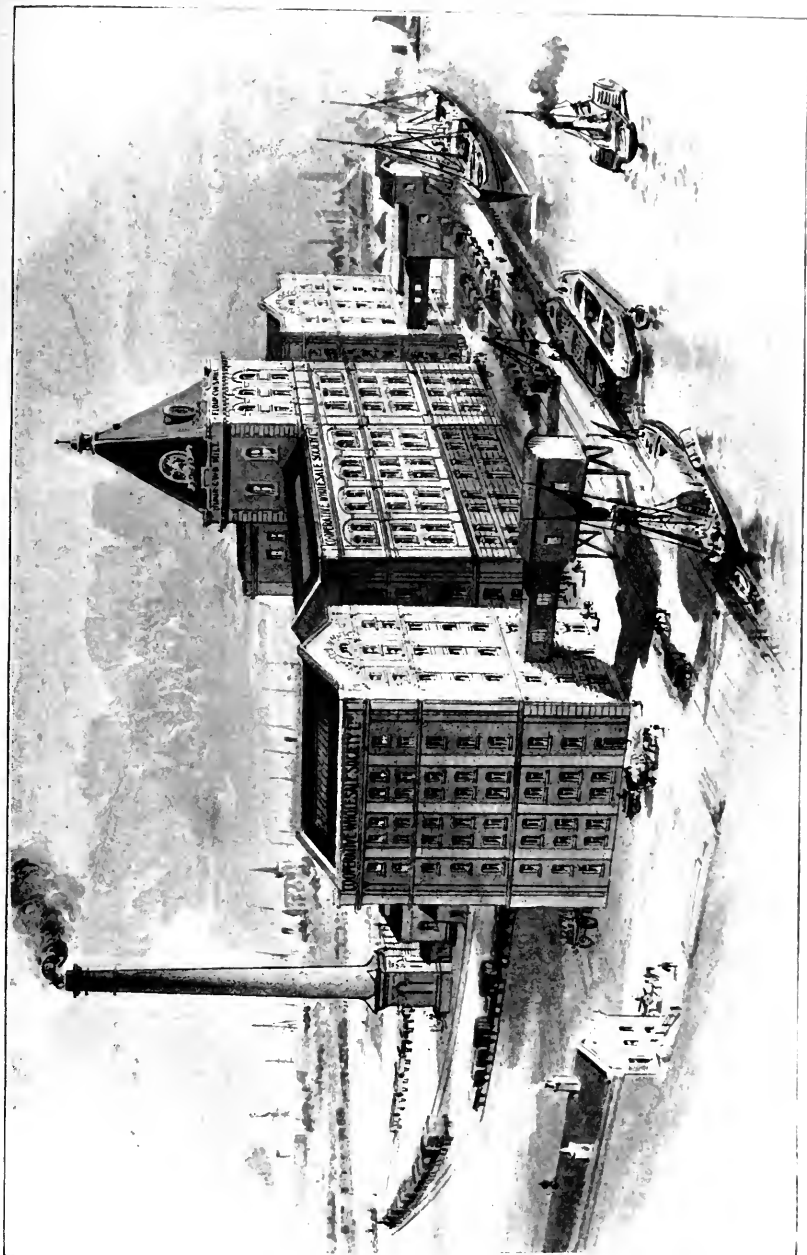
Leeds Clothing Factory.
(See page 97.)



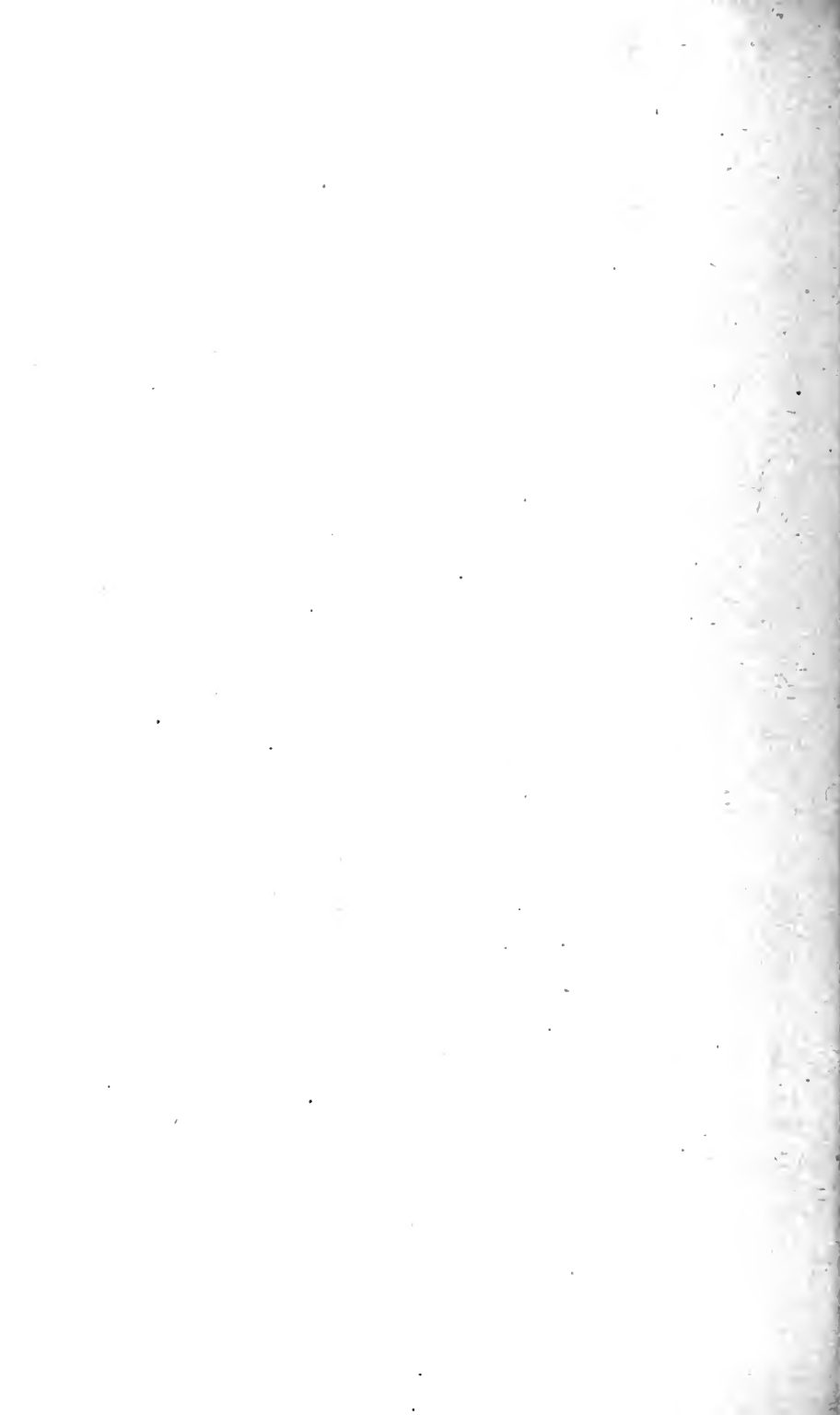


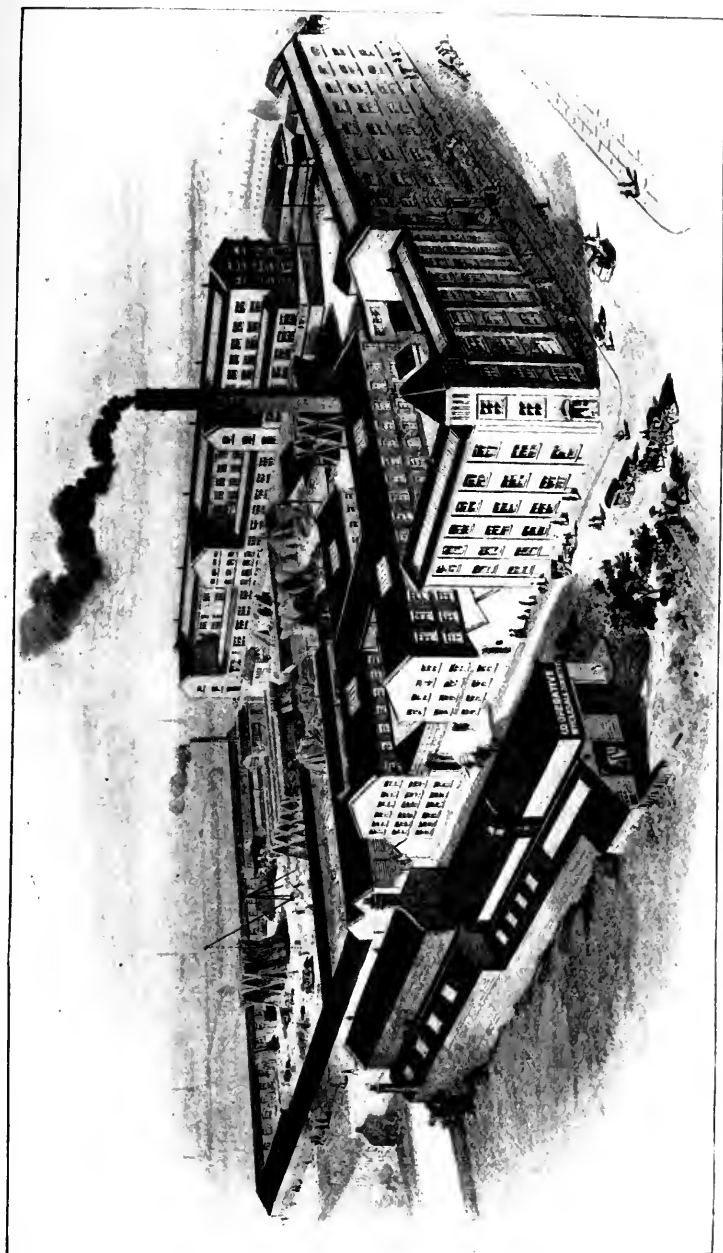
Dunston-on-Tyne Flour Mill.





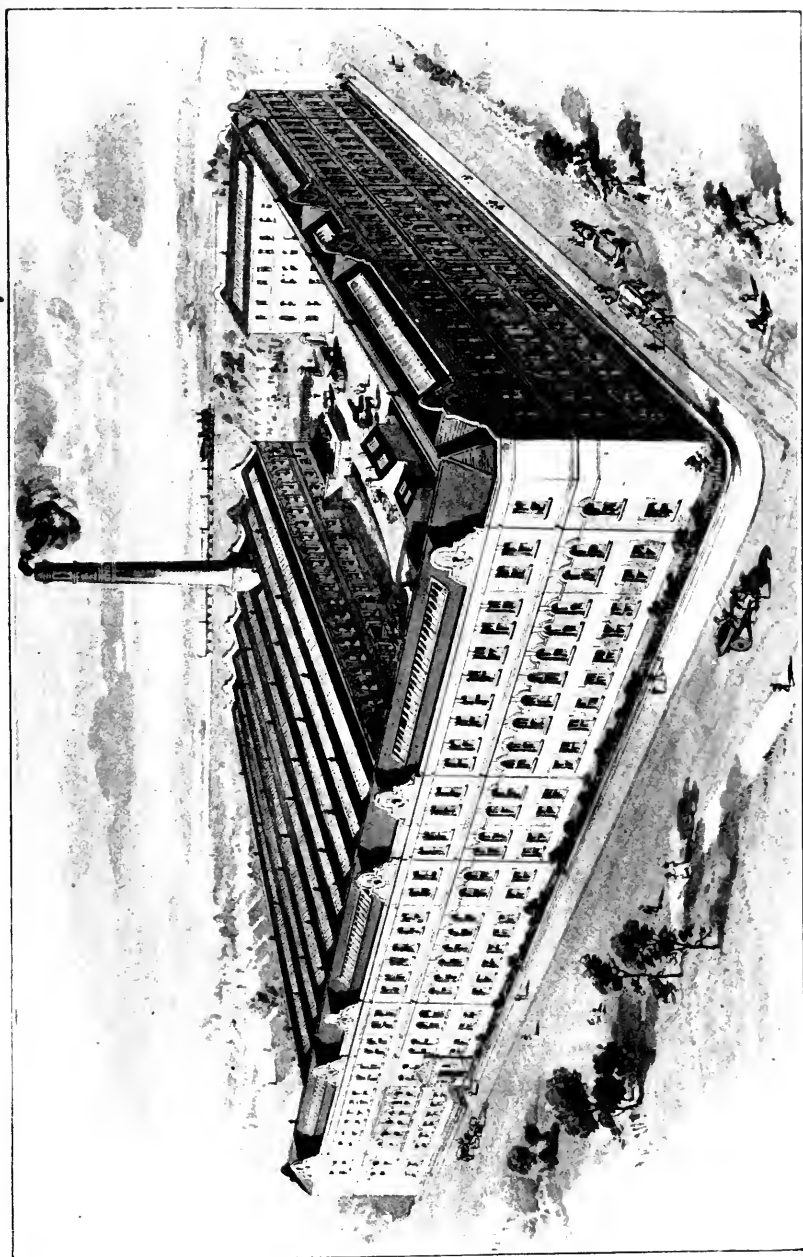
Silvertown (London) Flour Mill.



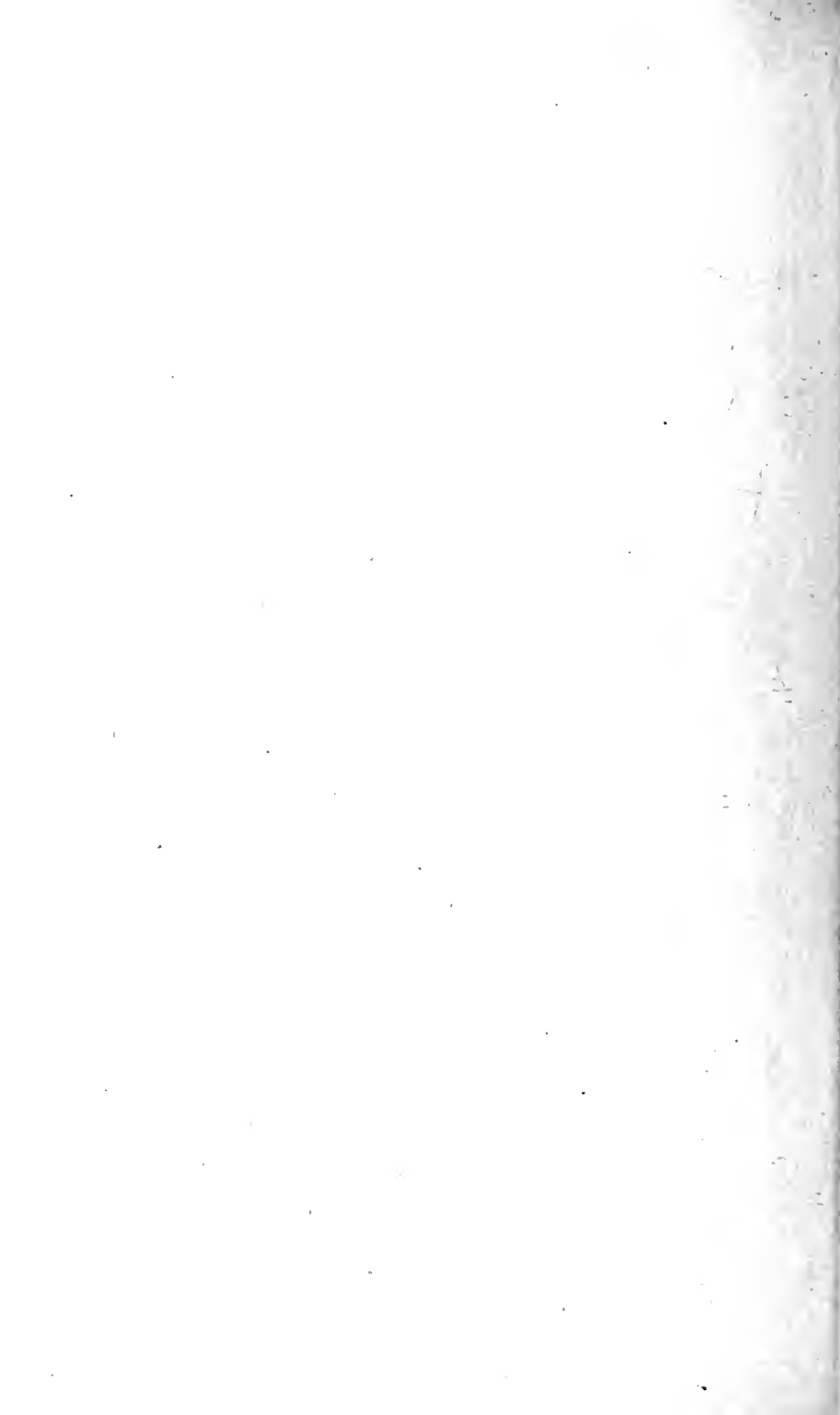


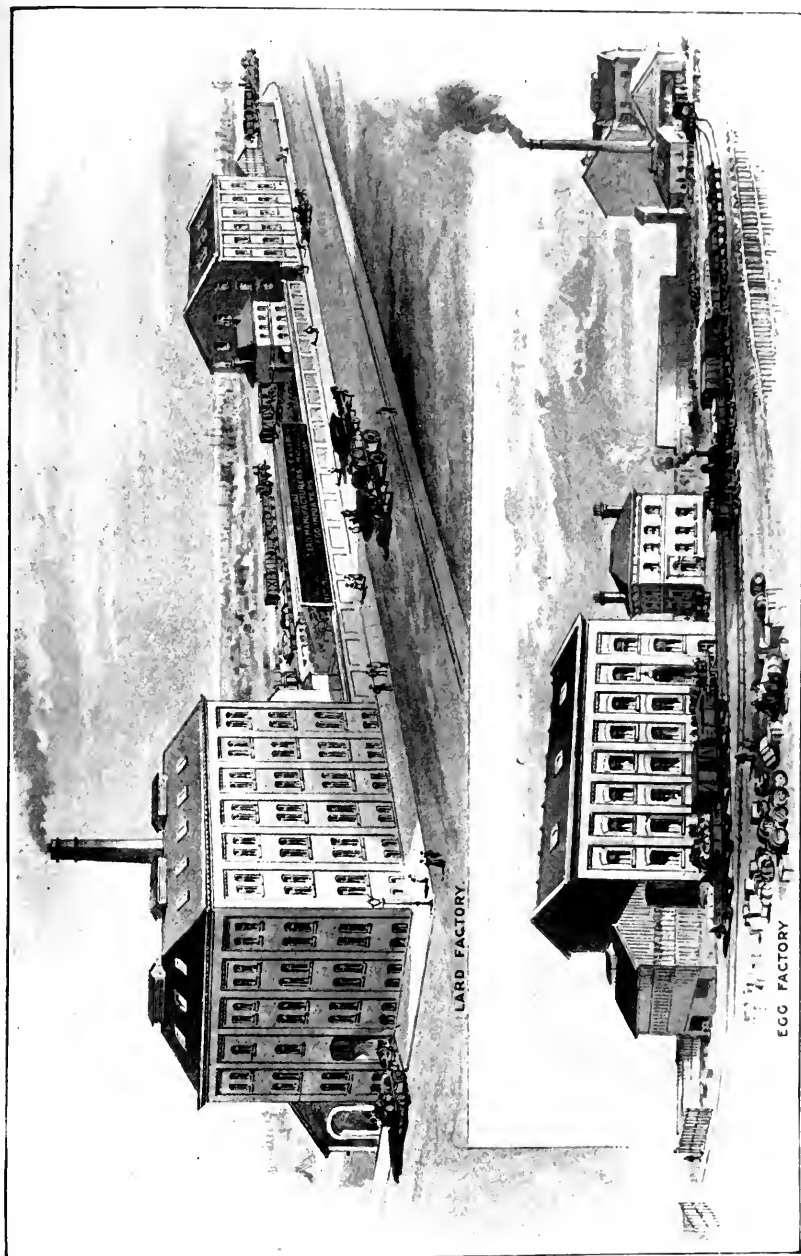
Broughton (Manchester) Cabinet, Tailoring, Mantle, Shirt, Underclothing, &c., Factories.
(See pages 36 and 38.)





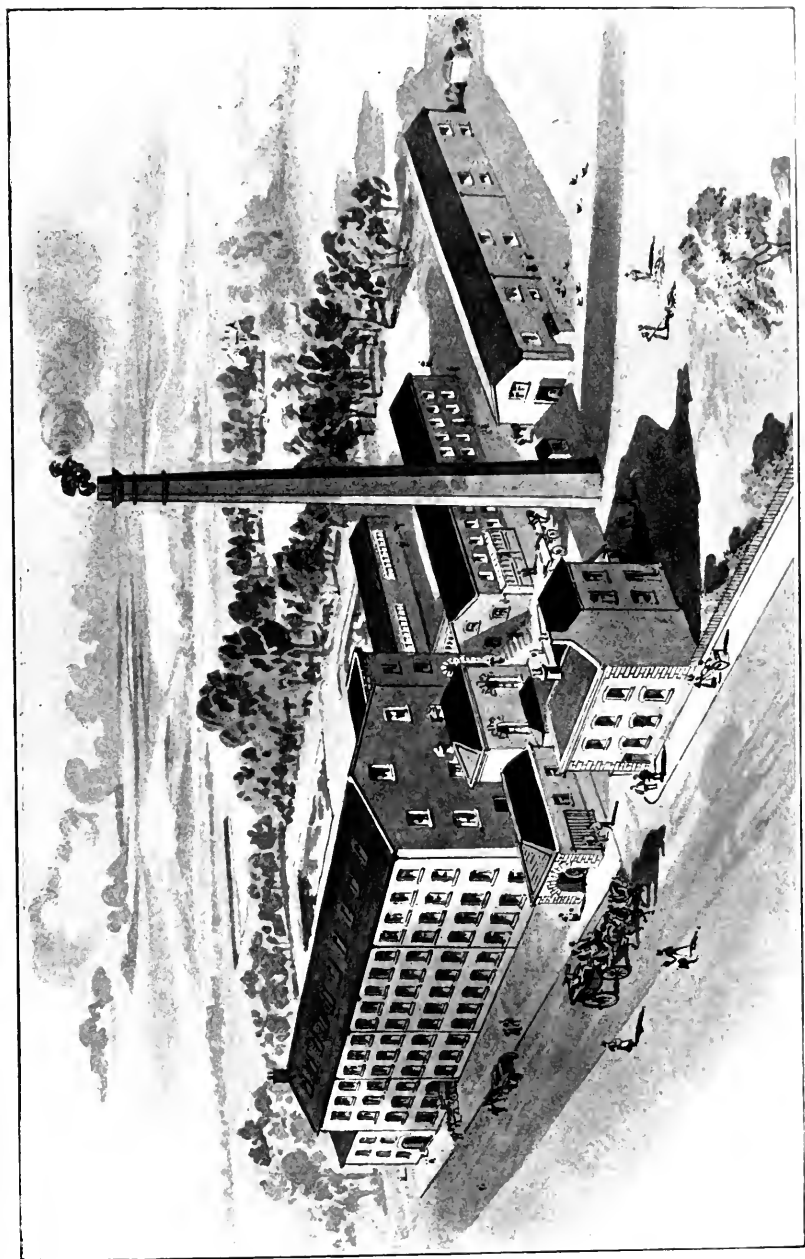
Longslight (Manchester) Printing Works.





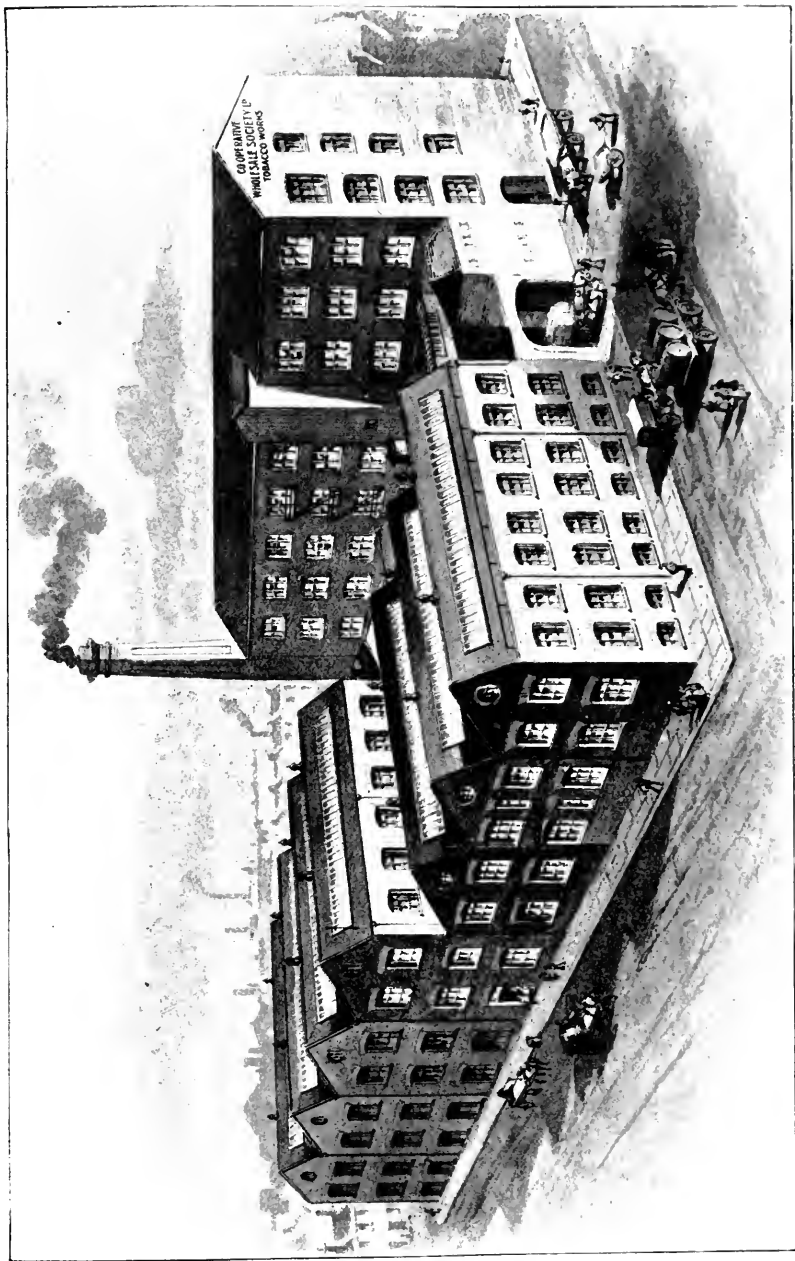
Hartlepool Lard Refinery and Egg Pickling Warehouse.

(See page 42.)



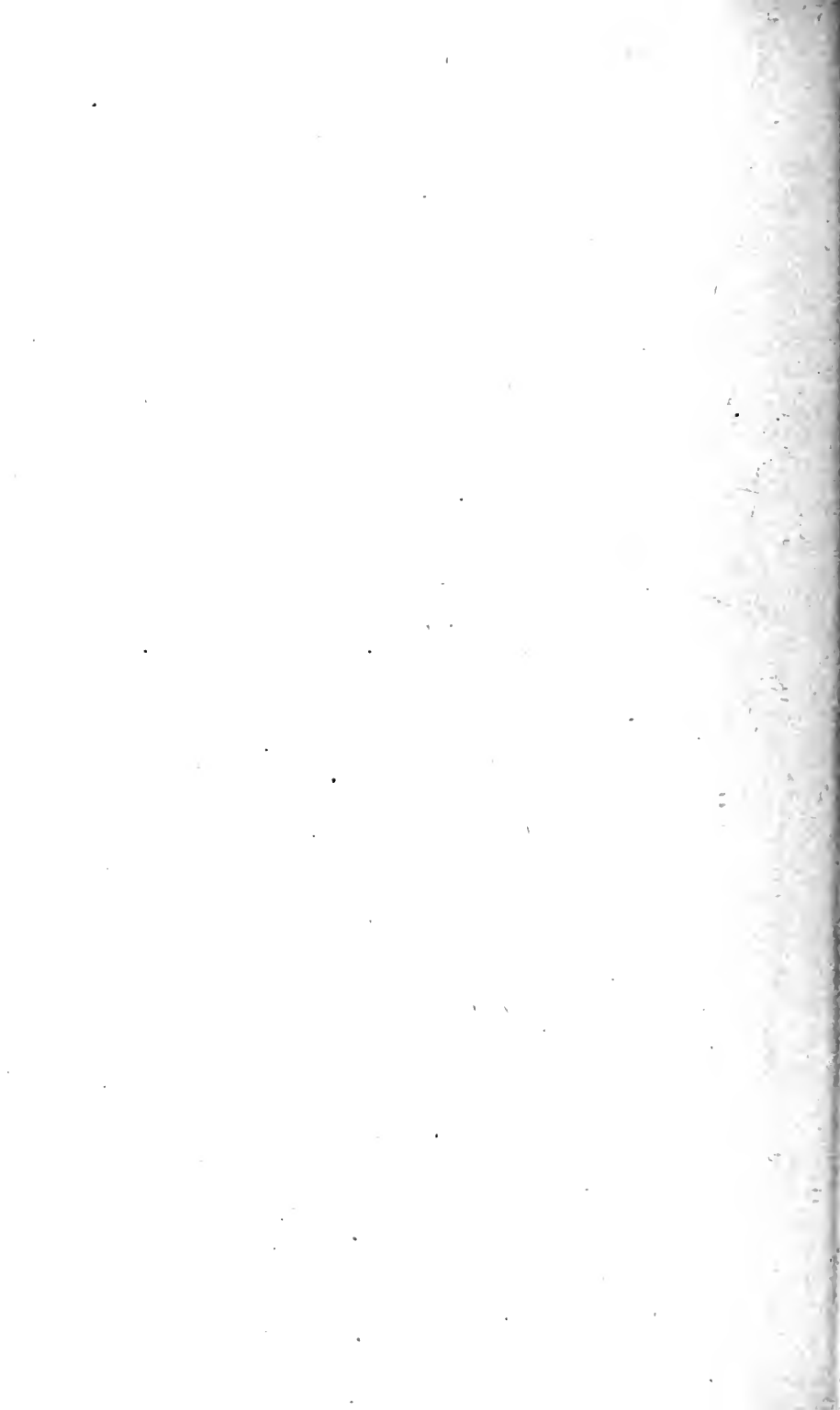
Littleborough Flannel Factory.

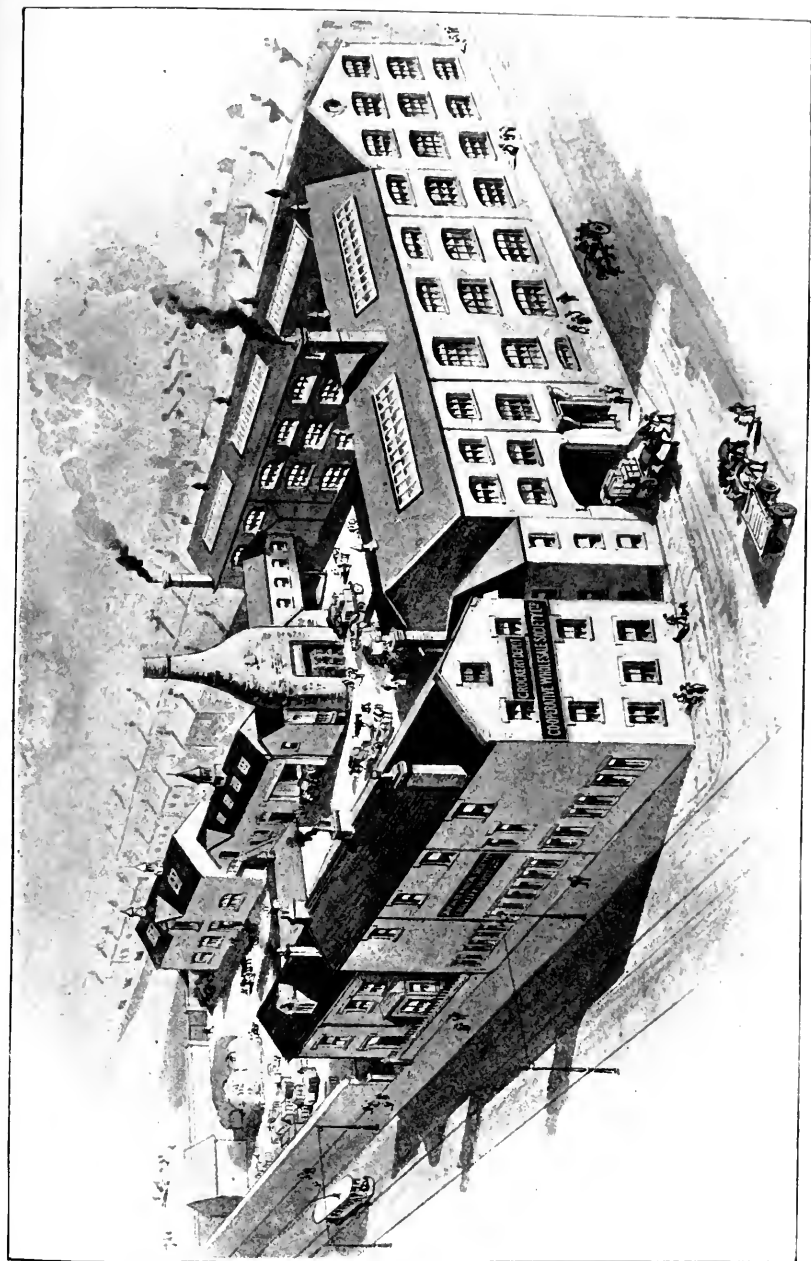
(See page 11.)



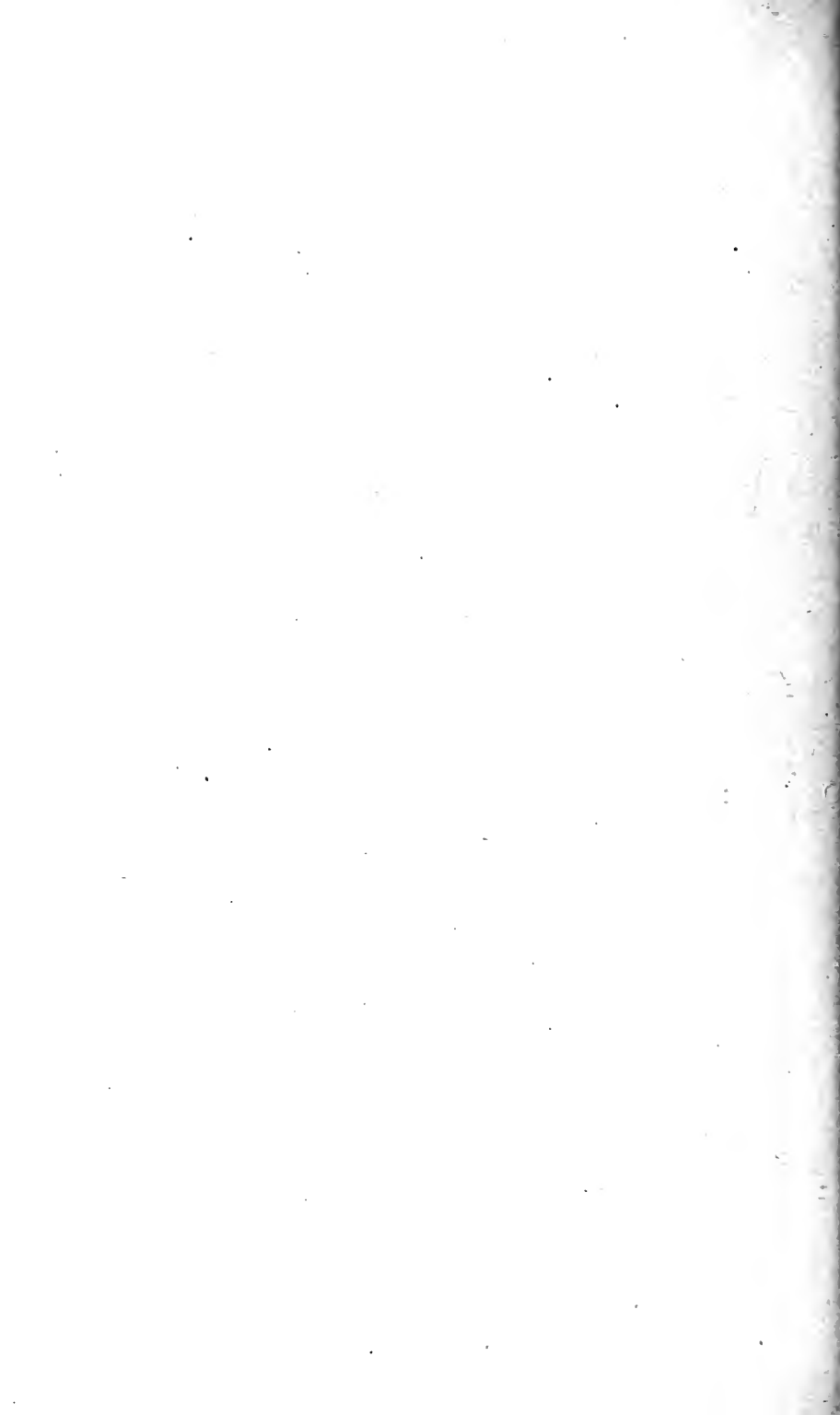
Manchester Tobacco Factory.

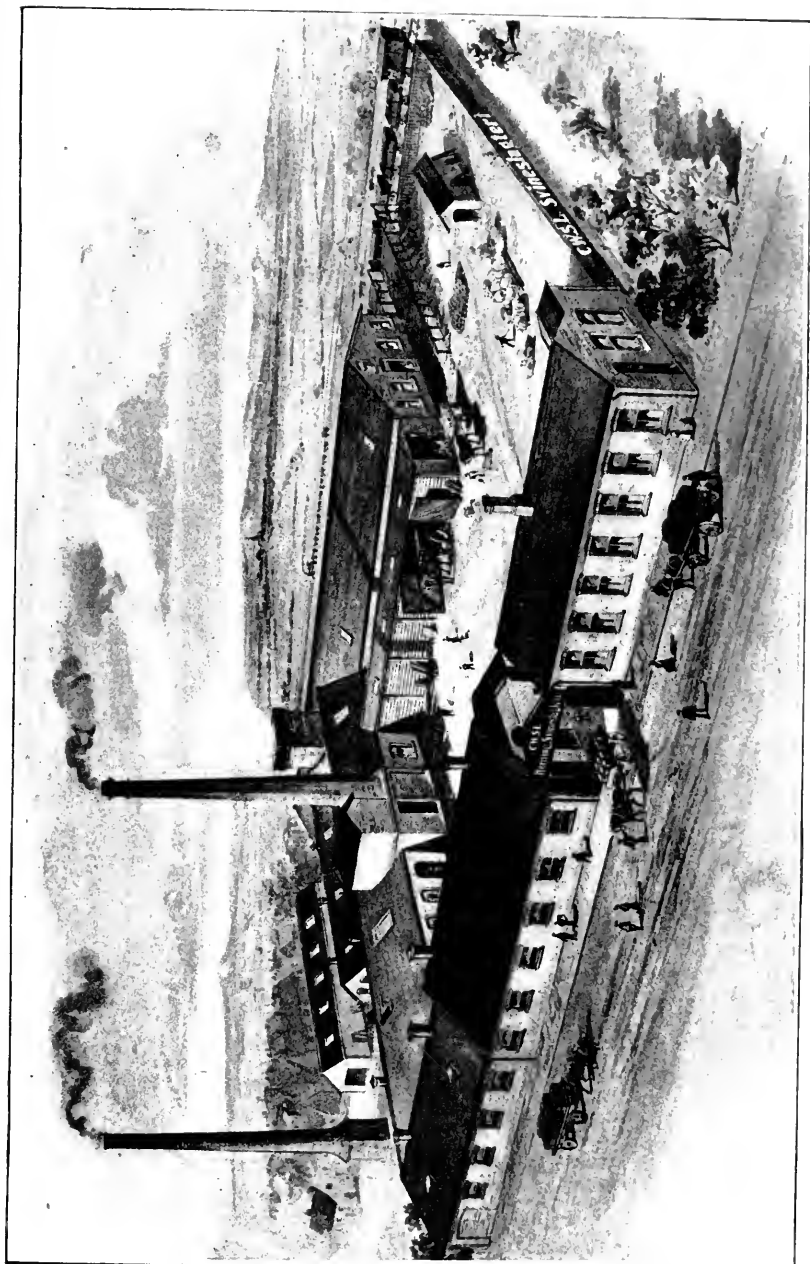
(See page 11.)



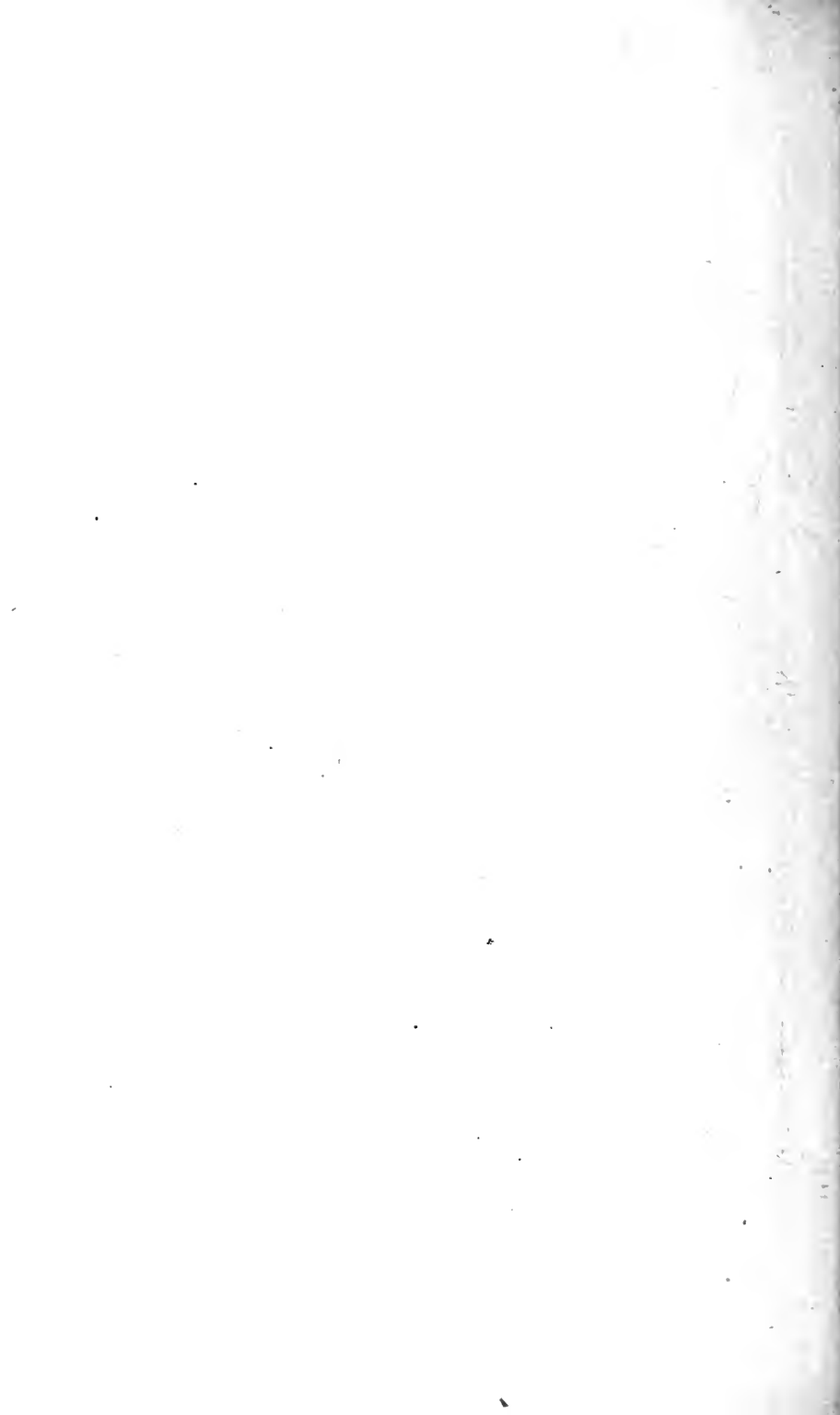


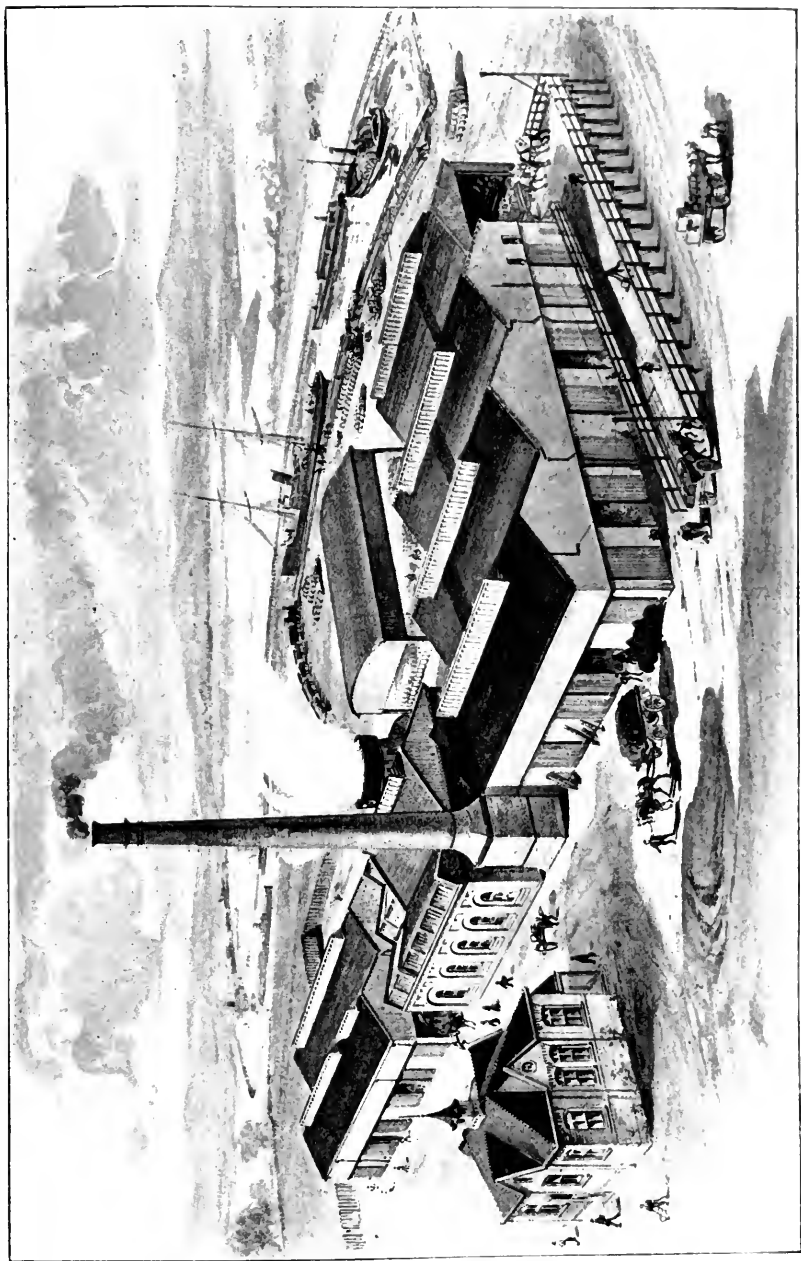
Longton Crockery Depot.





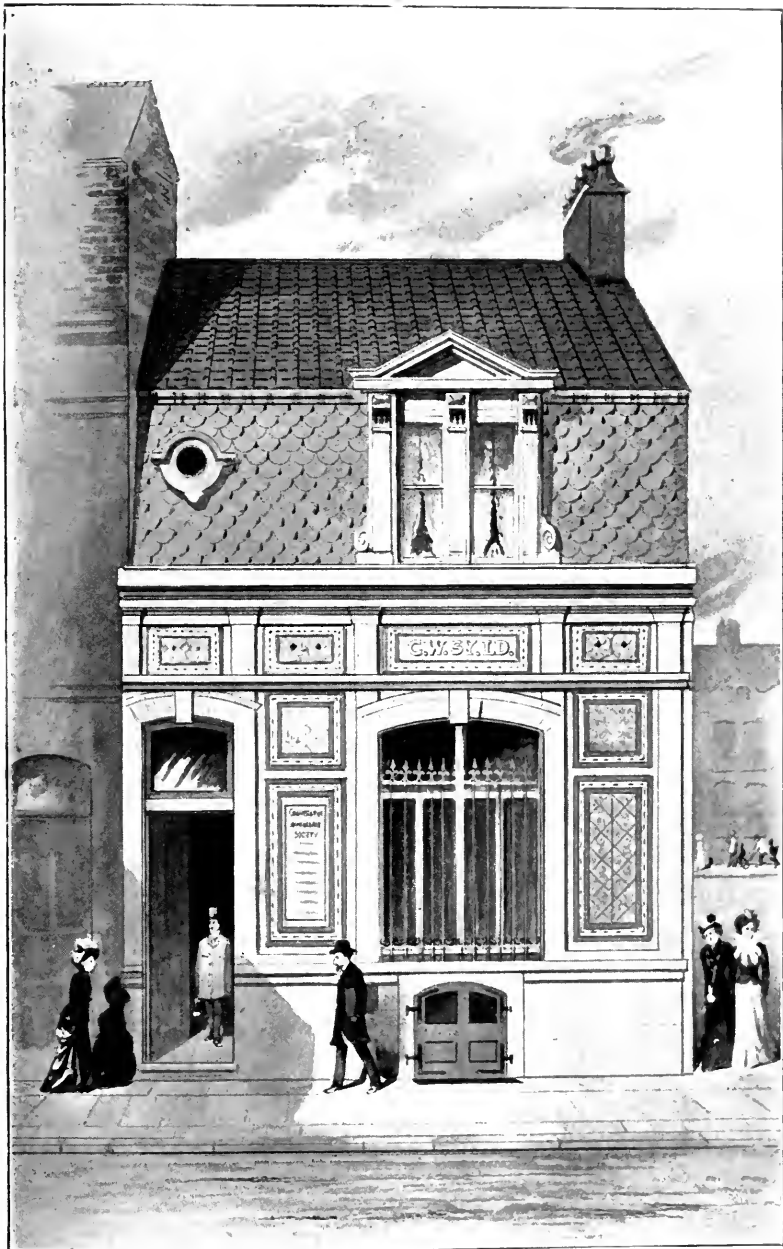
Herning Bacon Factory.



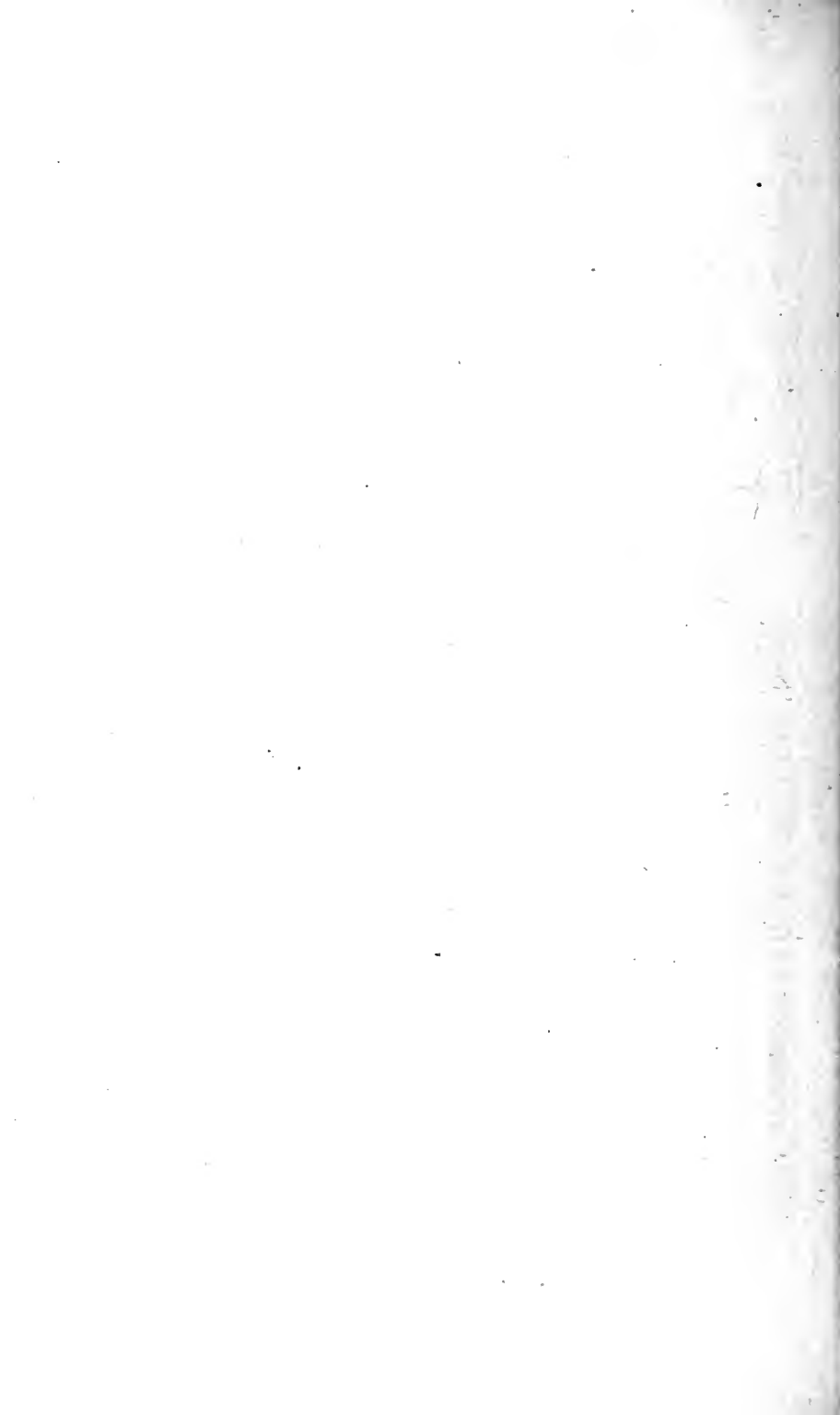


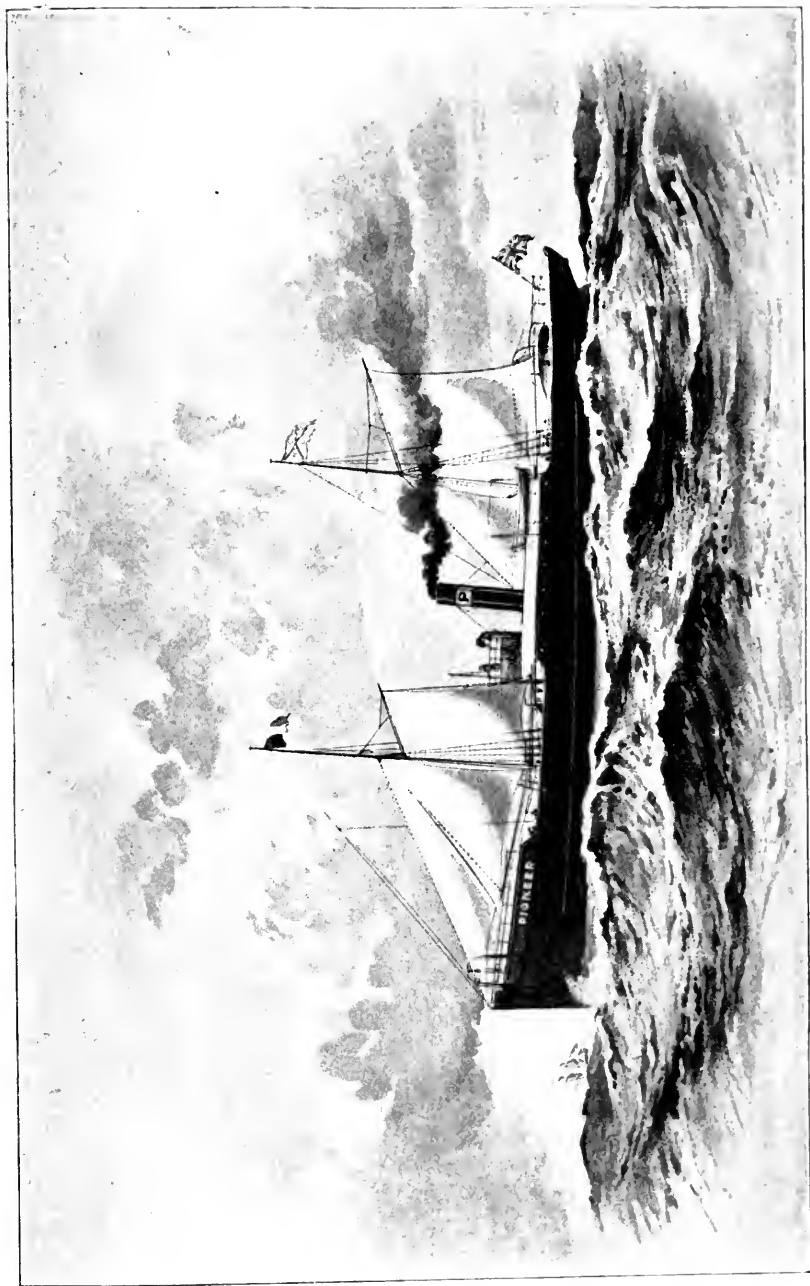
Sydney Oil and Tallow Factory.



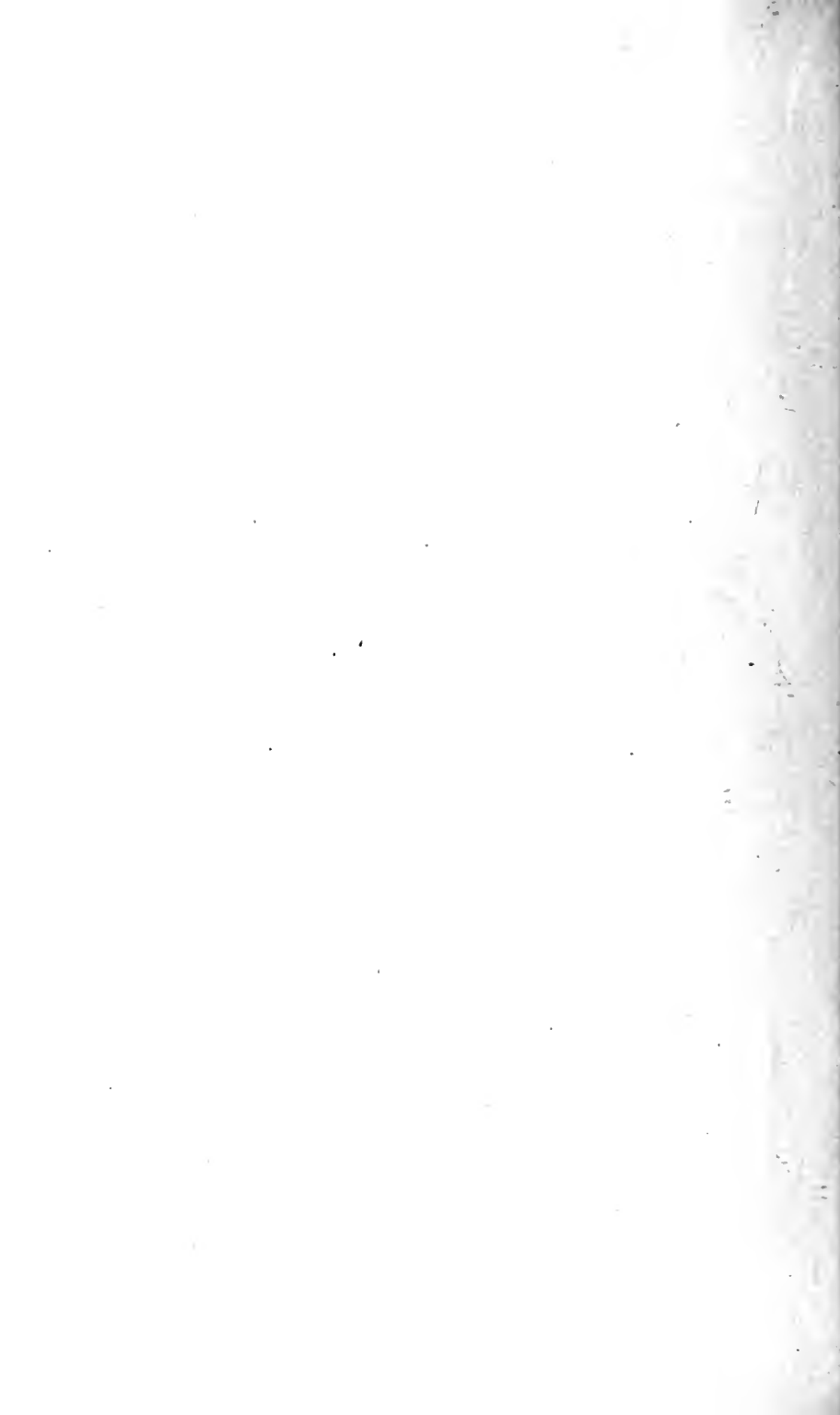


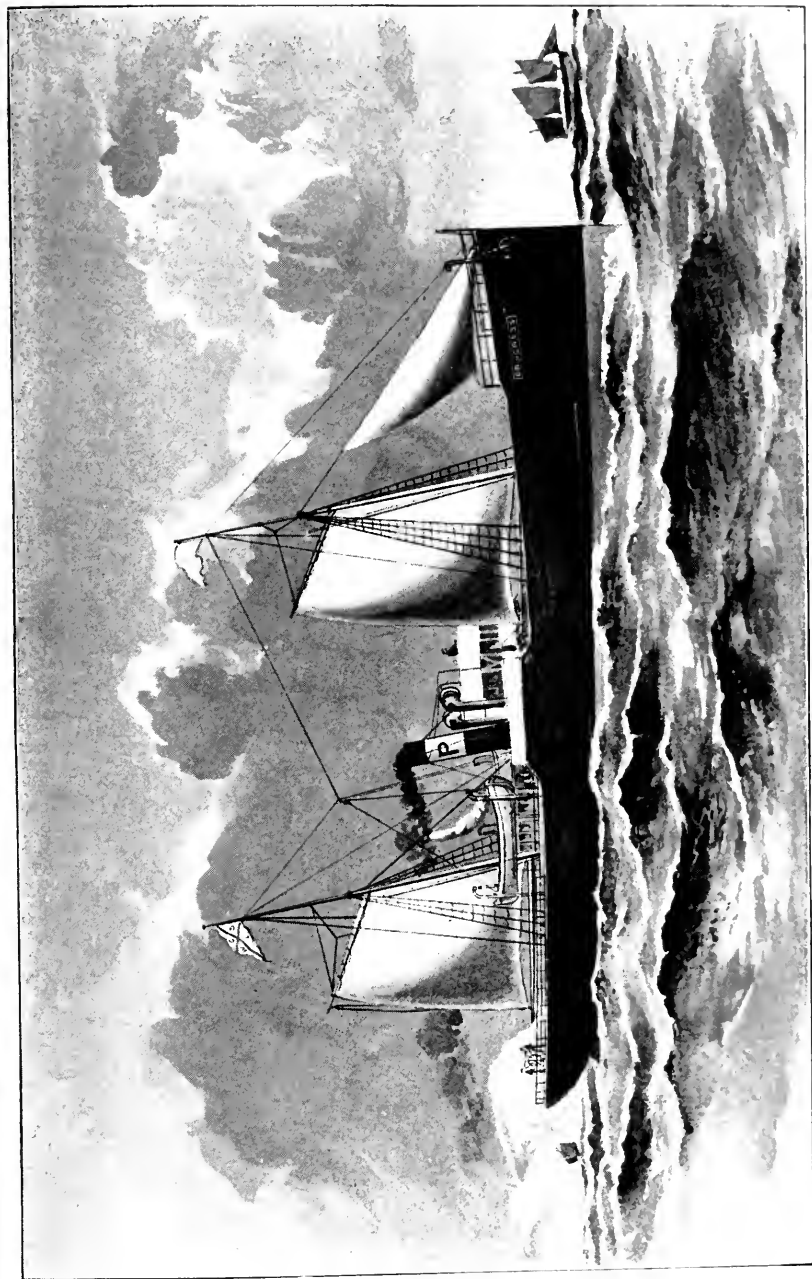
Calais Offices.



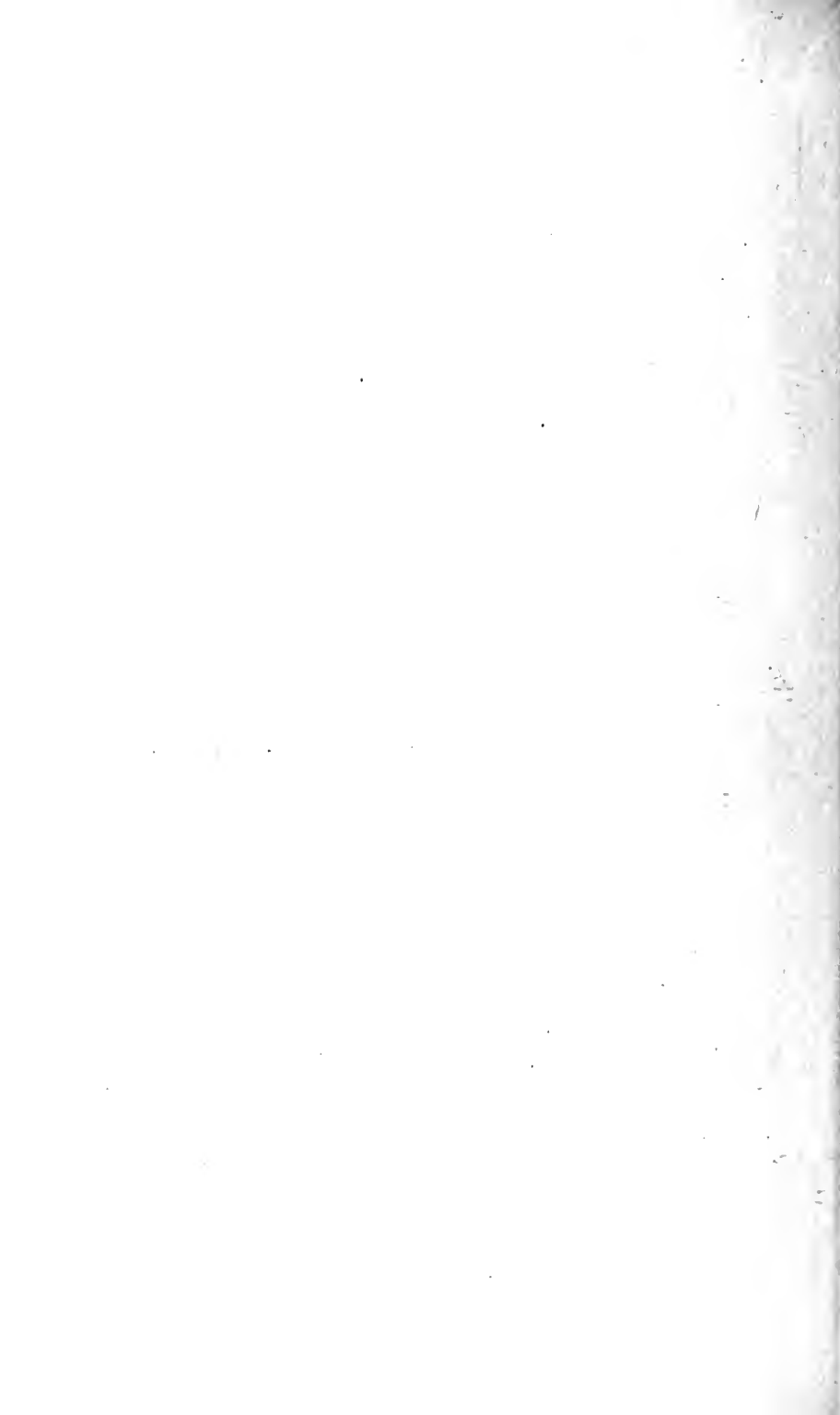


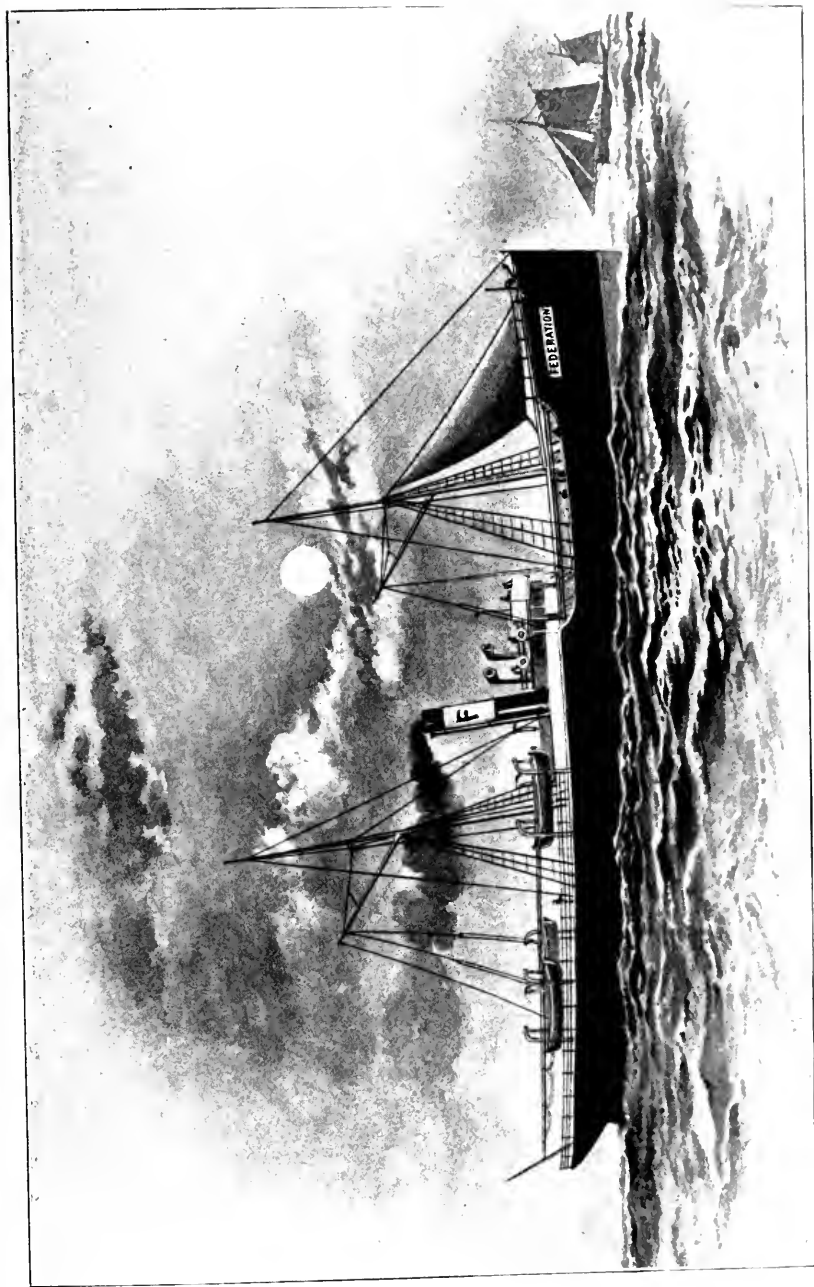
S.S. "Pioneer."



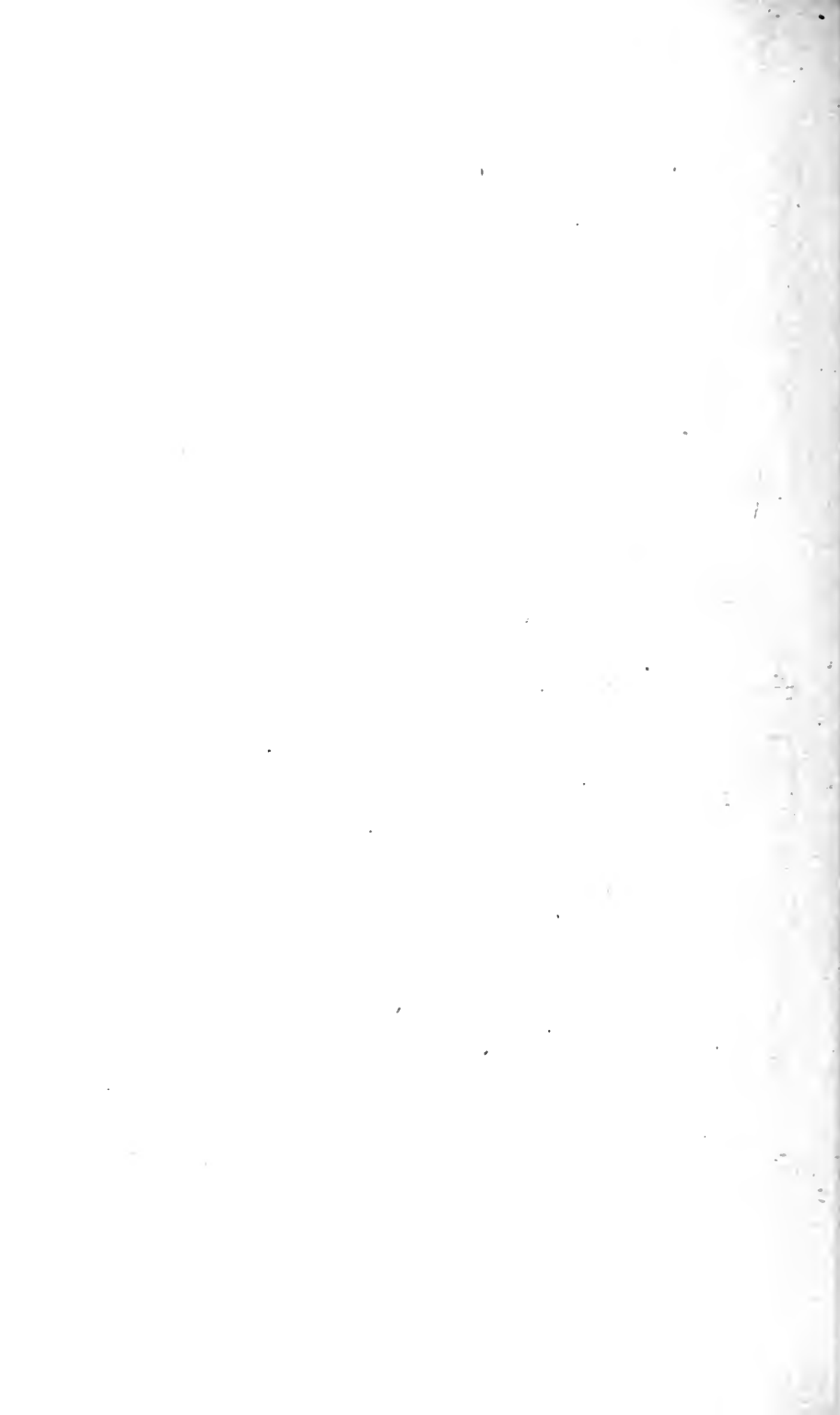


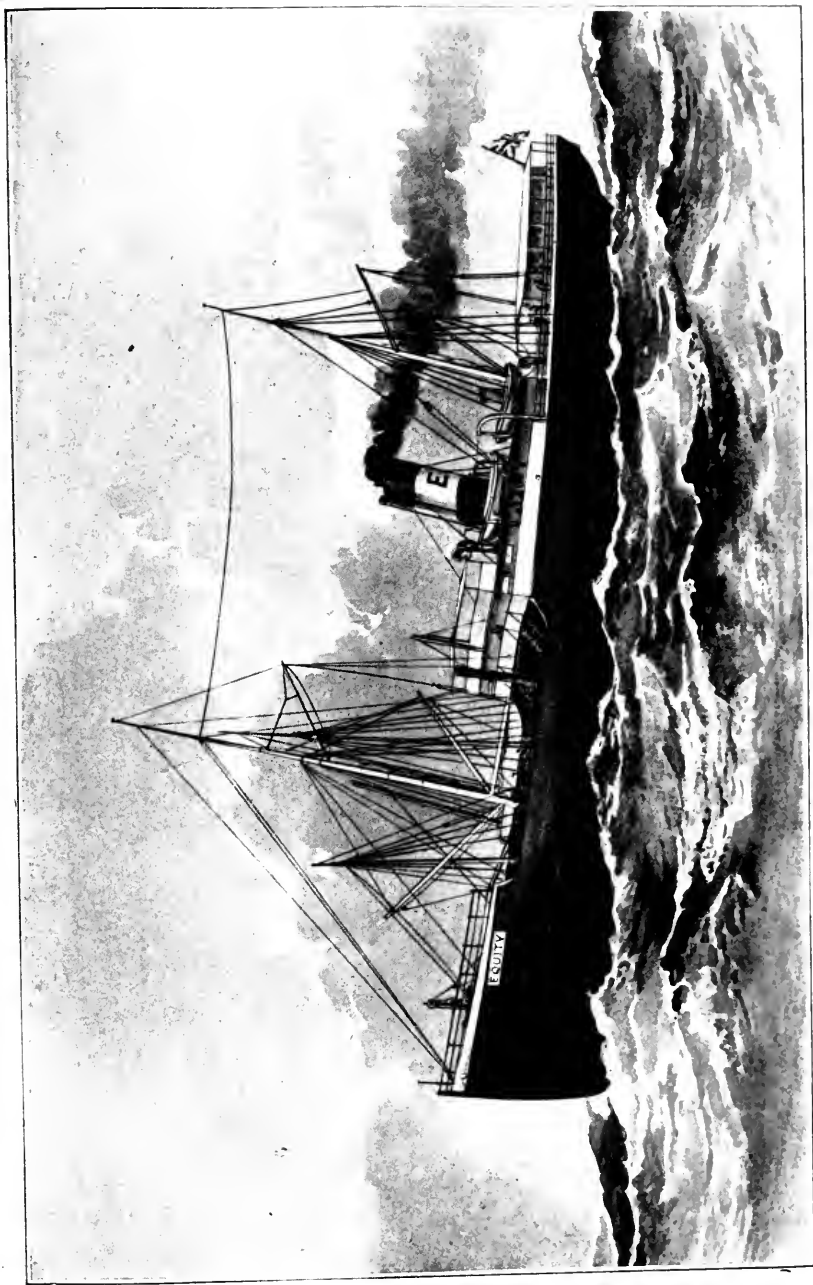
S.S. "Progress."



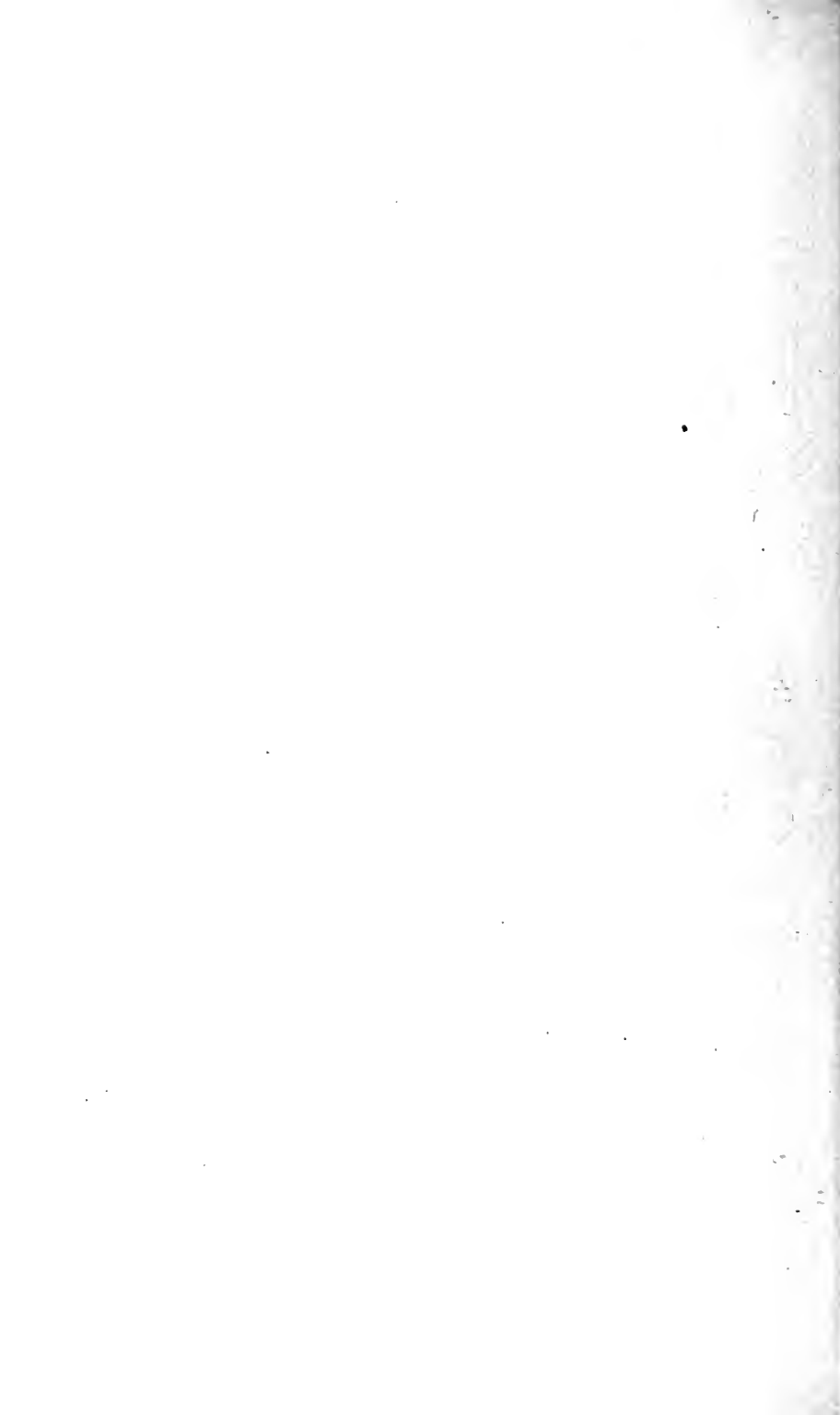


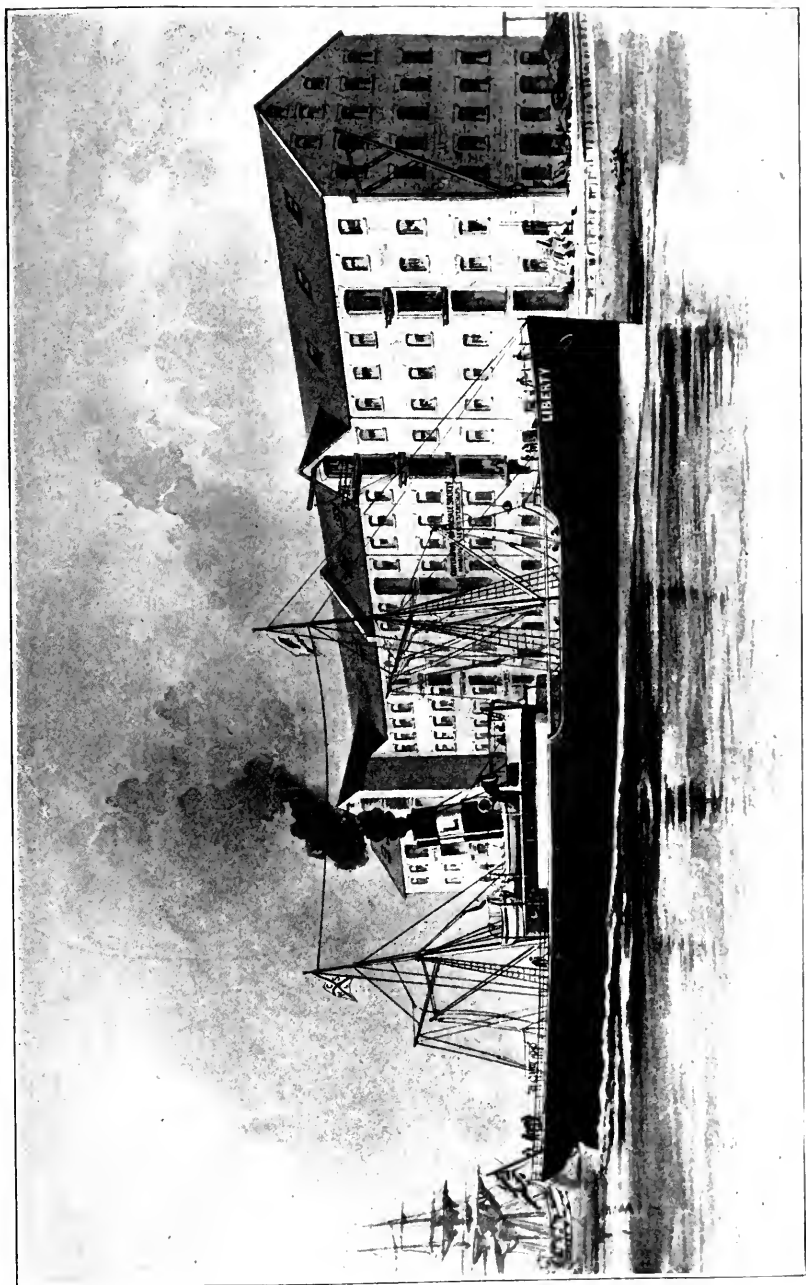
S.S. "Federation."



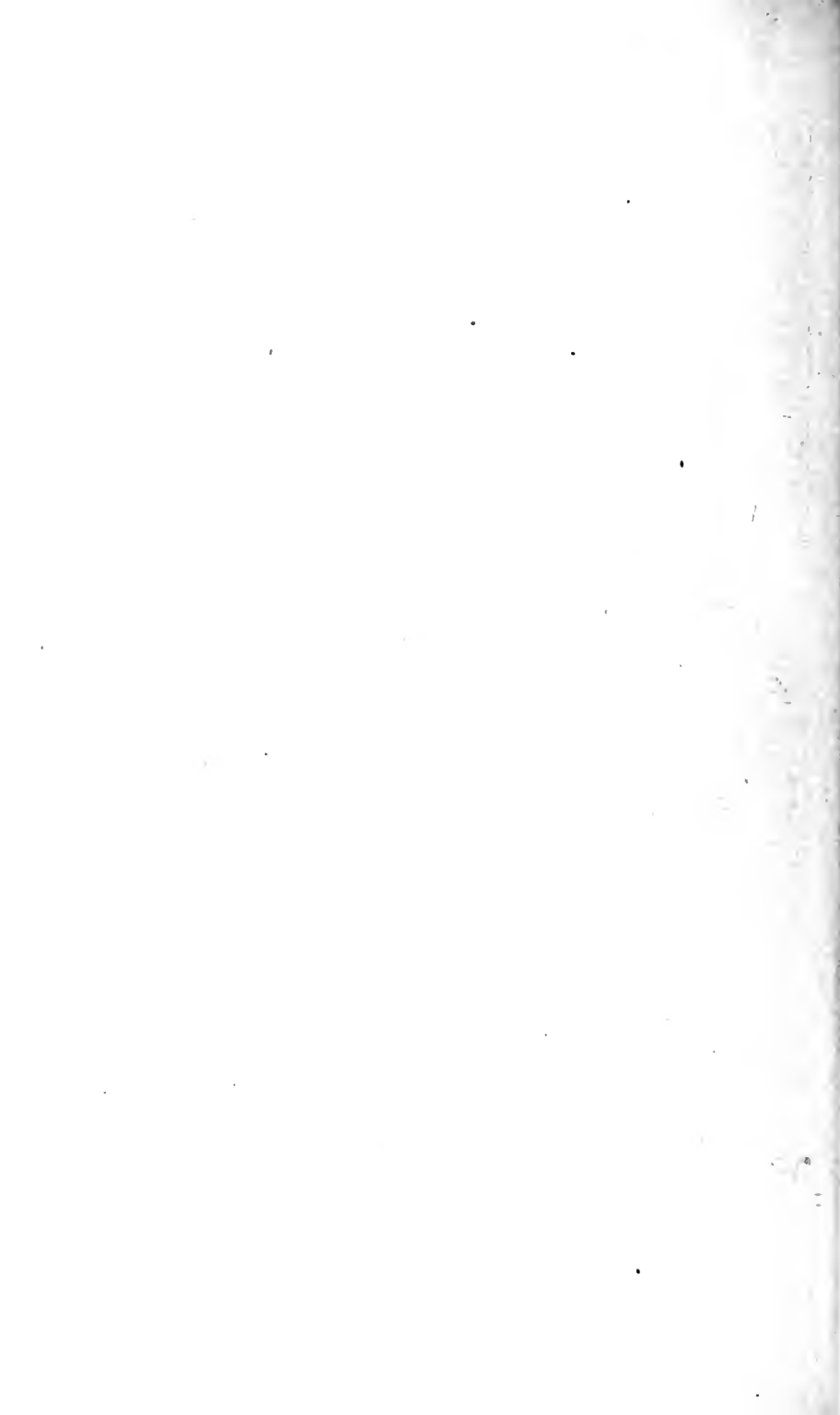


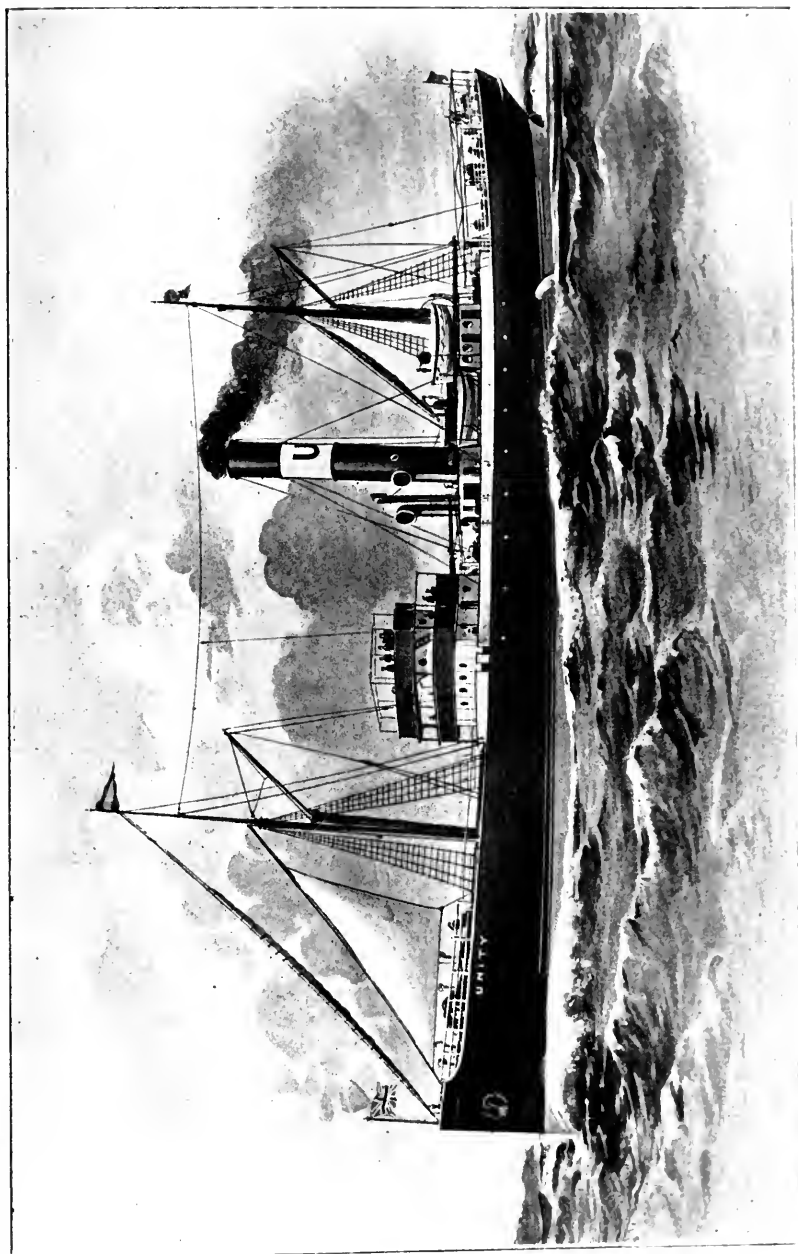
S.S. "Equity."



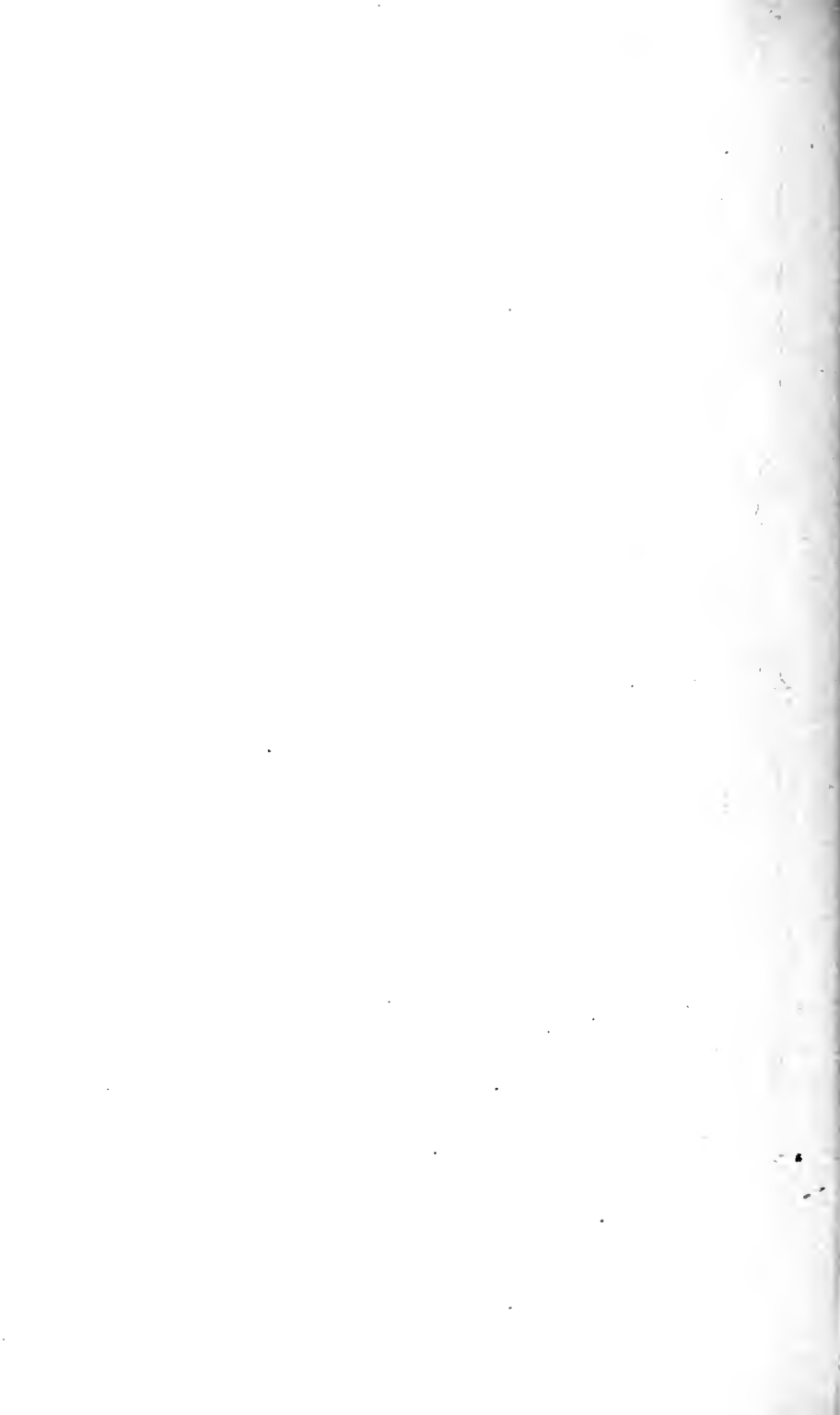


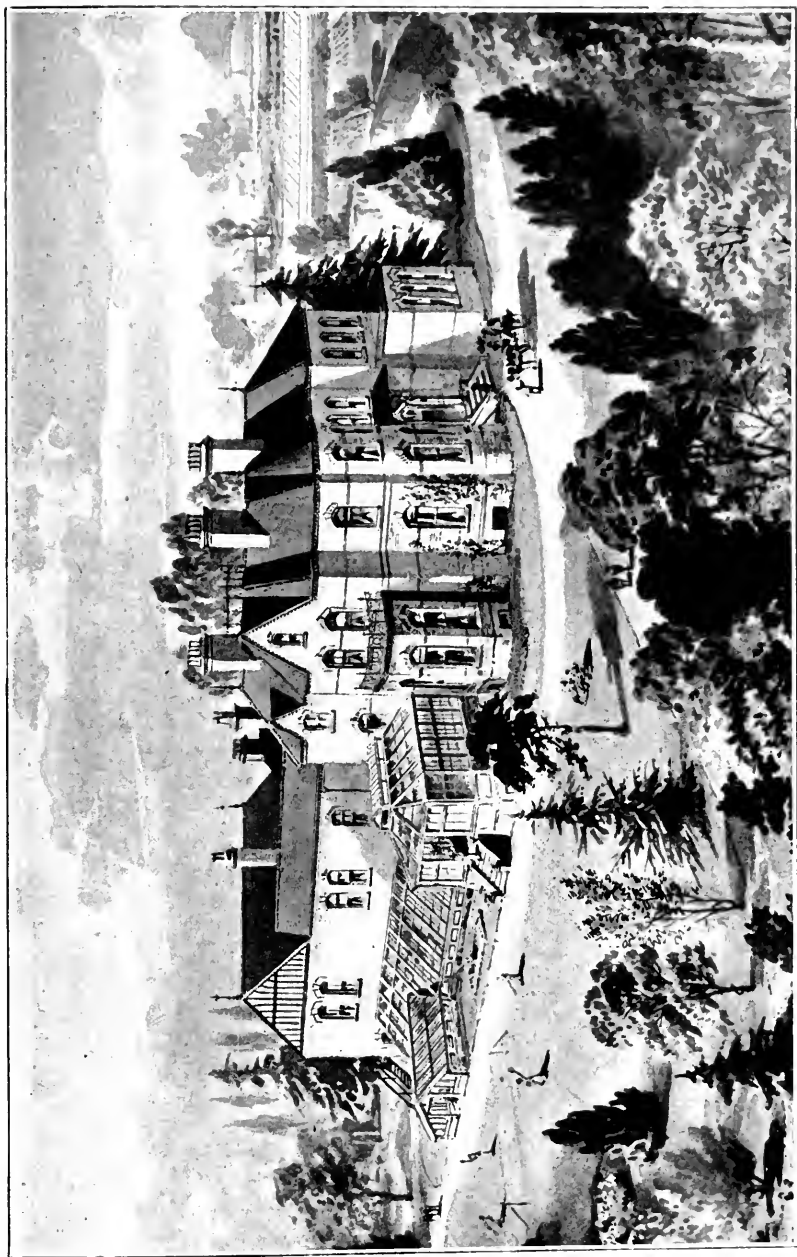
S.S. "Liberty."



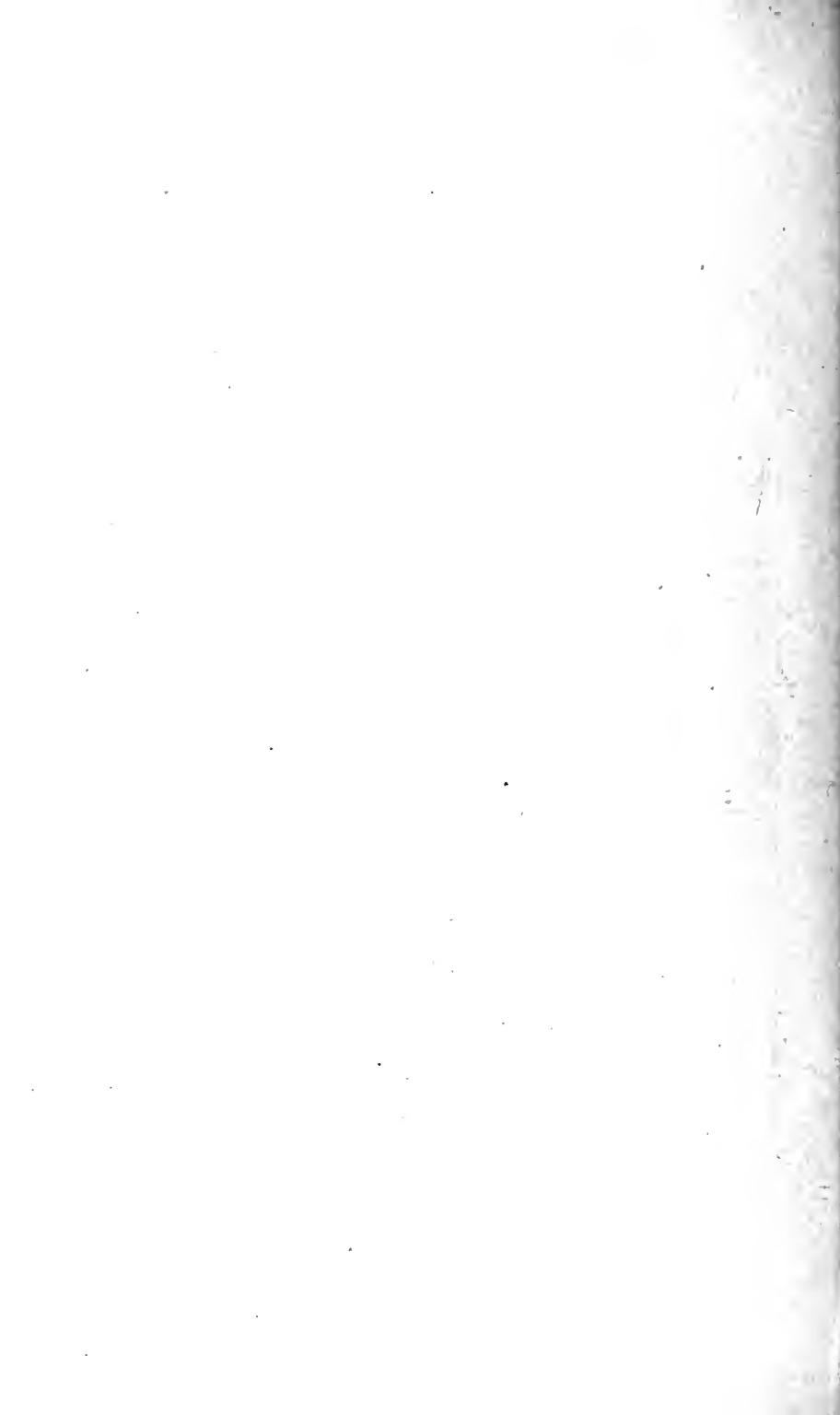


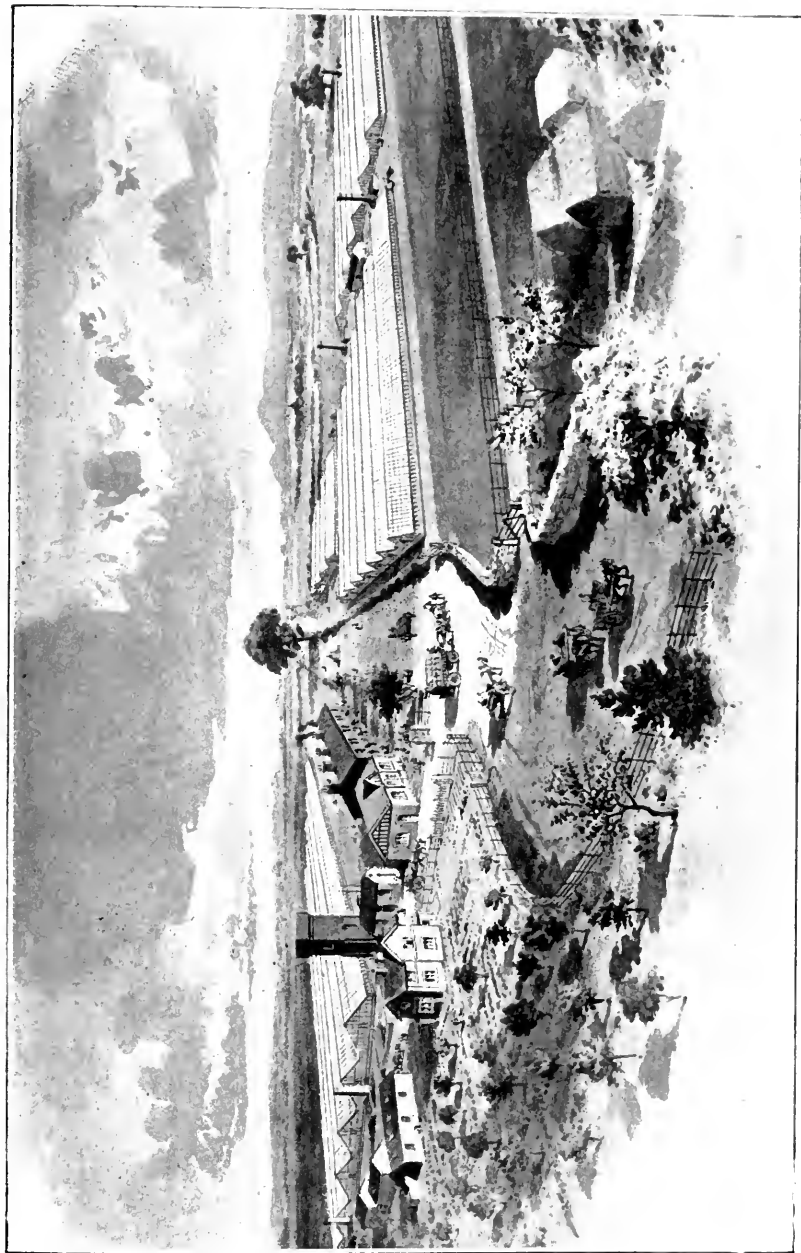
S.S. "Unity."



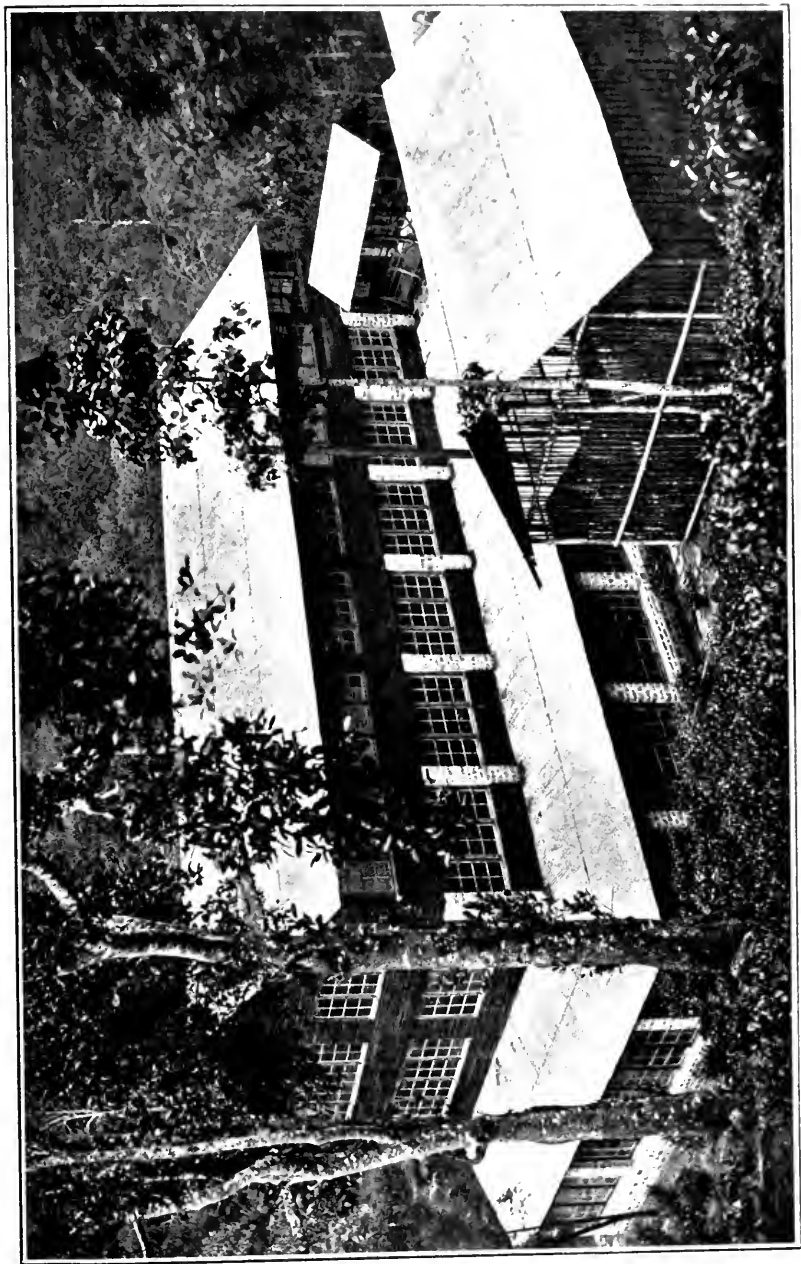


Roden Convalescent Home.

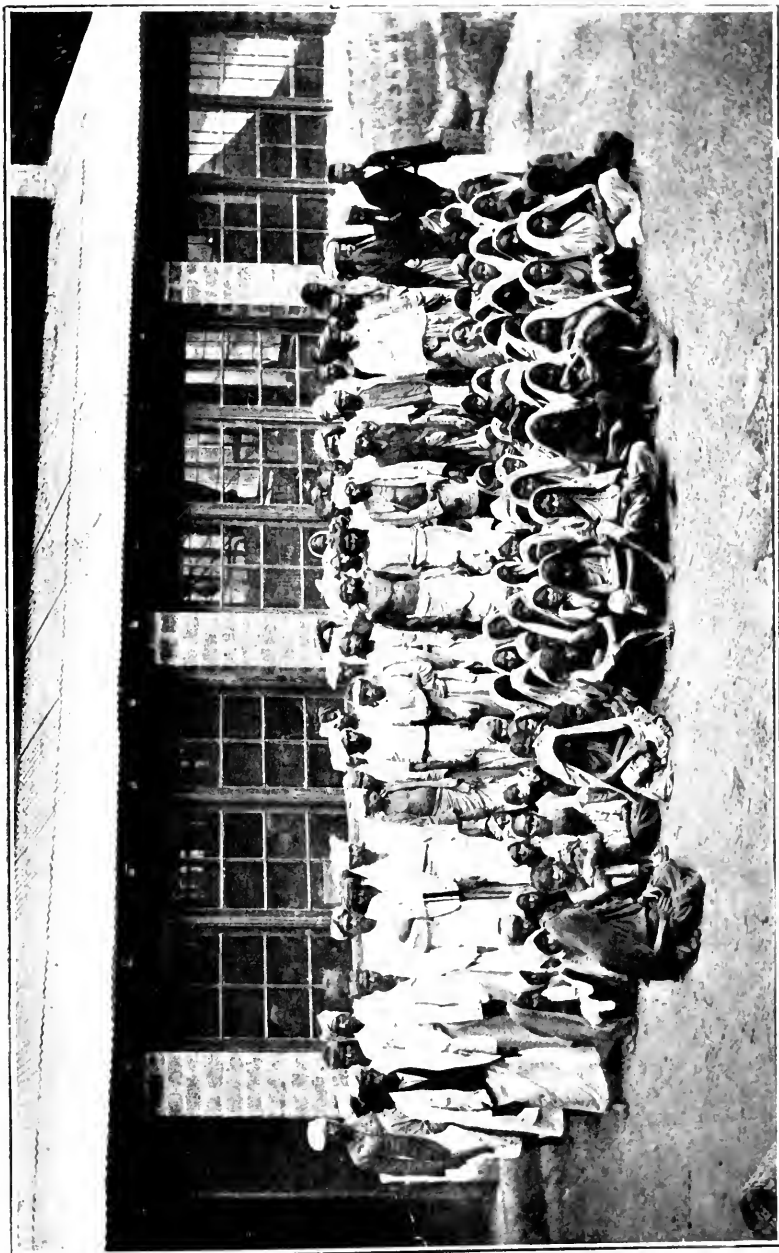




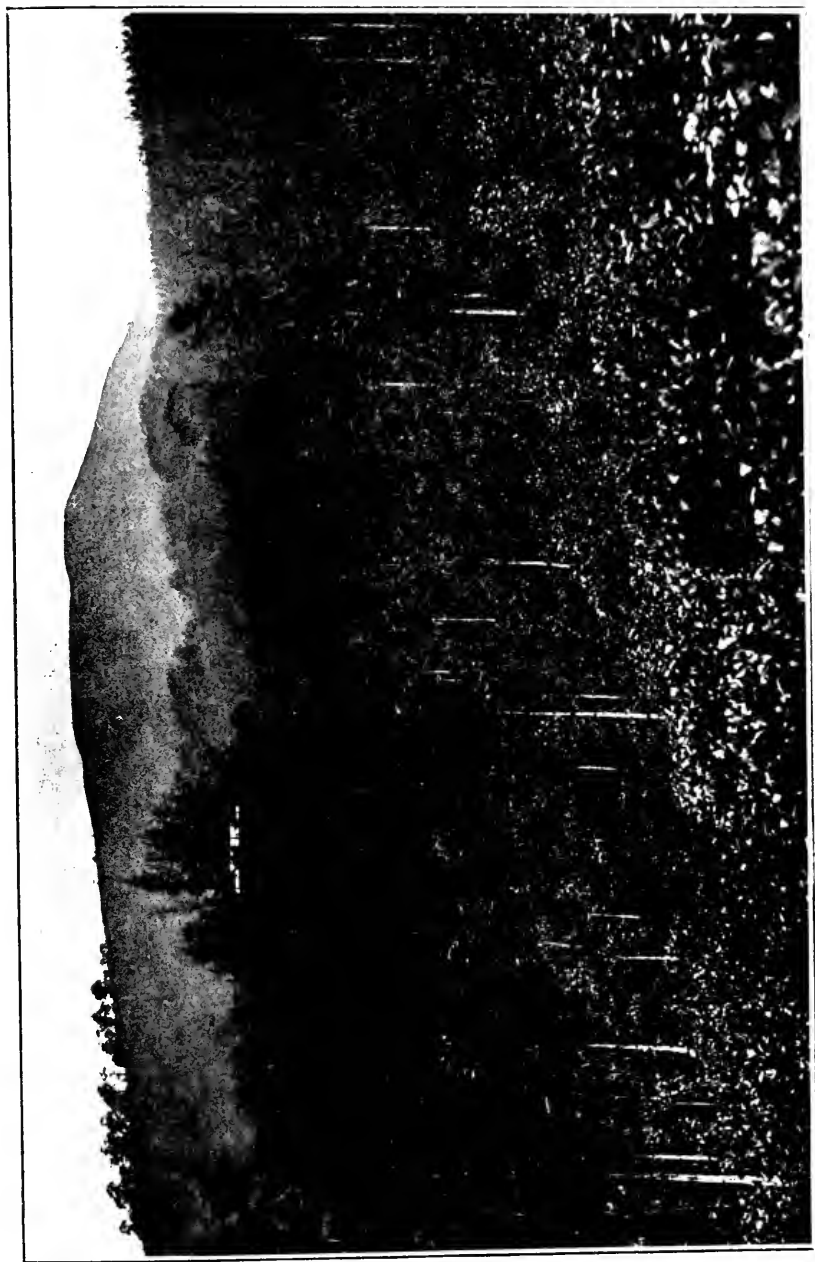
Roden Tomato Houses.



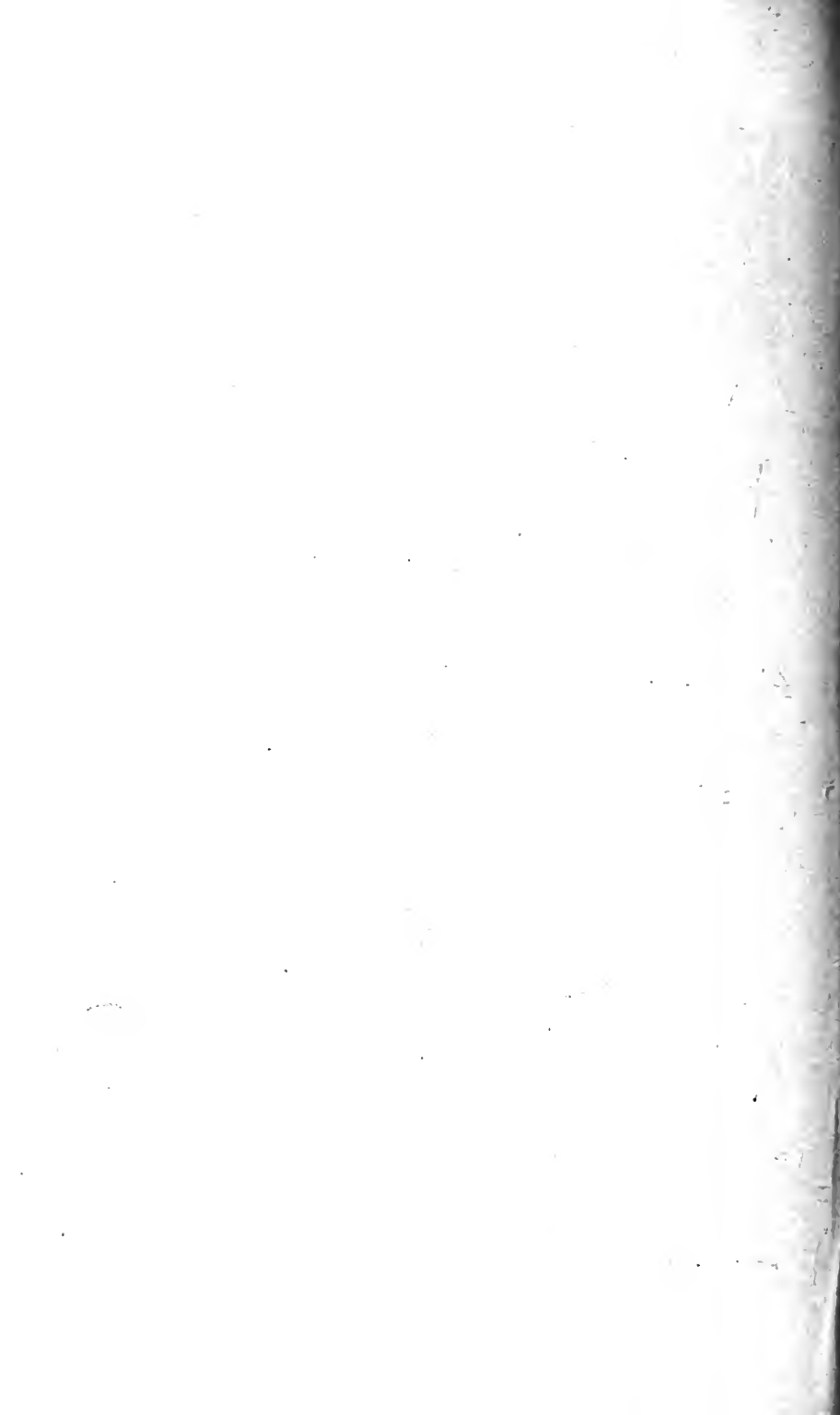
Nugawella Tea Factory.

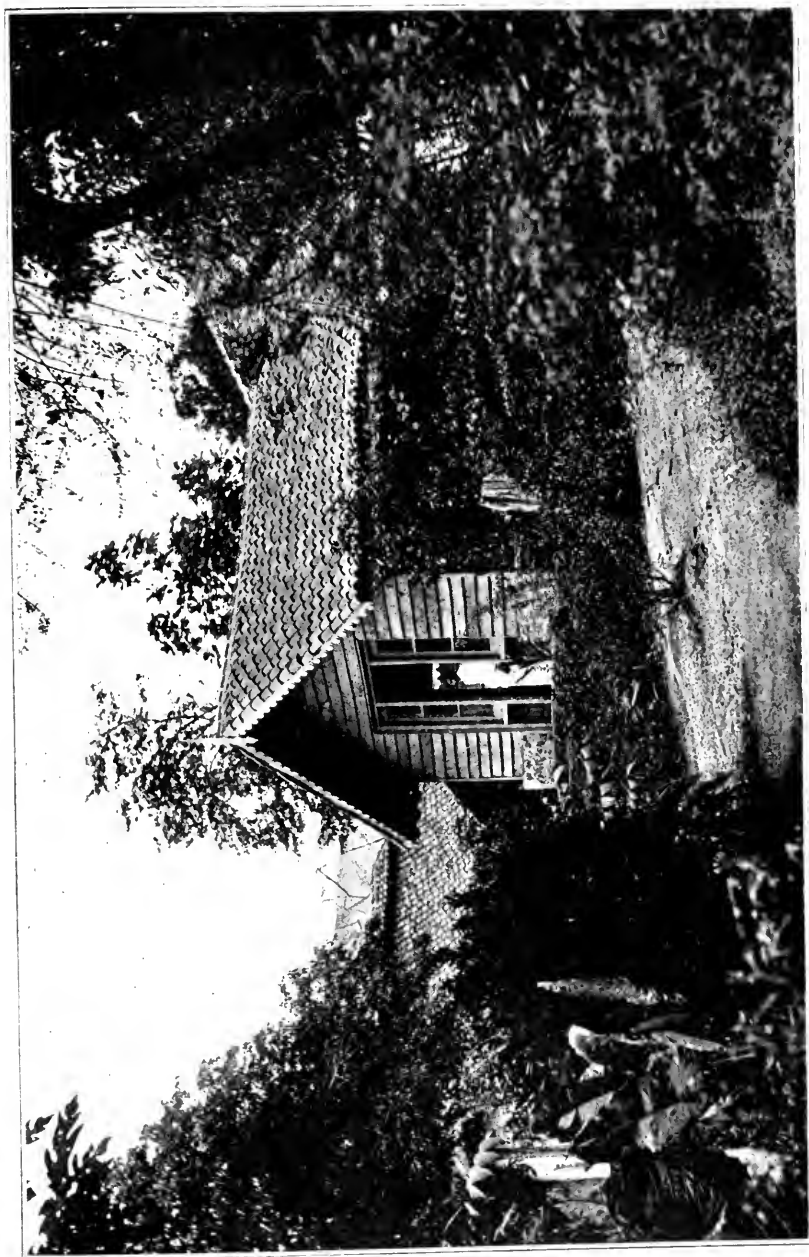


Nugawella Coolies.

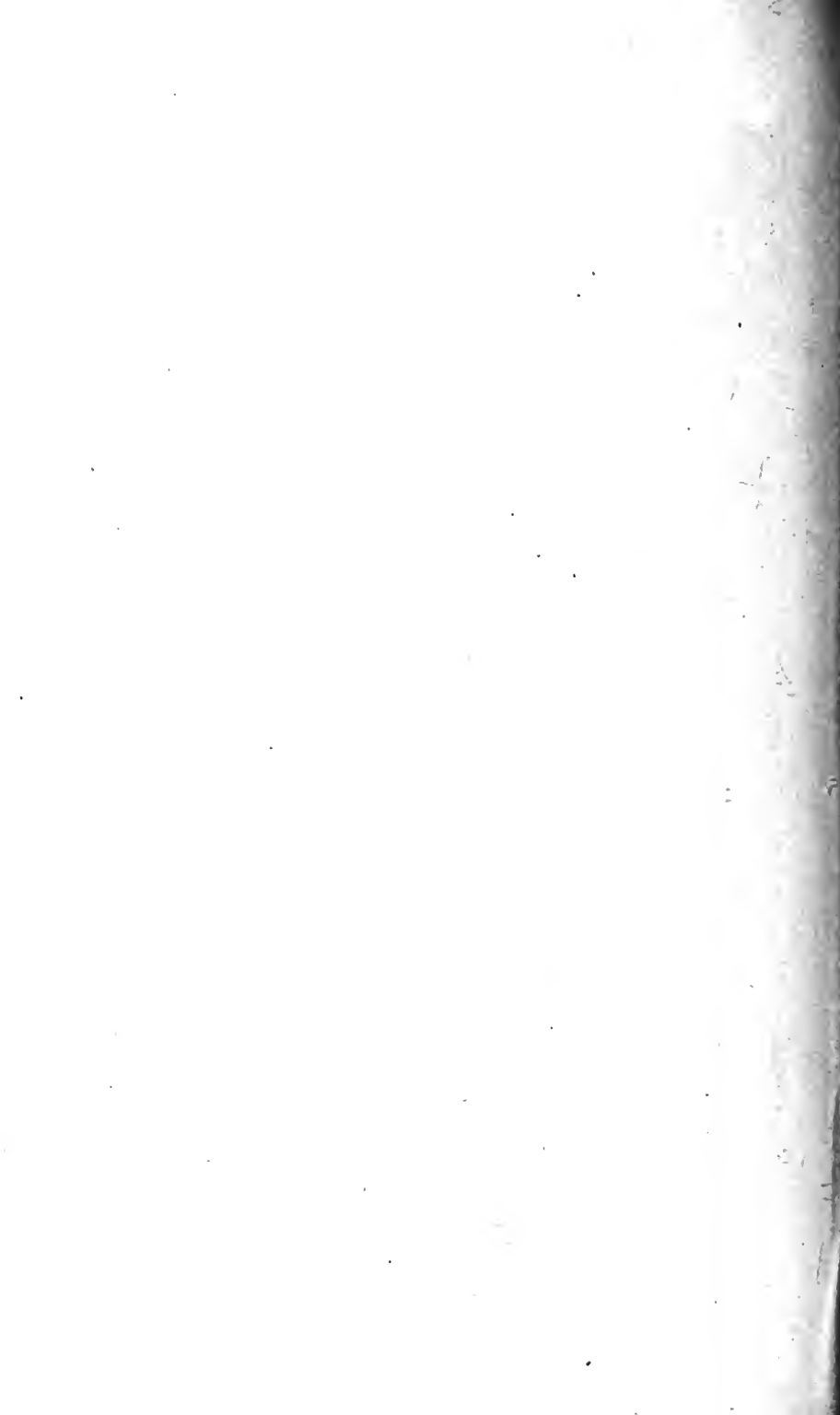


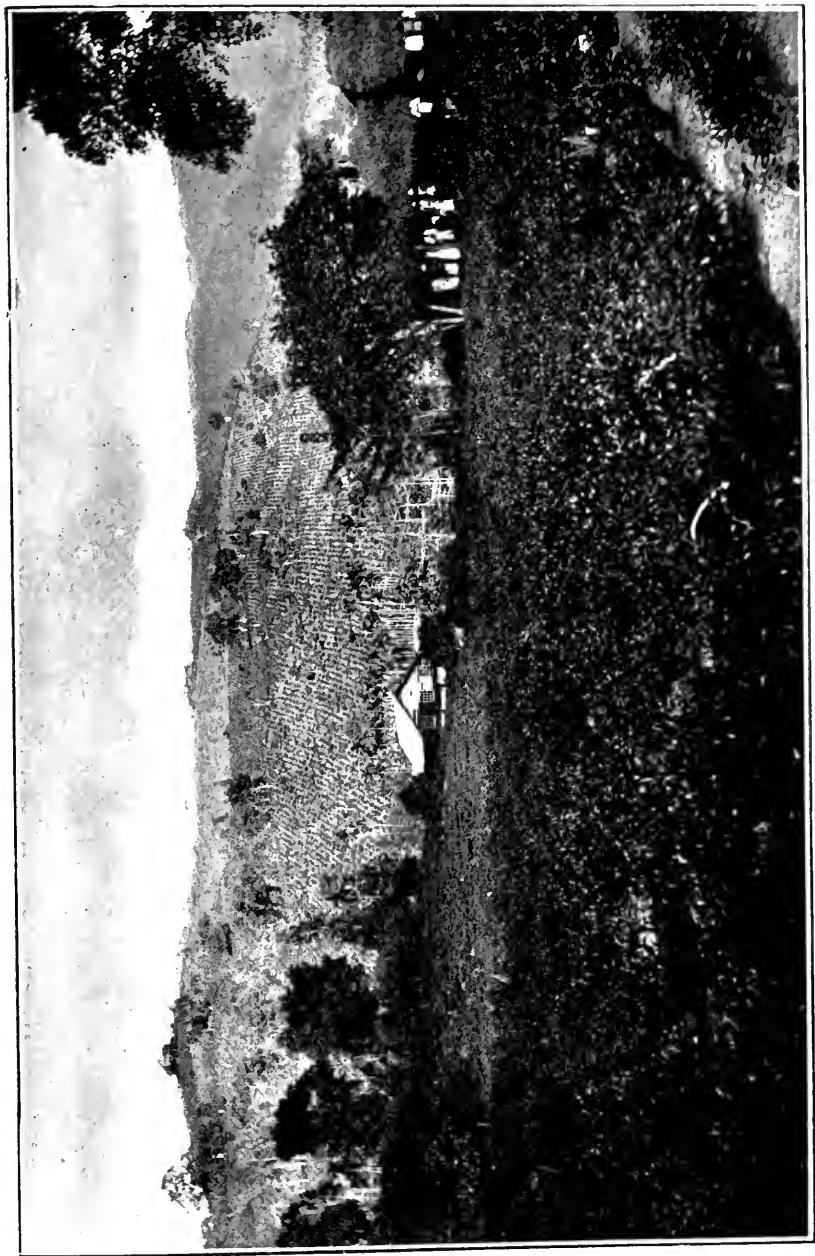
Nugawella, Tea Estate.



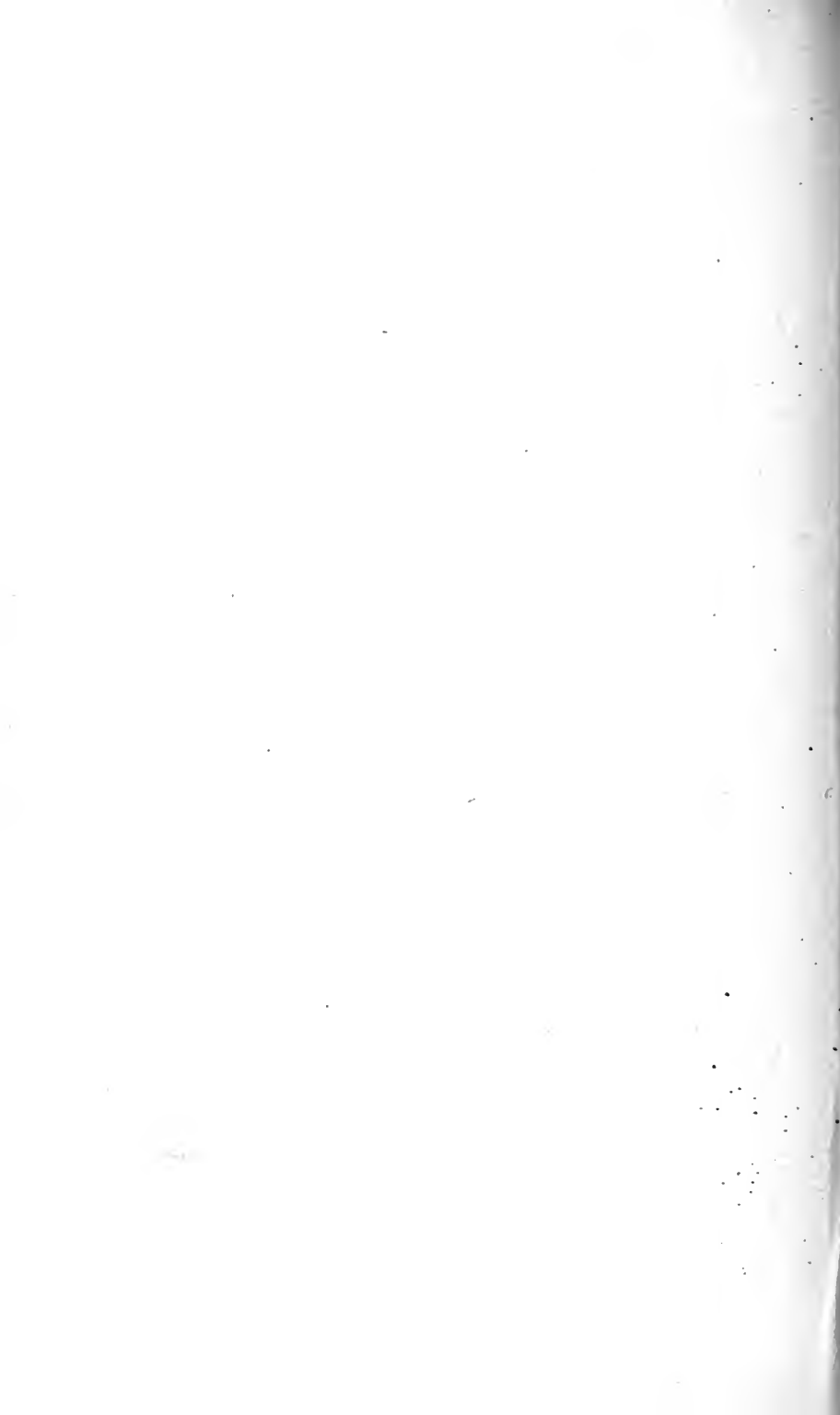


Wellagaanga Bungalow.





Wellaganga Tea Estate.



THE
Co-operative Wholesale Society
 LIMITED.

Enrolled August 11th, 1863, under the Provisions of the Industrial and Provident Societies Act, 25 and 26 Vict., cap. 87, sec. 15, 1862.

BUSINESS COMMENCED MARCH 14th, 1864.

SHARES, £5 EACH, TRANSFERABLE.

Wholesale General Dealers, Manufacturers, Bankers, Millers, Printers, Bookbinders, Boxmakers, Lithographers, Shipowners, Butter Factors, Lard Refiners, Bacon Curers, Fruit Growers, Drysalters, Saddlers, Tea Growers, Importers, Blenders, and Packers, Dealers in Grocery and Provisions, Drapery, Woollens, Ready-Made Clothing, Boots and Shoes, Brushes, Crockery, Carpets, Furniture, &c., &c., &c.

Manufacturers of Flour, Butter, Biscuits, Sweets, Preserves, Pickles, Candied Peel, Cocoa, Chocolate, Tobacco, Soap, Candles, Glycerine, Boots and Shoes, Woollens, Clothing, Flannels, Shirts, Mantles and Underclothing, Corsets, Millinery, Furniture, and Brushes.

Central Offices,
Bank, Shipping, and Coal Department, Grocery and
Provision, and Boot and Shoe Warehouses :

BALLOON STREET, MANCHESTER.

Drapery Warehouses :

DANTZIC STREET, MANCHESTER.

Woollen Cloth and Ready-mades Warehouse :

CORPORATION ST., MANCHESTER.

Furnishing Warehouses :

General :

HOLGATE STREET, MANCHESTER.

Carpet :

CORPORATION ST., MANCHESTER.

Saddlery Department :

CORPORATION ST., MANCHESTER.

Branches :

WEST BLANDFORD STREET, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE,

AND

LEMAN STREET, LONDON, E.

Depots and Salerooms:

LEEDS, HUDDERSFIELD, NOTTINGHAM, BLACKBURN,
AND BIRMINGHAM.

Purchasing and Forwarding Depots.

England:

LIVERPOOL, BRISTOL, LONGTON, GOOLE, GARSTON, CARDIFF,
AND NORTHAMPTON.

Ireland:

CORK, LIMERICK, TRALEE, AND ARMAGH.

America: NEW YORK.

Canada: MONTREAL.

France: CALAIS AND ROUEN.

Australia: SYDNEY.

Spain: DENIA.

Denmark: COPENHAGEN,

AARHUS,

ODENSE,

HERNING.

Germany: HAMBURG.

Sweden: GOTHENBURG.

Irish Creameries:

ABINGTON.

ANNACARTY.

AUGHADOWN.

BALLINAHINCH.

BALLINLOUGH.

BALLYBRICKEN.

BALLYDWYER.

BALLYFINANE.

BILBOA.

BOHERBUE.

BUNKAY BRIDGE.

CASTLEMAHON.

COACHFORD.

CUTTEEN.

DEVON ROAD.

DICKSGROVE.

DINGLE.

DOONAHA.

DROMCLOUGH.

DUNGRUD.

EFFIN.

FEALE BRIDGE.

GLENMORE.

GORMANSTOWN.

GRANTSTOWN.

GREENANE.

GREYBRIDGE.

HERBERTSTOWN.

HOLLYFORD.

KILCOMMON.

KILMIHILL.

LIXNAW.

MOUNT COLLINS.

OOLA.

RATHMORE.

SMERLA BRIDGE.

STRADBALLY.

TARMON.

TERELTON.

TOEM.

TRALEE.

And 52 Auxiliaries.

Productive Works.

Biscuits, Sweets, and Drysaltery Works:
CRUMPSALL, NEAR MANCHESTER.

Boot and Shoe Works:
LEICESTER, HECKMONDWIKE,
AND RUSHDEN.

Soap, Candle, and Glycerine Works:
IRLAM.

Tallow and Oil Works:
SYDNEY (AUSTRALIA).

Woollen Cloth Works:
LIVINGSTONE MILL, BATLEY.

Clothing Factories:
HOLBECK (LEEDS) AND
BROUGHTON (MANCHESTER).

Cocoa and Chocolate Works:
DALLOW ROAD, LUTON.

Corn Mills:
DUNSTON-ON-TYNE.
SILVERTOWN (LONDON).

Furniture Factory:
BROUGHTON (MANCHESTER).

**Printing, Bookbinding, Formaking, and
Lithographic Works:**

LONGSIGHT (MANCHESTER).

Preserve, Candied Peel, and Pickle Works:
MIDDLETON JUNCTION.

**Shirts, Mantles, Underclothing, Corsets,
and Millinery:**

BROUGHTON (MANCHESTER).

Paper, Tailoring, Drugs, &c.:
PELAW, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.

Shirts, Tailoring, Bedding, and Brushes:
LONDON.

Lard Refinery and Egg Department:
WEST HARTLEPOOL.

Tobacco Factory:
SHARP STREET, MANCHESTER.

Pepper Factory:
HANOVER STREET,
MANCHESTER.

Flannel Factory:
HARE HILL MILLS, LITTLEBORO'.

Tea Gardens:
CEYLON.

Shipowners and Shippers

BETWEEN

GARSTON AND ROUEN; GOOLE AND CALAIS; GOOLE AND
HAMBURG; MANCHESTER AND ROUEN.

Steamships Owned by the Society:

"LIBERTY." "EQUITY." "FEDERATION." "PIONEER."
"PROGRESS." "UNITY." "DINAH." "BRITON."

Banking Agencies:

THE LONDON AND COUNTY BANK LIMITED.

THE MANCHESTER AND COUNTY BANK LIMITED.

THE NATIONAL PROVINCIAL BANK OF ENGLAND LIMITED.

THE MANCHESTER AND LIVERPOOL DISTRICT BANK LIMITED.

THE LANCASHIRE AND YORKSHIRE BANK LIMITED.

THE UNION BANK OF MANCHESTER LIMITED.

THE LONDON CITY AND MIDLAND BANK LIMITED.

WILLIAMS DEACON BANK LIMITED.

MESSRS. BARCLAY AND CO. LIMITED, LONDON AND BRANCHES.

MESSRS. LAMBTON AND CO., NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE AND BRANCHES.

General Committee.

Chairman:

Mr. JOHN SHILLITO,
4, Park View, Hopwood Lane, Halifax.

Vice-Chairman:

Mr. THOMAS BLAND,
Rasheliffe, Huddersfield.

Mr. WILLIAM BATES	Green Lane, Patrieroff.
Mr. THOMAS HIND	53, St. Peter's Road, Leicester.
Mr. JOHN LORD	19, Tremellen Street, Accrington.
Mr. ALFRED NORTH	Mount Pleasant, Batley.
Mr. E. GRINDROD	13, Holker Street, Keighley.
Mr. T. E. MOORHOUSE	Reporter Office, Delph.
Mr. A. SCOTTON	Avondale House, New Normanton, Derby.
Mr. THOMAS KILLON	45, Heywood Street, Bury.
Mr. WILLIAM LANDER	155, Escrick Street, Halliwell, Bolton.
Mr. R. HOLT	84, Tweedale Street, Rochdale.
Mr. JAMES FAIRCLOUGH	33, Sackville Street, Barnsley.
Mr. H. C. PINGSTONE	Yew Bank, Brook Road, Heaton Chapel.
Mr. G. THORPE	6, Northfield, Highroyd, Dewsbury.
Mr. D. McINNES	63, Portland Street, Lincoln.

Newcastle Branch Committee.

CHAIRMAN: Mr. T. TWEDDELL, Hutton Avenue, West Hartlepool.

VICE-CHAIRMAN: Mr. THOS. SHOTTON, Summerhill, Shotley Bridge, Durham.

Mr. ROBERT GIBSON	120, Sidney Grove, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Mr. GEORGE BINNEY	8, Atherton Street East, Durham.
Mr. ROBERT IRVING	Woodrouffe Terrace, Carlisle.
Mr. THOMAS RULE	20, Ravensworth Terrace, Bensham, Gateshead.
Mr. W. D. GRAHAM	123, Bedeburn Road, Jarrow-on-Tyne.
Mr. PHILIP COLEY	22, Stansfield Street, Sunderland.

London Branch Committee.

CHAIRMAN: Mr. GEO. HAWKINS, 79, Kingston Road, Oxford.

VICE-CHAIRMAN: Mr. GEO. SUTHERLAND, 41, Taylor Street, Woolwich, S.E.

Mr. HENRY PUMPHREY	Paddock Terrace, Lewes.
Mr. GEORGE HINES	North Bank, Belstead Road, Ipswich.
Mr. H. ELSEY	Bickleigh, Festing Grove, Festing Road, Southsea.
Mr. J. F. GOODEY	New Town Lodge, Colchester.
Mr. R. H. TUTT	134, Braybrook Road, Hastings.
Mr. W. H. BROWN	1, Cardiff Road, Newport, Mon.

Scrutineers:

Mr. F. HARDERN, Oldham.

Mr. J. J. BARSTOW, Dewsbury.

Auditors:

Mr. THOS. J. BAYLIS, Masborough.
Mr. THOMAS WOOD, Manchester.

Mr. JAMES E. LORD, Rochdale.
Mr. ISAAC HAIGH, Barnsley.

Officers of the Society.

Secretary and Accountant:

Mr. THOMAS BRODRICK.

Bank Manager and Cashier:

Mr. JOHN HOLDEN.

Buyers, Salesmen, &c.

Manchester—Grocery and Provisions:

Mr. THOMAS PEARSON.

Mr. JAS. MASTIN.

Mr. A. W. LOBB.

Manchester—Paper, Twine, &c.

Mr. H. WIGGINS.

Manchester—Drapery:

Mr. J. MEADOWCROFT.

Mr. J. C. FODEN.

Mr. WILLIAM T. ALLITT.

Mr. A. ACKROYD.

Mr. JOHN T. OGDEN.

Mr. C. MARKLAND.

Mr. P. RYDER.

Manchester—Woollens, Boots, and Furniture:

Woollens and Ready-mades Mr. W. GIBSON.

Boots and Shoes Mr. HENRY JACKSON.

Furniture Mr. T. R. ALLEN.

Shipping and Coal Department:

General Manager Mr. CHAS. R. CAMERON.

Shipping and Forwarding Depots:

Rouen (France) Mr. JAMES MARQUIS.

Goole Mr. W. J. SCHOFIELD.

Calais Mr. WILLIAM HURT.

Hamburg Mr. WILLIAM DILWORTH.

London:

Tea and Coffee Mr. CHARLES FIELDING.

Luton:

Cocoa and Chocolate Mr. E. J. STAFFORD.

Liverpool:

Grocery and Provisions Mr. J. T. HOLBROOK.

Salerooms:

Leeds Mr. JOSEPH HOLDEN.

Nottingham Mr. A. DELVES.

Huddersfield Mr. J. O'BRIEN.

Birmingham Mr. W. AMOS.

Northampton Mr. A. BAKER.

Cardiff Mr. JAS. F. JAMES.

Blackburn Mr. H. SHELMERDINE.

Longton:

Crockery Depot Mr. J. RHODES.

Buyers, Salesmen, &c.—*continued.*

Newcastle:

Grocery and Provisions.....	Mr. ROBT. WILKINSON.
" "	Mr. T. WEATHERSON.
Drugs; Drysaltery, &c.	Mr. R. A. WALLIS.
Paper, Twine, &c.	Mr. H. GLENNY.
Drapery	Mr. JOHN MACKENZIE.
Millinery and Fancy	Mr. T. TOWNS.
Boots and Shoes	Mr. O. JACKSON.
Furniture and Hardware	Mr. J. W. TAYLOR.
Chief Clerk and Branch Secretary	Mr. H. R. BAILEY.

London:

Grocery and Provisions.....	Mr. WM. OPENSHAW.
Drapery.....	Mr. F. G. WADDINGTON.
Woollens and Ready-mades	Mr. GEORGE HAY.
Boots and Shoes	Mr. ALFRED PARTRIDGE.
Furnishing	Mr. F. LING.
Chief Clerk and Branch Secretary	Mr. WILLIAM STRAWN.

Bristol Depot:

Mr. J. W. JUSTHAM.

Irish Depots—Butter and Eggs, also Bacon Factory.

Cork:

Mr. JAMES TURNBULL.

Limerick:

Mr. WILLIAM L. STOKES.

Tralee:

Mr. JAMES DAWSON.

Armagh:

Mr. J. HOLLAND.

Tralee Bacon Factory:

Mr. J. E. PROSSOR.

Colonial and Foreign Depots:

New York (America):

Mr. JOHN GLEDHILL.

Copenhagen (Denmark):

Mr. J. HALPIN.

Aarhus (Denmark):

Mr. H. J. W. MADSEN.

Odense (Denmark):

Mr. C. W. KIRCHHOFF.

Montreal (Canada):

Mr. A. C. WIELAND.

Hamburg (Germany):

Mr. WM. DILWORTH.

Gothenburg (Sweden):

Mr. H. C. K. PETERSEN.

Sydney (Australia):

Mr. JNO. ROYLE.

Berning (Denmark):

Mr. C. CHRISTENSEN.

Productive Works, &c.:

Lower Crumpsall Biscuit, &c., Works:

Mr. GEORGE BRILL.

Leicester Boot and Shoe Works:

Mr. JOHN BUTCHER.

Beckmondwike Boot and Shoe Works:

Mr. J. YORKE.

Batley Woollen Cloth Works:

Mr. S. BOOTHROYD.

Dunston Corn Mill:

Mr. TOM PARKINSON.

Broughton Cabinet Factory:

Mr. J. HOLDING.

Irham Soap, Candle, and Glycerine Works:

Mr. J. E. GREEN.

Leeds Clothing Factory:

Mr. WILLIAM UTTLEY.

Broughton Clothing Factory:

Mr. A. GRIERSON.

West Hartlepool Lard Factory and Egg Department:

Mr. W. HOLLAND.

Middleton Junction Preserve, Candied Peel, and Pickle Works:

Mr. A. J. CLEMENTS.

Littleboro' Flannel Factory:

Mr. W. H. GREENWOOD.

Manchester Tobacco Factory:

Mr. J. C. CRAGG.

**Manchester Printing, Bookbinding, Broommaking,
and Lithographic Works:**

Mr. G. BREARLEY.

Rushden Boot and Shoe Works:

Mr. F. BALLARD.

Silvertown Corn Mill:

Mr. G. V. CHAPMAN.

Sydney (Australia) Tallow and Oil Works:

Mr. J. C. T. POLLITT.

Building Department:

Mr. P. HEYHURST.

Architect:

Mr. F. E. L. HARRIS.

Employés.

NUMBER OF EMPLOYÉS, SEPTEMBER, 1902.

DISTRIBUTIVE DEPARTMENTS.

		Collective Totals.
General, Drapery, Woollens, Boot and Shoe, and Fur-nishing Offices.....	Manchester	423
Cashier's Office	"	29
Architect's Office	"	15
Grocery Department	"	291
Paper, Twine, and Stationery Department	"	10
Drapery Department	"	168
Woollen Cloth Department	"	40
Boot and Shoe, and Saddlery Department	"	54
Furnishing Department	"	79
Shipping	"	9
Building	"	363
Dining-room	"	28
Other	"	78

BRANCHES.

Newcastle (Office and Departments)	633	
" Pelaw Works.....	507	
" Building	36	1,176
London (Office and Departments).....	338	
" Bacon, Packing, and Pickling	94	
" Tailoring	110	
" Shirts	24	
" Brush, Bedding, and Upholstery and Polishing.....	42	
" Building	194	
" Tea	403	
" Office and Saleroom	49	
" Coffee and Cocoa	77	
" Stables	35	
" Engineers	46	

DEPÔTS.

Bristol	86	
Cardiff	17	
Northampton	18	

PURCHASING DEPÔTS.

Liverpool Branch—Grocery and Shipping	85	
Longton Crockery.....	48	
Irish Branches	82	
" Creameries	421	
Tralee Bacon Factory	63	

FOREIGN PURCHASING DEPÔTS.

New York	6	
Montreal	3	
Copenhagen	20	
Hamburg.....	9	
Aarhus	9	
Gothenburg	10	
Odense	7	
Denia	2	
Sydney.....	9	
Herning	24	99

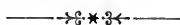
Carried forward 5,094

NUMBER OF EMPLOYÉS, SEPTEMBER, 1902.

		Collective Totals.
Brought forward		5,094
SALEROOMS.		
Leeds	5	
Nottingham	3	
Birmingham	1	
Huddersfield	1	
Blackburn	1	
		11
SHIPPING OFFICES.		
Goole	22	
Garston	1	
Rouen	9	
Calais	7	
		39
STEAMSHIPS.		
"Pioneer"	14	
"Progress"	13	
"Federation"	18	
"Equity"	19	
"Liberty"	19	
"Briton"	4	
"Dinah"	4	
		91
PRODUCTIVE WORKS.		
Banbury Shirt Factory	24	
Batley Woollen Mill	187	
Broughton Cabinet Factory	85	
" Corsets	150	
" Mantle "	70	
" Shirt "	200	
" Tailoring "	545	
" Underclothing Factory	60	
" Millinery	24	
Crumpsall Biscuit Works	468	
Dunston Corn Mill	184	
Enderby	112	
Heckmondwike Currying Department	38	
" Shoe Works	391	
Irlam Soap Works	352	
Leicester Shoe Works, Knighton Fields	1,882	
" Duns Lane	492	
Leeds Ready-Mades	573	
Littleborough Flannel Factory	105	
Longsight Printing Works	515	
Luton Cocoa Works	61	
Manchester Tobacco Factory	435	
Middleton Junction Preserve Works	449	
Rushden Boot Factory	234	
Silvertown Corn Mill	86	
West Hartlepool Lard Refinery	34	
Sydney Tallow Factory	71	
		7,827
Roden Estate		64
" Convalescent Home		7
E. and S. Tea Estates 380 . Total		13,133

MEETINGS AND OTHER COMING EVENTS

IN CONNECTION WITH THE SOCIETY IN 1903.



Feb. 7—SATURDAY....Nomination Lists: Last day for receiving.

Mar. 10—TUESDAYVoting Lists: Last day for receiving.

„ 14—SATURDAY....Newcastle and London Branch and Divisional
Quarterly Meetings.

„ 21—SATURDAY....General Quarterly Meeting—Manchester.

May 9—SATURDAY....Nomination Lists: Last day for receiving.

June 9—TUESDAYVoting Lists: Last day for receiving.

„ 13—SATURDAY....Newcastle and London Branch and Divisional
Quarterly Meetings.

„ 20—SATURDAY....General Quarterly Meeting—Manchester.

„ 27—SATURDAY....Half-yearly Stocktaking.

Aug. 8—SATURDAY....Nomination Lists: Last day for receiving.

Sept. 8—TUESDAYVoting Lists: Last day for receiving.

„ 12—SATURDAY....Newcastle and London Branch and Divisional
Quarterly Meetings.

„ 19—SATURDAY....General Quarterly Meeting—Manchester.

Nov. 7—SATURDAY....Nomination Lists: Last day for receiving.

Dec. 8—TUESDAYVoting Lists: Last day for receiving.

„ 12—SATURDAY....Newcastle and London Branch and Divisional
Quarterly Meetings.

„ 19—SATURDAY....General Quarterly Meeting—Manchester.

„ 26—SATURDAY....Half-yearly Stocktaking.

PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN CONNECTION WITH THE
CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY
SINCE ITS COMMENCEMENT.

YEAR.	DAY.	EVENTS.
1863	.. Aug. 11 ..	Co-operative Wholesale Society enrolled.
1864	.. Mar. 14 ..	Co-operative Wholesale Society commenced business.
1866	.. April 24 ..	Tipperary Branch opened.
1868	.. June 1 ..	Kilmallock Branch opened.
1869	.. Mar. 1 ..	Balloon Street Warehouse opened.
"	.. July 12 ..	Limerick Branch opened.
1871	.. Nov. 26 ..	Newcastle-on-Tyne Branch opened.
1872	.. July 1 ..	Manchester Boot and Shoe Department commenced.
"	.. Oct. 14 ..	Bank Department commenced.
1873	.. Jan. 13 ..	Crumpsall Works purchased.
"	.. April 14 ..	Armagh Branch opened.
"	.. June 2 ..	Manchester Drapery Department established.
"	.. July 14 ..	Waterford Branch opened.
"	.. Aug. 4 ..	Cheshire Branch opened.
"	.. " 4 ..	Leicester Works purchased.
"	.. " 16 ..	Insurance Fund established.
"	.. Sept. 15 ..	Leicester Works commenced.
1874	.. Feb. 2 ..	Tralee Branch opened.
"	.. Mar. 9 ..	London Branch established.
"	.. Oct. 5 ..	Durham Soap Works commenced.
1875	.. April 2 ..	Liverpool Purchasing Department commenced.
"	.. June 15 ..	Manchester Drapery Warehouse, Dantzic Street, opened.
1876	.. Feb. 14 ..	Newcastle Branch Buildings, Waterloo Street, opened.
"	.. " 21 ..	New York Branch established.
"	.. May 24 ..	S.S. "Plover" purchased.
"	.. July 16 ..	Manchester Furnishing Department commenced.
"	.. Aug. 5 ..	Leicester Works first Extensions opened.
1877	.. Jan. 15 ..	Cork Branch established.
"	.. Oct. 25 ..	Land in Liverpool purchased.
1879	.. Feb. 21 ..	S.S. "Pioneer," Launch of.
"	.. Mar. 24 ..	Rouen Branch opened.
"	.. Mar. 29 ..	S.S. "Pioneer," Trial trip.
"	.. June 30 ..	Goole Forwarding Department opened.
1880	.. Jan. 30 ..	S.S. "Plover" sold.
"	.. July 27 ..	S.S. "Cambrian" purchased.
"	.. Aug. 14 ..	Heckmondwike Boot and Shoe Works commenced.

PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN CONNECTION WITH THE CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY

SINCE ITS COMMENCEMENT—*continued.*

YEAR.	DAY.	EVENTS.
1880 ..	Sept. 27 ..	London Drapery Department commenced in new premises, 99, Leman Street.
1881 ..	June 6 ..	Copenhagen Branch opened.
1882 ..	Jan. 18 ..	Garston Forwarding Depôt commenced.
..	Oct. 31 ..	Leeds Saleroom opened.
..	Nov. 1 ..	London Tea and Coffee Department commenced.
1883 ..	July 21 ..	S.S. "Marianne Briggs" purchased.
1884 ..	April 7 ..	Hamburg Branch commenced.
..	May 31 ..	Leicester Works second Extensions opened.
..	June 25 ..	Newcastle Branch—New Drapery Warehouse opened.
..	Sept. 13 ..	Commemoration of the Society's Twenty-first Anniversary at Newcastle-on-Tyne and London.
..	.. 20 ..	Commemoration of the Society's Twenty-first Anniversary at Manchester.
..	.. 29 ..	Bristol Depôt commenced.
..	Oct. 6 ..	S.S. "Progress," Launch of.
1885 ..	Aug. 25 ..	Huddersfield Saleroom opened.
..	Dec. 30 ..	Fire—Tea Department, London.
1886 ..	April 22 ..	Nottingham Saleroom opened.
..	Aug. 25 ..	Longton Crockery Depôt opened.
..	Oct. 12 ..	S.S. "Federation," Launch of.
1887 ..	Mar. 14 ..	Batley Mill commenced.
..	June 1 ..	S.S. "Progress" damaged by fire at Hamburg.
..	July 21 ..	Manchester—New Furnishing Warehouse opened.
..	Aug. 29 ..	Heckmondwike—Cürrying Department commenced.
..	Nov. 2 ..	London Branch—New Warehouse opened.
..	.. 2 ..	Manufacture of Cocoa and Chocolate commenced.
1888 ..	July 7 ..	S.S. "Equity," Launch of.
..	Sept. 8 ..	S.S. "Equity," Trial trip.
..	Sept. 27 ..	S.S. "Cambrian" sold.
..	Oct. 14 ..	Fire—Newcastle Branch.
1889 ..	Feb. 18 ..	Enderby Extension opened.
..	Nov. 11 ..	Longton Depôt—New Premises opened.
1890 ..	Mar. 10 ..	S.S. "Liberty," Trial trip.
..	May 16 ..	Blackburn Saleroom opened.
..	June 10 ..	Leeds Clothing Factory commenced.

PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN CONNECTION WITH THE CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY

SINCE ITS COMMENCEMENT—*continued.*

YEAR.	DAY.	EVENTS.
1890 ..	Oct. 22 ..	Northampton Saleroom opened.
1891 ..	April 18 ..	Dunston Corn Mill opened.
" ..	Oct. 22 ..	Cardiff Saleroom opened.
" ..	Nov. 4 ..	Leicester New Works opened.
" ..	" 16 ..	Aarhus Branch opened.
" ..	Dec. 24 ..	Fire at Crumpsall Works.
1892 ..	May 5 ..	Birmingham Saleroom opened.
1893 ..	" 8 ..	Broughton Cabinet Factory opened.
1894 ..	June 29 ..	Montreal Branch opened.
1895 ..	Jan. 23 ..	Printing Department commenced.
" ..	Aug. 5 ..	Göthenburg Branch opened.
" ..	Oct. 2 ..	Irlam Soap Works opened.
" ..	" 10 ..	Loss of the S.S. "Unity."
1896 ..	April 24 ..	West Hartlepool Refinery purchased.
" ..	June 26 ..	Middleton Preserve Works commenced.
" ..	June 13 ..	Roden Estate purchased.
" ..	July 1 ..	"Wheatsheaf" Record—first publication.
1897 ..	Feb. 10 ..	New Northampton Saleroom opened.
" ..	Mar. 1 ..	Manufacture of Candles commenced at Irlam.
" ..	" 1 ..	Broughton Tailoring Factory opened.
" ..	" 22 ..	New Tea Department Buildings opened.
" ..	Aug. 7 ..	Sydney Dépôt commenced.
" ..	Sept. 16 ..	Banbury Creamery opened.
1898 ..	April 1 ..	Littleboro' Flannel Mill acquired.
" ..	May 9 ..	Tobacco Factory commenced.
" ..	July 11 ..	Longsight Printing Works commenced.
" ..	Oct. 20 ..	Corset Factory commenced.
1900 ..	Jan. 19 ..	Herning Slagteri purchased.
" ..	Mar. 24 ..	Rushden Factory commenced.
" ..	June 20 ..	Silvertown Flour Mill opened.
1901 ..	April 30 ..	Sydney Tallow Factory purchased.
" ..	July 27 ..	Roden Convalescent Home opened.
" ..	Sept. 3 ..	Tralee Bacon Factory commenced.
" ..	Oct. 9 ..	Rushden New Factory opened.
1902 ..	April 9 ..	New Birmingham Saleroom opened.
" ..	" 25 ..	Fire at Newcastle Branch (Drapery Department).
" ..	Sept. 8 ..	Luton Cocoa Works opened.
" ..	Nov. 1 ..	Launch of New Steamer, "Unity," Greenock.

List of Telegraphic Addresses.

- BANBURY SHIRT FACTORY: "WHOLESALE, BANBURY."
- BATLEY WOOLLEN MILL: "WHOLESALE, BATLEY."
- BRISTOL DEPÔT: "WHOLESALE, BRISTOL."
- CARDIFF SALEROOM: "WHOLESALE, CARDIFF."
- CENTRAL, MANCHESTER: "WHOLESALE, MANCHESTER."
- CRUMPSALL WORKS: "BISCUIT, MANCHESTER."
- DUNSTON-ON-TYNE CORN MILL: "WHOLESALE, GATESHEAD."
- GOOLE DEPÔT: "WHOLESALE, GOOLE."
- HARTLEPOOL LARD REFINERY: "WHOLESALE, WEST HARTLEPOOL."
- HECKMONDWIKE SHOE WORKS: "WHOLESALE, HECKMONDWIKE."
- IRLAM SOAP WORKS: "WHOLESALE, CADISHEAD."
- LEEDS READY-MADES FACTORY: "SOCIETY, LEEDS."
- LEEDS SALE AND SAMPLE ROOMS: "WHOLESALE, LEEDS."
- LEICESTER SHOE WORKS: "WHOLESALE, LEICESTER."
- LITTLEBOROUGH FLANNEL MILLS: "WHOLESALE, LITTLEBOROUGH."
- LIVERPOOL OFFICE AND WAREHOUSE: "WHOLESALE, LIVERPOOL."
- LONDON BRANCH: "WHOLESALE, LONDON."
- LONGSIGHT PRINTING WORKS: "TYPOGRAPHY, MANCHESTER."
- LONGTON CROCKERY DEPÔT: "WHOLESALE, LONGTON (STAFF.)."
- LUTON COCOA WORKS: "WHOLESALE, LUTON."
- MIDDLETON PRESERVE WORKS: "WHOLESALE, MIDDLETON
JUNCTION."
- NEWCASTLE BRANCH: "WHOLESALE, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE."
- NEWCASTLE BRANCH, PELAW: "WHOLESALE, BILL-QUAY."
- NORTHAMPTON SALEROOM: "WHOLESALE, NORTHAMPTON."
- RODEN ESTATE: "WHOLESALE, HIGH ERCALL."
- RUSHDEN BOOT WORKS: "WHOLESALE, RUSHDEN."
- SILVERTOWN FLOUR MILL: "CO-OPERATIF, LONDON."
- TEA DEPARTMENT: "LOOMIGER, LONDON."
- TOBACCO FACTORY: "TOBACCO, MANCHESTER."

Telephonic Communication.

Our Premises in the following towns are directly connected with the Local Telephone System :—

MANCHESTER—GENERAL OFFICES		Nos.
"	"	802
"	DRAPERY DEPARTMENT	2777
"	BOOT AND SHOE DEPARTMENT	908
"	FURNISHING DEPARTMENT	3546
CRUMPSALL—SUB TO MANCHESTER GENERAL OFFICES		1755
LONGSIGHT—	"	3063
TOBACCO—	"	
BROUGHTON—CABINET WORKS	"	
NEWCASTLE—West Blandford, Waterloo, & Thornton Streets	"	1260
"	"	1787
"	"	1989
"	"	2506
"	"	2507
"	"	498
"	"	*284
"	Quayside Office	1710
"	"	564
LONDON—GENERAL OFFICE	"	2591
"	GROCERY SALEROOM	5572
"	DRAPERY	5571
"	TEA DEPARTMENT	5570
"	GENERAL OFFICE	3003
"	FURNISHING and BOOT DEPARTMENT	2592
"	BUILDING & ENGINEERING DEPARTMENT	1049
BATLEY		101
BRISTOL—OFFICE		40
"	SALEROOM	940
CARDIFF		*563
DUNSTON		1261
"		*2
GARSTON		6
GOOLE		2
IRLAM		5
LEEDS READY-MADES, HOLBECK		1648
"	SALEROOM	2098
LEICESTER		235
LIVERPOOL—VICTORIA STREET		397
"	"	5865
"	"	*1
"	REGENT ROAD	5861
LONGTON		16
MIDDLETON—PRESERVE WORKS (Failsworth)		33
NORTHAMPTON SALEROOM		206
RUSHDEN		610
SILVERTOWN—ALBERT DOCK		602
WEST HARTLEPOOL REFINERY		286

* Post Office System. All others National Telephone Company.

CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY LIMITED.

PAST MEMBERS OF GENERAL COMMITTEE.

Name.	Address.	Elected.	Retired.
*A. Greenwood	Rochdale	1863 August ..	1870 August.
†Councillor Smithies ..	Rochdale	1863 August ..	1869 May.
§James Dyson	Manchester	1863 August ..	1867 May.
Edward Hooson	Manchester	1863 August ..	1864 March.
		1866 May	1869 Dec.
John Hilton	Middleton	1863 August ..	1868 Nov.
		1863 August ..	1864 March.
*James Crabtree	Heckmondwike ..	1865 Nov.	1874 May.
		1885 Dec.	1886 March.
		1886 June	1889 Dec.
Joseph Thomasson....	Oldham	1863 August ..	1864 March.
		1866 May	1869 Nov.
Charles Howarth	Heywood	1864 March	1866 October.
J. Neild	Mossley	1864 March	1865 Nov.
		1867 Nov.	1868 Nov.
Thomas Cheetham....	Rochdale	1864 March	1865 Nov.
		1865 Nov.	1866 Feb.
W. Nuttall	Oldham	1876 June	1877 Dec.
§E. Longfield	Manchester	1867 May	1867 Nov.
		1868 Feb.	1868 May.
†J. M. Percival	Manchester	1870 Feb.	1872 August.
		1876 March	1882 June.
Isaiah Lee	Oldham	1867 Nov.	1868 Nov.
§D. Baxter.....	Manchester	1868 May	1871 May.
J. Swindells.....	Hyde	1868 Nov.	1869 Nov.
T. Sutcliffe	Todmorden	1868 Nov.	1869 Nov.
†James C. Fox	Manchester	1868 Nov.	1871 May.
W. Marcroft.....	Oldham	1869 May	1871 May.
Thomas Pearson.....	Eccles	1869 Nov.	1871 Nov.
R. Holgate	Over Darwen	1869 Nov.	1870 Nov.
A. Mitchell	Rochdale	1870 August ..	1870 Nov.
W. Moore.....	Batley Carr	1870 Nov.	1871 August.
		1871 May	1874 Dec.
†Titus Hall	Bradford	1877 June	1885 Dec.

PAST MEMBERS OF GENERAL COMMITTEE—*continued.*

Name.	Address.	Elected.	Retired.
B. Hague	Barnsley	1871 May	1873 May.
		1874 Dec.	1884 Sept.
Thomas Shorrocks	Over Darwen	1871 May	1871 Nov.
† R. Allen	Oldham	1871 August ..	1877 April.
Job Whiteley	Halifax	1871 August ..	1872 Feb.
		1873 Feb.	1874 Feb.
† Thomas Hayes	Failsworth	1871 Nov.	1873 August.
Jonathan Fishwick ...	Bolton	1871 Nov.	1872 Feb.
J. Thorpe	Halifax	1872 Feb.	1873 Feb.
† W. Johnson	Bolton	1872 Feb.	1876 June.
		1877 June	1885 March.
§ H. Whiley	Manchester	1872 August ..	1874 Feb.
		1874 May	1876 March.
J. Butcher	Banbury	1873 May	1873 August.
H. Atkinson.....	Blaydon-on-Tyne ..	1873 August ..	1874 Dec.
J. F. Brearley	Oldham	1874 Feb.	1874 Dec.
Robert Cooper.....	Accrington	1874 Feb.	1876 June.
H. Jackson	Halifax	1874 Dec.	1876 June.
J. Pickersgill	Batley Carr	1874 Dec.	1877 March.
W. Barnett	Macclesfield.....	1874 Dec.	1882 Sept.
John Stansfield	Heckmondwike	1874 Dec.	1898 June.
S. Lever	Bacup	1876 Sept.	1885 Sept.
		1886 March....	1888 May.
F. R. Stephenson	Halifax.....	1876 Sept.	1877 March.
R. Whittle	Crewe	1877 Dec.	1886 March.
† Thos. Swann	Masborough.....	1882 Sept.	1899 Feb.
Joseph Mc.Nab	Hyde	1883 Dec.	1886 March.
James Hilton	Oldham	1884 Sept.	1890 January.
Samuel Taylor	Bolton	1885 Sept.	1891 Dec.
William P. Hemm....	Nottingham	1888 Sept.	1889 August.
H. C. Pingstone	Manchester	1886 March	1894 June.
* § J. T. W. Mitchell	Rochdale	1869 Nov.	1895 March.
E. Hibbert	Failsworth	1882 Sept.	1895 June.
James Lownds	Ashton-under-Lyne..	1885 March	1895 July.

* Held Office as President.

† Held Office as Secretary.

† Held Office as Secretary and Treasurer.

§ Held Office as Treasurer.

* PAST MEMBERS OF NEWCASTLE BRANCH COMMITTEE.

Name.	Address.	Elected.	Retired.
George Dover	Chester-le-Street ...	1874 Dec.	1877 Sept.
Humphrey Atkinson ..	Blaydon-on-Tyne ..	1874 Dec.	1879 May.
†James Patterson.....	West Cramlington ..	1874 Dec.	1877 Sept.
John Steel	Newcastle-on-Tyne ..	1874 Dec.	1876 Sept.
William Green	Durham	1874 Dec.	1891 Sept.
Thomas Pinkney	Newbottle	1874 Dec.	1875 March.
†John Thirlaway	Gateshead	1876 Dec.	1892 May.
William Robinson	Shotley Bridge	1877 Sept.	1884 June.
William J. Howat	Newcastle-on-Tyne ..	1877 Dec.	1883 Dec.
J. Atkinson	Wallsend	1883 Dec.	1890 May.
George Fryer	Cramlington	1883 Dec.	1887 Dec.
Matthew Bates	Newcastle-on-Tyne ..	1884 June	1893 June.
Richard Thomson	Sunderland	1874 Dec.	1893 Sept.
George Scott	Newbottle	1879 May	1893 Dec.
William Stoker	Seaton Delaval	1893 Sept.	1902 July.

* PAST MEMBERS OF LONDON BRANCH COMMITTEE.

Name.	Address.	Elected.	Retired.
J. Durrant	Arundel	1874 Dec.	1875 Dec.
John Green	Woolwich.....	1874 Dec.	1876 Dec.
†Thomas Fowe	Buckfastleigh	1874 Dec.	1878 March.
T. E. Webb	Battersea	1874 Dec.	1896 Dec.
J. Clay	Gloucester	1874 Dec.	1901 Oct.
†William Strawn	Sheerness	1875 Dec.	1882 March.
Frederick Lamb	Banbury	1876 Dec.	1888 Dec.
F. A. Williams	Reading	1882 June	1886 Sept.
J. J. B. Beach	Colchester	1886 Dec.	1888 Dec.

* Newcastle and London Branch Committees constituted December, 1874.

† Held Office as Secretary.

CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY LIMITED.

MEMBERS OF GENERAL, AND NEWCASTLE
AND LONDON BRANCH COMMITTEES WHO HAVE DIED
DURING TIME OF OFFICE.

NAME.	ADDRESS.	DATE OF DEATH.
GENERAL.		
Edward Hooson.....	Manchester.....	December 11th, 1869.
Robert Allen	Oldham	April 2nd, 1877.
Richard Whittle	Crewe	March 6th, 1886.
Samuel Lever.....	Bacup	May 18th, 1888.
William P. Hemm	Nottingham	August 21st, 1889.
James Hilton.....	Oldham	January 18th, 1890.
Samuel Taylor	Bolton	December 15th, 1891.
J. T. W. Mitchell	Rochdale.....	March 16th, 1895.
E. Hibbert	Failsforth	June 25th, 1895.
James, Lownds	Ashton-un-Lyne..	July 27th, 1895.
Thos. Swann	Masboro'	February 15th, 1899.
NEWCASTLE.		
J. Atkinson.....	Wallsend.....	May 25th, 1890.
William Green	Durham	September 9th, 1891.
John Thirlaway.....	Gateshead	May 1st, 1892.
William Stoker	Seaton Delaval ..	July 4th, 1902.
LONDON.		
J. J. B. Beach	Colchester	December 21st, 1888.
T. E. Webb.....	Battersea	December 2nd, 1896.
J. Clay.....	Gloucester	October 25th, 1901.

STATISTICS SHOWING
THE PROGRESS ; ; ; ;

OF THE
CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE
SOCIETY LIMITED. —————

PROGRESS FROM COMMENCEMENT, IN

YEAR ENDING	£5 Shares taken up.	No. of Mem- bers belonging to our Shareholders.	CAPITAL.						Total.	Net Sales.
			Shares.	Loans and Deposits.	Trade and Bank Re- serve Fund.	Insurance Fund.	Reserved Balances.			
			£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
October, 1864 (30 weeks) ..	..	18,337	2,455	Inclu-	..	..	..	2,455	51,857	
" 1865 .....	..	24,005	7,182	d in	..	..	..	7,182	120,754	
" 1866 .....	..	31,030	10,968	Shares.	82	..	..	11,050	175,489	
January, 1868 (65 weeks) ..	..	59,349	11,276	14,355	682	..	..	26,313	331,744	
" 1869 .....	..	74,737	14,888	16,059	1,115	..	..	32,062	412,240	
" 1870 .....	..	79,245	16,556	22,822	1,280	..	..	40,658	507,217	
" 1871 (53 weeks) ..	..	89,880	19,015	22,323	2,826	..	..	44,164	677,734	
" 1872	5,835	114,588	24,410	25,768	1,910	..	..	52,088	758,764	
" 1873	6,949	184,276	31,352	112,589	2,916	..	..	146,857	1,153,132	
" 1874	13,899	168,985	48,126	147,949	1,613	2,356	..	200,044	1,636,950	
" 1875	17,326	198,608	60,930	193,594	5,373	3,385	..	263,282	1,964,829	
" 1876	22,254	249,516	78,249	286,614	8,910	5,834	..	379,607	2,247,395	
" 1877 (53 weeks) ..	24,717	276,522	94,590	299,287	12,631	10,843	634	417,985	2,697,366	
" 1878	24,979	274,649	103,091	287,536	14,554	12,556	788	418,525	2,827,052	
" 1879	28,206	305,161	117,657	291,939	16,245	15,127	1,146	442,114	2,705,625	
December, 1879 (50 weeks) ..	30,688	331,625	130,615	321,670	25,240	15,710	1,095	494,330	2,645,331	
" 1880	33,663	361,523	146,061	361,805	38,422	17,905	1,661	565,854	3,339,681	
" 1881	34,351	367,973	156,052	386,824	16,037	18,644	2,489	580,046	3,574,095	
" 1882	38,643	404,006	171,940	416,832	20,757	19,729	2,945	632,203	4,038,238	
" 1883	41,783	433,151	186,692	455,879	20,447	21,949	6,214	691,181	4,546,889	
" 1884 (53 weeks) ..	45,099	459,734	207,080	494,840	25,126	24,324	9,988	761,358	4,675,371	
" 1885	51,099	507,772	234,112	524,781	31,094	40,084	11,104	841,175	4,793,151	
" 1886	58,612	558,104	270,679	567,527	37,755	57,015	11,403	944,379	5,223,135	
" 1887	64,475	604,800	300,953	590,091	39,095	73,237	13,666	1,017,042	5,713,279	
" 1888	67,704	634,196	318,533	648,134	51,189	84,201	13,928	1,116,035	6,200,074	
" 1889 (53 weeks) ..	72,399	679,336	342,218	722,321	58,358	119,541	9,197	1,251,635	7,028,944	
" 1890	92,572	721,316	434,017	824,974	48,549	155,231	11,695	1,474,466	7,429,073	
" 1891	100,022	751,269	473,956	900,752	53,165	193,115	15,409	1,636,397	8,766,430	
" 1892	112,339	824,149	523,512	925,471	56,301	218,534	17,927	1,741,645	9,300,904	
" 1893	121,555	873,698	570,149	917,482	35,813	240,884	14,973	1,779,301	9,526,167	
" 1894	127,211	910,104	598,496	972,566	37,556	259,976	22,488	1,891,102	9,443,938	
" 1895 (53 weeks) ..	132,639	930,985	635,541	1,092,070	64,354	282,563	19,050	2,093,578	10,141,917	
" 1896	142,868	993,564	682,656	1,195,895	97,852	319,478	20,161	2,316,042	11,115,056	
" 1897	151,682	1,053,564	728,749	1,254,319	109,883	350,747	28,623	2,472,321	11,920,143	
" 1898	161,720	1,118,158	775,536	1,297,182	152,460	382,620	24,202	2,632,000	12,574,748	
" 1899	170,993	1,179,609	821,224	1,372,541	199,104	415,690	20,942	2,839,501	14,212,375	
" 1900	182,810	1,249,091	883,791	1,568,163	257,056	447,390	31,545	3,187,945	16,043,889	
" 1901 (53 weeks) ..	196,556	1,315,235	948,944	1,664,765	285,132	477,904	39,304	3,416,049	17,642,082	
									208,163,058	

DR. RESERVE FUND ACCOUNT—TRADE DEPARTMENT

Deductions from Reserve Fund—	£
Subscriptions and Donations to Charitable and other Objects	40,994
Investments Written off: Bank Department	18,259
" " Trade Department	10,660
Insurance Fund	6,000
Land and Buildings Account Depreciation, Special	1,148
Fixtures	852
Celebration Dinner: Opening Warehouse, Balloon Street	56
Newcastle Formation Expenses	16
21st Anniversary Commemoration Expenses, Manchester	2,017
RESERVE FUND—December 28th, 1901:—	80,002
Investments:—Manchester Ship Canal Co., 2,000 Ordinary Shares of £10 each ..	£20,000
" " Gillsland Convalescent Home, 7,500 Shares of £1 each	7,500—£27,500
Balance, as per Liabilities and Assets Account	227,857
" as per proposed Disposal of Profit Account	11,196—239,053—266,553
	£346,555

MARCH, 1864, TO DECEMBER, 1901.

Comparison with corresponding period previous year.		DISTRIBUTIVE EXPENSES.			Net Profit.	Average Dividend paid per £.	ADDITIONS TO TRADE DEPT.		Dates Departments and Branches were commenced.
Increase.	Rate.	Amount.	Rate on Sales				Reserve Fund.	Insurance Fund.	
			Per £.	Per £100.					
£		£	s.	d.	£	d.	£	£	
..	..	347	1	13 4½	267	1½	..	..
..	..	906	1	15 0	1,858	3½	..	..
54,735	45½	1,615	2½	18 4½	2,310	3	234	..	Tipperary.
112,688	51½	3,135	2½	18 10½	4,411	3	450	..	
124,063	43	3,338	1½	16 2½	4,862	2½	416	..	Kilmallock.
94,977	23	4,644	2½	18 3½	4,248	1½	542	..	Limerick.
159,379	30½	5,583	1½	16 5½	7,626	2½	1,620	..	
86,559	12½	6,853	2½	18 0	7,867	2½	1,020	..	Newcastle. Bank.
394,368	51½	12,811	2½	22 2½	11,116	2½	1,243	..	Manchester Boot and Shoe, Crumpsall.
483,818	41½	21,147	3	25 10	14,233	2	922	..	Armagh, Manchester Drapery, Leices-
327,879	20	28,436	3½	28 11½	20,684	2	4,461	..	ter, Cheshire, Waterford, Clonmel.
282,566	14½	31,555	3½	28 0½	26,750	2½	4,826	..	London, Tralee, Durham.
401,095	17½	42,436	3½	31 5½	36,979	2½	4,925	..	Liverpool.
188,897	7½	43,169	3½	30 6½	29,189	2	579	..	New York, Goole, Furnishing. S.S.
121,427*	4½*	43,093	3½	31 10½	34,959	2½	5,970	..	"Plover" purchased. Cork.
22,774	0½	41,309	3½	31 2½	42,764	2½	8,060	..	
611,282	22½	47,153	3½	28 2½	42,090	2½	10,651	..	Launch of Steamship "Pioneer."
234,414	7	51,306	3½	28 8½	46,850	2½	7,672	..	Rouen. Goole forwarding depôt.
464,143	12½	57,340	3½	28 4½	49,658	2½	3,416	..	Heckmondwike.
508,651	12½	66,057	3½	29 0½	47,885	2½	3,176	..	Copenhagen. Purchase of S.S. "Cam-
41,042	0½	70,343	3½	30 1	54,491	2½	6,431	..	brian."
203,946	4½	74,305	3½	31 0	77,630	3½	4,454	13,259	Tea and Coffee Department, London.
430,028	8½	81,653	3½	31 3½	83,328	3½	7,077	15,469	Purchase of S.S. "Unity."
490,056	9½	93,979	3½	32 10½	65,141	2½	9,408	2,778	Hamburg. Bristol Depôt. Launch of
486,839	8½	105,027	4	33 10½	82,490	2½	8,684	6,614	S.S. "Progress."
709,638	11½	117,849	4	33 6½	101,984	3½	2,249	16,658	Longton Depôt. Launch of S.S.
532,750	7½	126,879	4	34 1½	126,979	3½	..	20,982	"Federation."
1,397,357	18	143,151	3½	32 7½	135,008	3½	1,145	14,702	Batley, Heckmondwike Currying.
534,474	6	165,737	4½	35 7½	98,532	2½	6,511	1,000	London Cocoa Department. Launch of
225,263	2½	179,910	4½	37 9½	84,156	2½	17,215	7,659	S.S. "Equity." Batley Ready-mades.
82,229*	0½*	186,058	4½	39 4	126,192	2½	26,092	..	
516,365	5½	199,512	4½	39 4½	192,766	3½	27,424	10,000	Launch of S.S. "Liberty." Leeds
1,164,496	1½	218,393	4½	39 3½	177,419	3½	18,045	10,000	Ready-mades Department.
805,087	7½	246,477	4½	41 4½	135,561	2½	8,338	..	Dunston, Aarhus, Leicester New Works.
654,605	5½	255,032	4½	40 6½	231,256	3½	31,618	5,000	Broughton Cabinet Works.
1,637,627	13	278,882	4½	39 2½	286,250	4	63,843	..	Montreal. Broughton Clothing Fac'y.
1,831,514	12½	314,410	4½	39 2½	289,141	4	48,210	..	Printing, Gothenburg, Irlam, Irish
1,448,150	8½	335,183	4½	37 11½	288,321	4	27,210	..	Creameries.
..	..	3,705,013	4½	35 7½	3,073,251	2½	339,707	124,121	West Hartlepool, Middleton.
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Sydney.
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Littleboro', Manchester Tobacco Fac-
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	tory.
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Rushden Shoe Factory, Silvertown
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Corn Mill. Herning Bacon Factory,
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Tralee Bacon Factory. [Odense.

* Decrease. † From. ‡ From Disposal of Profit Account.

FROM COMMENCEMENT OF SOCIETY.

Cr.

	£
Additions to Reserve Fund—	
From Disposal of Profit Account, as above—Net.....	339,707
Balance—Sale of Properties:—Strawberry Estate, Newcastle	41,953
Land, Liverpool.....	713
Rosedale	11
South Shields	96
Newhall	418
Durham	376
Balance—Sale of Shares—New Telephone Company.....	3,567
Share Investment—Lancashire and Yorkshire Productive Society.....	44
Dividend on Debts, previously written off	60
Balances, Shares, Loans, &c.	754
Bonus to Employés: Differences between Amounts Provided and actually Paid	194
Dividend on Sales to Employés	311
Interest on Manchester Ship Canal Shares	403
	1,515
	£946,555

MANCHESTER GROCERY AND PROVISION TRADE.

Since keeping a separate Account.

PERIOD.	ENDED.	Sales.	EXPENSES.		NET PROFIT.		Stocks at end.
			Amount.	Rate per £.	Amount.	Rate per £.	
		£	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£
1½ Years,	January, 1876..	2,586,691	26,417	0 2½	31,028	0 2½	56,427
5 "	December, 1880..	8,740,658	87,603	0 2½	140,043	0 3¼	70,091
5 "	" 1885..	11,723,202	127,892	0 2½	157,209	0 3½	92,790
5 "	" 1890..	15,511,593	180,023	0 2½	264,131	0 4	123,432
5 "	" 1895..	21,956,461	279,262	0 3	339,816	0 3½	159,990
Year,	" 1896..	4,873,827	65,957	0 3½	85,060	0 4½	155,114
"	" 1897..	5,085,202	70,367	0 3½	77,745	0 3½	124,776
"	" 1898..	5,348,244	71,626	0 3½	105,544	0 4½	137,460
"	" 1899..	6,082,567	79,605	0 3½	113,475	0 4½	168,624
"	" 1900..	6,797,088	87,013	0 3	119,087	0 4½	158,537
"	" (53 weeks) "	7,432,684	91,256	0 2½	119,322	0 3½	211,041
Half Year,	June, 1902..	3,763,826	45,753	0 2½	73,953	0 4½	173,198
28½ Years' Total....		99,902,043	1,212,774	0 2½	1,626,413	0 3½	..

MANCHESTER DRAPERY TRADE.

Since keeping a separate Account.

PERIOD.	ENDED.	Sales.	EXPENSES.		NET PROFIT.		Stocks at end.
			Amount.	Rate per £.	Amount.	Rate per £.	
		£	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£
2½ Years,	January, 1876 ..	211,351	11,484	1 1	2,165	0 2½	72,408
5 "	December, 1880 ..	672,992	43,116	1 3½	* 941	0 0½	44,105
5 "	" 1885 ..	771,933	42,913	1 1½	20,277	0 6¼	44,948
5 "	" 1890 ..	1,205,935	60,656	1 0	25,278	0 5½	84,739
5 "	" 1895 ..	1,920,447	100,386	1 0½	48,223	0 6	108,337
Year,	" 1896 ..	482,444	25,837	1 0¾	13,626	0 6¾	111,911
"	" 1897 ..	484,240	27,294	1 1½	19,065	0 6¾	113,899
"	" 1898 ..	481,136	27,323	1 1½	16,450	0 8½	119,399
"	" 1899 ..	549,017	29,296	1 0¾	23,157	0 10	142,102
"	" 1900 ..	571,786	31,747	1 1½	21,835	0 9½	153,641
"	" (53 weeks) "	606,630	35,289	1 1½	17,212	0 6¼	136,005
Half Year,	June, 1902 ..	331,765	17,591	1 0¾	13,788	0 9½	143,910
28½ Years' Total....		8,289,676	452,932	1 1	214,135	..	..
Less Depreciation, October, 1877.....					4,757	..	
Leaves Net Profit					209,378	0 6	

* Loss.

NOTE.—To December, 1883, the figures include Woollens and Ready-Mades Department.

MANCHESTER WOOLLENS AND READY-MADES TRADE.

Since publishing a separate Account in Balance Sheet.

PERIOD.	ENDED.	Sales.	EXPENSES.		NET PROFIT.		Stocks at end.
			Amount.	Rate per £.	Amount.	Rate per £.	
2 Years, December, 1885..		£ 41,578	£ 2,470	s. d. 1 2½	£ 745	s. d. 0 4½	£ 5,242
5 „ „ 1890..		120,546	8,331	1 4½	*1,196	0 2½	11,463
5 „ „ 1895..		255,315	15,905	1 2½	*3,232	0 3	15,608
Year, „ 1896..		100,593	5,061	1 0	2,659	0 6½	18,479
„ „ 1897..		113,202	6,382	1 1½	2,097	0 4½	24,444
„ „ 1898..		114,121	6,838	1 2½	3,107	0 6½	25,184
„ „ 1899..		134,878	7,746	1 1½	2,826	0 5	37,543
„ „ 1900..		159,692	9,679	1 2½	3,116	0 4½	35,978
„ (53 weeks) „ 1901..		157,387	9,795	1 2½	4,106	0 6½	49,655
Half Year, June, 1902..		103,822	5,258	1 0½	1,620	0 3½	39,242
18½ Years' Total.....		1,301,134	77,465	1 2½	15,848	0 2½	..

* Loss.

NOTE.—To June, 1895, inclusive, the Results and Stocks include Broughton Clothing Factory.

MANCHESTER BOOT AND SHOE TRADE.

Since keeping a separate Account.

PERIOD.	ENDED.	Sales.	EXPENSES.		NET PROFIT.		Stocks at end.
			Amount.	Rate per £.	Amount.	Rate per £.	
2½ Years, January, 1876..		£ 96,648	£ 2,659	s. d. 0 6½	£ 1,524	s. d. 0 3½	£ 7,711
5 „ December, 1880..		292,347	10,500	0 8½	3,646	0 2½	11,484
5 „ „ 1885..		439,988	14,703	0 8	6,330	0 3½	16,074
5 „ „ 1890..		738,251	24,180	0 7½	17,519	0 5½	32,095
5 „ „ 1895..		1,175,301	48,031	0 9½	18,957	0 3½	56,302
Year, „ 1896..		281,889	11,207	0 9½	5,992	0 5	52,161
„ „ 1897..		279,570	11,830	0 10½	4,762	0 4	59,341
„ „ 1898..		275,365	11,681	0 10½	5,395	0 4½	52,332
„ „ 1899..		314,771	12,041	0 9½	6,014	0 4½	56,728
„ „ 1900..		341,833	12,689	0 8½	8,305	0 5½	62,178
„ (53 weeks) „ 1901..		353,247	13,486	0 9½	6,218	0 4½	61,050
Half Year, June, 1902..		208,005	6,993	0 8	3,995	0 4½	70,169
28½ Years' Total.....		4,797,215	180,000	0 9	88,657	0 4½	..

MANCHESTER FURNISHING TRADE.

Since keeping a separate Account.

PERIOD.	ENDED.	Sales.	EXPENSES.		NET PROFIT.		Stocks at end.
			Amount.	Rate per £.	Amount.	Rate per £.	
		£	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£
4½ Years, December, 1880...		81,386	4,999	1 2½	617	0 1½	4,307
5 " " 1885...		184,218	9,354	1 0½	2,379	0 3	5,817
5 " " 1890...		439,580	21,250	0 11½	6,408	0 3½	12,930
5 " " 1895...		781,803	41,130	1 0½	6,587	0 2	19,574
Year, " 1896...		228,132	11,161	0 11½	4,244	0 4½	19,972
" " 1897...		245,896	12,567	1 0¼	2,868	0 2½	22,500
" " 1898...		251,932	12,979	1 0¼	4,366	0 4½	22,323
" " 1899...		286,598	13,469	0 11½	6,681	0 5½	23,754
" " 1900...		305,056	15,196	0 11½	5,479	0 4½	27,817
" (53 weeks), " 1901...		315,596	15,577	0 11½	5,248	0 3½	28,429
Half Year, June, 1902...		158,838	7,745	0 11½	1,434	0 2½	27,202
26 Years' Total		3,278,975	165,427	1 0	46,311	0 3½	..

NOTE.—From March, 1893, to June, 1895, inclusive, the Results and Stocks include Broughton Cabinet Works.

NEWCASTLE BRANCH GROCERY AND PROVISION TRADE.

Since keeping a separate Account.

PERIOD.	ENDED.	Sales.	EXPENSES.		NET PROFIT.		Stocks at end.
			Amount.	Rate per £.	Amount.	Rate per £.	
		£	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£
5 Years, December, 1880...		2,582,396	38,033	0 3½	23,708	0 2½	44,398
5 " " 1885...		4,237,286	53,274	0 3	55,386	0 3½	53,546
5 " " 1890...		5,217,881	70,760	0 3¼	93,880	0 4½	42,136
5 " " 1895...		7,761,473	104,141	0 3½	155,711	0 4½	46,719
Year, " 1896...		1,781,129	26,846	0 3½	34,486	0 4½	66,589
" " 1897...		1,929,783	32,137	0 3½	29,492	0 3½	59,741
" " 1898...		2,108,434	33,609	0 3¼	40,094	0 4½	69,515
" " 1899...		2,333,636	37,082	0 3½	38,563	0 3½	78,551
" " 1900...		2,642,123	39,922	0 3½	42,634	0 3½	87,591
" (53 weeks), " 1901...		2,922,146	39,791	0 3¼	41,414	0 3½	85,941
Half Year, June, 1902...		1,422,546	19,527	0 3¼	22,620	0 3½	78,933
26½ Years' Total		34,938,833	495,122	0 3½	577,988	0 3½	..

NEWCASTLE BRANCH DRAPERY AND WOOLLENS TRADE.

Since keeping a separate Account.

PERIOD.	ENDED.	Sales.	EXPENSES.		NET PROFIT.		Stocks at end.
			Amount.	Rate per £.	Amount.	Rate per £.	
		£	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£
5 Years, December, 1880..		234,269	10,745	0 11	5,484	0 5½	16,171
5 " " 1885..		513,938	17,599	0 8½	21,908	0 10½	24,084
5 " " 1890..		876,923	30,548	0 8½	37,968	0 10½	33,216
5 " " 1895..		1,351,804	44,684	0 7½	57,256	0 10½	48,361
Year, " 1896..		337,674	10,959	0 7½	13,908	0 9½	53,110
" " 1897..		376,754	13,824	0 8½	17,674	0 11½	63,508
" " 1898..		403,875	14,515	0 8½	20,178	0 11½	63,296
" " 1899..		489,112	17,816	0 8½	24,102	0 11½	92,331
" " 1900..		596,508	24,294	0 9½	25,979	0 10½	99,331
" (53 weeks) " 1901..		626,989	28,686	0 10½	23,046	0 8½	100,168
Half Year, June, 1902..		306,118	14,931	0 11½	14,636	0 11½	61,231
26½ Years' Total		6,118,964	228,601	0 8½	262,134	0 10½	..

NEWCASTLE BRANCH BOOT AND SHOE TRADE.

Since keeping a separate Account.

PERIOD.	ENDED.	Sales.	EXPENSES.		NET PROFIT.		Stocks at end.
			Amount.	Rate per £.	Amount.	Rate per £.	
		£	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£
5 Years, December, 1880..		144,855	4,500	0 7½	2,412	0 4	5,971
5 " " 1885..		327,150	9,980	0 7½	8,276	0 6	11,319
5 " " 1890..		493,126	18,876	0 9½	7,874	0 3½	11,870
5 " " 1895..		648,837	22,448	0 8½	14,020	0 5½	20,680
Year, " 1896..		146,395	4,826	0 7½	3,949	0 6½	20,059
" " 1897..		151,274	5,738	0 9	2,761	0 4½	20,171
" " 1898..		164,762	6,022	0 8½	3,416	0 4½	20,131
" " 1899..		203,453	6,699	0 7½	5,452	0 6½	25,911
" " 1900..		227,640	8,167	0 8½	5,621	0 5½	26,770
" (53 weeks) " 1901..		239,836	9,550	0 9½	3,937	0 3½	26,705
Half Year, June, 1902..		119,777	4,707	0 9½	1,481	0 2½	30,287
26½ Years' Total		2,867,105	101,508	0 8½	59,219	0 4½	..

NOTE.—To December, 1888, the figures include Furnishing Department.

NEWCASTLE BRANCH FURNISHING TRADE.

Since keeping a separate Account.

PERIOD.	ENDED.	Sales.	EXPENSES.		NET PROFIT.		Stocks at end.
			Amount.	Rate per £.	Amount.	Rate per £.	
		£	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£
2 Years,	December, 1890..	138,487	6,287	0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	2,387	0 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	10,474
5 "	" " 1895..	485,907	26,707	1 1 $\frac{1}{8}$	6,233	0 3	16,120
Year,	" " 1896..	130,846	7,069	1 0 $\frac{7}{8}$	2,349	0 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	18,974
"	" " 1897..	149,726	7,986	1 0 $\frac{3}{4}$	2,765	0 4 $\frac{3}{8}$	20,746
"	" " 1898..	170,410	9,210	1 0 $\frac{1}{8}$	4,074	0 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	22,455
"	" " 1899..	233,643	10,567	0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	6,104	0 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	27,102
"	" " 1900..	278,473	12,440	0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	8,774	0 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	29,796
"	" (53 weeks) " 1901..	309,711	14,749	0 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	6,102	0 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	29,925
Half Year,	June, 1902..	131,920	7,601	1 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2,385	0 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	31,929
13$\frac{1}{2}$ Years' Total	.....	2,029,123	102,616	1 0$\frac{1}{8}$	41,173	0 4$\frac{1}{2}$	..

LONDON BRANCH GROCERY AND PROVISION TRADE.

Since keeping a separate Account.

PERIOD.	ENDED.	Sales.	EXPENSES.		NET PROFIT.		Stocks at end.
			Amount.	Rate per £.	Amount.	Rate per £.	
		£	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£
1$\frac{1}{2}$ Years,	January, 1876..	203,137	3,907	0 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2,151	0 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	7,219
5 "	December, 1880..	1,119,233	17,826	0 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	17,688	0 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	20,789
5 "	" " 1885..	1,746,107	29,470	0 4	24,718	0 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	24,256
5 "	" " 1890..	3,661,913	66,023	0 4 $\frac{1}{4}$	51,270	0 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	57,347
5 "	" " 1895..	6,125,158	125,071	0 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	74,567	0 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	45,828
Year,	" " 1896..	1,491,157	31,439	0 5	23,339	0 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	61,833
"	" " 1897..	1,631,532	37,505	0 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	20,084	0 2 $\frac{1}{4}$	75,265
"	" " 1898..	1,726,505	38,692	0 5 $\frac{1}{8}$	25,097	0 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	67,943
"	" " 1899..	1,897,517	39,161	0 4 $\frac{1}{8}$	34,047	0 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	82,699
"	" " 1900..	2,177,795	42,057	0 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	34,555	0 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	109,468
"	" (53 weeks) " 1901..	2,520,986	45,021	0 4 $\frac{1}{4}$	33,189	0 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	111,945
Half Year,	June, 1902..	1,296,785	23,196	0 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	23,595	0 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	71,262
28$\frac{1}{2}$ Years' Total	.....	25,597,855	498,868	0 4$\frac{1}{2}$	364,300	0 3$\frac{1}{2}$	..

LONDON BRANCH BOOT & SHOE TRADE.

Since keeping a separate Account.

PERIOD.	ENDED.	Sales.	EXPENSES.		NET PROFIT.		NET LOSS.		Stocks at end.
			Amo'tnt.	Rate per £.	Amo'tnt.	Rate per £.	Amo'tnt.	Rate per £.	
3$\frac{1}{4}$ Years,	December, 1890.	£ 105,438	£ 5,640	s. d. 1 0 $\frac{3}{4}$	£ 152	s. d. 0 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	£ ..	s. d. ..	£ 6,051
5 "	" " 1895.	242,974	15,350	1 3 $\frac{1}{8}$	..	..	1,013	0 1	11,182
Year,	" 1896.	66,501	3,830	1 1 $\frac{3}{4}$	952	0 3 $\frac{3}{8}$	..	..	13,980
"	" 1897.	67,528	4,391	1 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	..	..	174	0 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	16,340
"	" 1898.	64,342	4,542	1 4 $\frac{7}{8}$	..	..	220	0 0 $\frac{1}{4}$	14,285
"	" 1899.	80,870	5,015	1 2 $\frac{5}{8}$	769	0 2 $\frac{1}{4}$	..	..	18,878
"	" 1900.	97,183	6,496	1 4	737	0 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	..	..	20,287
" (53 weeks) "	1901.	104,047	5,988	1 1 $\frac{3}{4}$	968	0 2 $\frac{1}{8}$	..	..	16,260
Half Year,	June, 1902.	53,295	3,267	1 2 $\frac{5}{8}$	353	0 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	..	..	15,656
14$\frac{3}{4}$ Years' Total....		882,178	54,519	1 2 $\frac{1}{4}$	3,931	..	1,407	..	..
			Less Loss		1,407	..			
			Leaves Net Profit		2,524	0 0 $\frac{3}{8}$			

LONDON BRANCH FURNISHING TRADE.

Since keeping a separate Account.

PERIOD.	ENDED.	Sales.	EXPENSES.		NET PROFIT.		NET LOSS.		Stocks at end.
			Amo't.	Rate per £.	Amo't.	Rate per £.	Amo't.	Rate per £.	
		£	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£
13$\frac{3}{4}$ Years,	December, 1890.	53,957	4,487	1 7 $\frac{7}{8}$	..	..	952	0 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3,957
5 "	" " 1895.	208,925	17,814	1 8 $\frac{3}{8}$	..	..	1,655	0 1 $\frac{3}{8}$	8,604
Year,	" 1896.	61,685	4,634	1 6	135	0 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	..	..	10,672
"	" 1897.	70,302	5,660	1 7 $\frac{1}{4}$	..	..	3,167	0 10 $\frac{3}{4}$	10,917
"	" 1898.	68,142	5,885	1 8 $\frac{3}{8}$	..	..	115	0 0 $\frac{3}{8}$	11,002
"	" 1899.	80,906	6,193	1 6 $\frac{1}{4}$	967	0 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	..	..	11,894
"	" 1900.	89,483	6,695	1 5 $\frac{7}{8}$	2020	0 5 $\frac{3}{8}$	..	..	12,854
" (53 weeks) "	1901.	96,596	7,108	1 5 $\frac{3}{8}$	1088	0 2 $\frac{3}{8}$	..	..	13,181
Half Year, June,	1902.	49,518	3,917	1 6 $\frac{7}{8}$	312	0 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	..	..	13,656
13$\frac{1}{4}$ Years' Total....		779,514	62,393	1 7 $\frac{1}{8}$	4,522	..	5,889	..	..
Less Profit							4,522	..	
Leaves Net Loss							1,367	0 0 $\frac{3}{8}$	

LONDON BRANCH DRAPERY

Since keeping

PERIOD.	ENDED.	SALES.			EXPENSES.	
		Drapery.	Boots.	Total.	Amount.	Rate per £.
		£	£	£	£	s. d.
Half Year, December, 1880	....	1,657	6,500	8,157	312	0 9½
5 Years,	" 1885	120,699	89,210	209,909	11,677	1 1½
5 "	" 1890	323,400	*45,281	368,681	28,327	1 6½
5 "	" 1895	439,003	..	439,003	33,431	1 6½
Year,	" 1896	128,989	..	128,989	9,569	1 5½
"	" 1897	138,303	..	138,303	10,793	1 6½
"	" 1898	141,045	..	141,045	12,108	1 8½
"	" 1899	175,511	..	175,511	14,190	1 7½
"	" 1900	205,574	..	205,574	18,014	1 9
" (53 weeks)	" 1901	225,475	..	225,475	18,889	1 8
Half Year, June,	1902	124,295	..	124,295	10,471	1 8½
22 Years' Total	.....	2,023,951	140,991	2,164,942	167,781	1 6½

* Two years only.

NOTE.—To September, 1887, and March, 1889, Boot and Shoe and Furnishing figures included respectively.

CRUMPSALL BISCUIT AND

Since keeping

PERIOD.	ENDED.	Net Supplies.	Production.	EXPENSES.			
				Sundry.	Depreciation.	Interest.	Total.
		£	£	£	£	£	£
2½ Years, January, 1876	..	29,840	29,394	5,309	707	953	6,969
5 " December, 1880	..	87,213	87,003	14,589	2,427	2,298	19,314
5 " " 1885	..	106,679	106,959	18,014	3,194	2,122	23,330
5 " " 1890	..	177,924	181,173	35,716	6,308	4,022	46,046
5 " " 1895	..	421,775	426,035	73,418	10,340	8,048	91,806
Year,	" 1896	82,962	66,838	15,435	2,050	1,091	18,576
3 Year, September, 1897	..	41,423	43,918	11,916	1,406	631	13,953
1½ " December, 1898	..	96,508	93,784	21,868	3,504	1,638	27,010
Year,	" 1899	112,194	109,128	22,585	2,917	1,144	26,646
"	" 1900	131,494	129,448	30,104	3,535	1,516	35,155
" (53 weeks)	" 1901	147,823	146,319	31,817	4,913	2,338	39,068
Half Year, June,	1902	75,848	74,778	17,996	1,251	1,070	20,317
28½ Years' Total	.....	1,511,683	1,494,777	298,767	42,552	26,871	368,190

NOTE.—Dry Soap and Preserves transferred to Irlam and Middleton respectively, September, 1896.

AND WOOLLENS TRADE.

a separate Account.

PERIOD.	ENDED.	NET PROFIT.		Stocks at end.
		Amount.	Rate per £.	
		£	s. d.	£
Half Year, December, 1880		36	0 1	3,805
5 Years, " 1885		1,963	0 2½	11,502
5 " " 1890		*5,789	0 3½	12,607
5 " " 1895		515	0 0½	21,859
Year, " 1896		1,428	0 2½	28,547
" " 1897		902	0 1½	29,245
" " 1898		2,449	0 4½	32,147
" " 1899		3,150	0 4½	45,518
" " 1900		4,117	0 4½	60,593
" (53 weeks) " 1901		2,715	0 2½	59,918
Half Year, June, 1902		2,980	0 4½	66,042
22 Years' Total		13,866	0 1½	..

* Loss.

SWEET WORKS TRADE.

a separate Account.

PERIOD.	ENDED.	RATE ON PRODUCTION.		NET PROFIT.		Stocks at end.
		Per cent.	Per £.	Amount.	Rate per £.	
		£ s. d.	s. d.	£	s. d.	£
2½ Years, January, 1876		23 14 2½	4 8½	955	0 7½	1,538
5 " December, 1880		22 3 11½	4 5½	4,649	1 0½	1,793
5 " " 1885		21 16 2½	4 4½	7,987	1 5½	3,534
5 " " 1890		25 8 3½	5 0½	1,027	0 1½	12,712
5 " " 1895		21 10 11½	4 3½	23,500	1 1½	28,905
Year, " 1896		27 15 10½	5 6½	2,775	0 8	7,715
½ Year, September, 1897		31 15 4½	6 4½	*546	0 3½	12,924
1½ " December, 1898		28 16 0	5 9	4,210	0 10½	11,723
Year, " 1899		24 8 4½	4 10½	11,775	2 1½	10,719
" " 1900		27 3 1½	5 5½	5,943	0 10½	14,018
" (53 weeks) " 1901		26 14 0½	5 4	14,882	2 0½	18,291
Half Year, June, 1902		27 3 4½	5 5½	6,556	1 8½	21,095
28½ Years' Total		24 12 7½	4 11	83,713	1 1½	..

* Loss.

NOTE.—Dry Soap and Preserves transferred to Irlam and Middleton respectively, September, 1896.

LEICESTER BOOT AND

Since keeping

PERIOD.	ENDED.	Net Supplies.	Produc- tion.	EXPENSES.			
				Sundry.	Deprecia- tion.	Interest.	Total.
		£	£	£	£	£	£
2½ Years,	January, 1876	86,565	97,576	28,264	166	914	29,344
5	„ December, 1880	369,357	362,821	127,772	1,947	4,987	134,706
5	„ „ 1885	495,321	493,020	182,021	3,369	5,822	191,212
5	„ „ 1890	771,134	783,457	291,291	5,724	7,622	304,637
5	„ „ 1895	1,264,427	1,269,859	495,923	19,269	23,491	538,683
Year,	„ 1896	283,033	266,531	105,155	5,364	5,237	115,756
„	„ 1897	297,385	316,326	118,970	5,547	5,083	129,600
„	„ 1898	282,994	252,264	101,860	5,598	4,861	112,319
„	„ 1899	341,538	356,451	134,616	5,633	4,629	144,878
„	„ 1900	356,015	354,911	132,799	5,673	4,756	143,228
„ (53 weeks)	„ 1901	358,221	336,573	129,198	5,005	4,286	138,489
Half Year,	June, 1902	214,951	200,050	74,855	2,498	2,122	79,475
28½ Years' Total	.....	5,120,941	5,089,839	1,922,724	65,793	73,810	2,062,327

HECKMONDWIKE BOOTS, SHOES,

From

PERIOD.	ENDED.	Net Supplies.	Boot and Shoe Produc- tion.	TOTAL EXPENSES.			
				Sundry.	Deprecia- tion.	Interest.	Total.
		£	£	£	£	£	£
Half Year,	December, 1880	3,060	3,438	1,057	16	30	1,103
5 Years,	„ 1885	83,295	85,197	27,824	461	1,038	29,323
5	„ „ 1890	139,007	117,020	44,539	2,389	2,857	49,735
5	„ „ 1895	229,350	192,594	78,872	4,552	5,408	88,832
Year,	„ 1896	51,846	39,401	18,734	1,139	1,140	21,013
¾ „	September, 1897	37,002	32,251	14,637	1,072	878	16,587
1¼ „	December, 1898	61,444	54,001	22,499	2,402	1,635	26,536
Year,	„ 1899	62,545	52,213	21,320	1,971	1,206	24,500
„	„ 1900	67,764	60,212	23,457	2,021	1,242	26,720
„ (53 weeks)	„ 1901	65,577	59,582	21,749	2,031	1,266	25,046
Half Year,	June, 1902	28,048	32,323	11,024	1,017	643	12,684
22 Years' Total	.....	828,938	728,232	285,712	19,071	17,346	322,129

SHOE WORKS TRADE.

a separate Account.

PERIOD.	ENDED.	RATE ON PRODUCTION.		NET PROFIT.		Stocks at end.
		Per cent.	Per £.	Amount.	Rate per £.	
2½ Years,	January, 1876	£ s. d. 30 1 5½	s. d. 6 0½	£ 1,488	s. d. 0 4½	£ 9,186
5	„ December, 1880	37 2 6½	7 5	4,008	0 2½	15,772
5	„ „ 1885	38 15 8	7 9	8,630	0 4½	15,752
5	„ „ 1890	38 17 8	7 9½	35,946	0 11½	61,985
5	„ „ 1895	42 8 4½	8 5½	24,347	0 4½	101,621
Year,	„ 1896	43 8 7½	8 8½	6,522	0 5½	97,588
„	„ 1897	40 19 4½	8 2½	8,867	0 7½	115,125
„	„ 1898	44 10 5¾	8 10¾	4,456	0 3¾	82,995
„	„ 1899	40 12 10½	8 1½	4,996	0 3½	120,328
„	„ 1900	38 13 5½	7 8¾	3,064	0 2	114,013
„ (53 weeks)	„ 1901	41 2 11½	8 2¾	6,455	0 4½	83,329
Half Year,	June, 1902	39 14 6½	7 11½	5,598	0 6½	72,606
28½ Years' Total	.....	40 10 4¾	8 1½	114,377	0 5½	..

AND CURRYING WORKS TRADE.

commencement.

PERIOD.	ENDED.	BOOT & SHOE RATE ON PRODUCTION.		NET PROFIT.		NET LOSS.		Stocks at end.
		Per cent.	Per £.	Amo'nt.	Rate per £.	Amo'nt.	Rate per £.	
Half Year,	December, 1880 ..	£ s. d. 32 1 7½	s. d. 6 4½	£ ..	s. d. ..	£ 181	s. d. 1 2½	£ 2,473
5 Years,	„ 1885 ..	34 8 4½	6 10½	71	0 0½	..	..	5,314
5	„ 1890 ..	35 16 1½	7 1½	4,953	0 8½	..	..	11,325
5	„ 1895 ..	38 2 1½	7 7½	9,416	0 9¾	..	..	20,711
Year,	„ 1896 ..	44 4 4	8 10	..	..	2,794	1 0½	17,481
¾ „	September, 1897 ..	43 13 4	8 8¾	..	..	1,743	0 11½	16,722
1¼ „	December, 1898 ..	41 2 10½	8 2½	967	0 3¾	..	..	15,703
Year,	„ 1899 ..	39 19 8½	7 11½	934	0 3½	..	..	13,442
„	„ 1900 ..	37 17 4½	7 6½	363	0 1½	..	..	15,437
„ (53 weeks)	„ 1901 ..	37 2 6½	7 5	2,121	0 8	..	..	15,403
Half Year,	June, 1902 ..	34 6 10½	6 10½	1320	0 11½	..	..	21,676
22 Years' Total	.....	37 18 11¾	7 7	20,145	..	4,718	..	..
Less Loss				4,718	..			
Leaves Net Profit..				15,427	0 4¾			

RUSHDEN BOOT AND

From

HALF-YEARLY

PERIOD.	ENDED.	Net Supplies.	Produc- tion.	EXPENSES.			
				Sundry.	Depre- ciation.	Interest.	Total.
31 Weeks, December, 1900		£ 11,091	£ 11,806	£ 4,215	£ 68	£ 83	£ 4,366
Year (53 weeks) ,, 1901		21,584	22,673	7,846	232	274	8,352
Half Year, June, 1902		21,299	22,090	6,461	543	373	7,377
2 Years and 5 Weeks' Total ..		53,974	56,569	18,522	843	730	20,095

BATLEY WOOLLEN

From

PERIOD.	ENDED.	Net Supplies.	Produc- tion.	EXPENSES.			
				Sundry.	Deprecia- tion.	Interest.	Total.
4 Years, December, 1890		£ 44,326	£ 47,618	£ 20,973	£ 1,124	£ 1,607	£ 22,704
5 ,, ,, 1895		95,265	94,954	31,138	2,239	1,990	35,367
Year, ,, 1896		27,423	28,290	7,730	602	417	8,749
$\frac{3}{4}$ Year, September, 1897		27,297	24,939	6,660	530	347	7,537
1$\frac{1}{2}$,, December, 1898		39,624	40,700	11,601	1,000	659	13,260
Year, ,, 1899		44,875	44,852	11,309	1,104	723	13,136
,, ,, 1900		44,168	44,344	11,341	1,158	662	13,161
,, (53 weeks) ,, 1901		52,952	51,996	13,796	1,158	682	15,636
Half Year, June, 1902		24,327	24,488	6,779	579	331	7,689
15$\frac{1}{2}$ Years' Total		400,257	402,181	121,327	9,494	7,418	138,239

SHOE WORKS TRADE.

Commencement.

ACCOUNTS.

PERIOD.	ENDED.	RATE ON PRODUCTION.		NET PROFIT.		Stocks at end.
		Per cent.	Per £.	Amount.	Rate per £.	
31 Weeks, December, 1900		£ s. d. 36 19 7 $\frac{3}{4}$	s. d. 7 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	£ 964	s. d. 1 8 $\frac{3}{4}$	£ 2,482
Year (53 weeks) ,, 1901		36 16 8 $\frac{3}{4}$	7 4 $\frac{3}{8}$	1,701	1 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4,332
Half Year, June, 1902		33 7 10 $\frac{3}{4}$	6 8 $\frac{1}{8}$	1,843	1 8 $\frac{3}{4}$	5,491
2 Years and 5 Weeks' Total		35 10 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 1 $\frac{1}{4}$	4,508	1 8	..

MILL TRADE.

commencement.

PERIOD.	ENDED.	RATE ON PRODUCTION.		NET PROFIT.		Stocks at end.
		Per cent.	Per £.	Amount.	Rate per £.	
4 Years, December, 1890.....		£ s. d. 49 15 7	s. d. 9 11 $\frac{3}{8}$	£ *6796	s. d. 3 0 $\frac{3}{4}$	£ 7,326
5 ,, ,, 1895.....		37 4 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 5 $\frac{3}{8}$	3,039	0 7 $\frac{3}{8}$	8,139
Year, ,, 1896.....		30 18 6 $\frac{1}{4}$	6 2 $\frac{1}{8}$	829	0 7 $\frac{1}{4}$	8,680
$\frac{3}{4}$ Year, September, 1897.....		30 4 5 $\frac{3}{8}$	6 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,156	0 10 $\frac{1}{4}$	8,039
1 $\frac{1}{2}$,, December, 1898.....		32 11 7 $\frac{3}{8}$	6 6 $\frac{1}{8}$	1,183	0 7 $\frac{3}{8}$	11,131
Year, ,, 1899.....		29 5 8 $\frac{7}{8}$	5 10 $\frac{1}{4}$	1,991	0 10 $\frac{3}{8}$	14,051
,, ,, 1900.....		29 13 7	5 11 $\frac{3}{8}$	2,489	1 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	10,904
,, (53 weeks) ,, 1901.....		30 1 5 $\frac{3}{8}$	6 0 $\frac{1}{8}$	3,783	1 5 $\frac{3}{8}$	10,155
Half Year, June, 1902.....		31 7 11 $\frac{3}{4}$	6 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	1,149	0 11 $\frac{1}{4}$	10,531
15 $\frac{1}{2}$ Years' Total.....		34 7 5 $\frac{1}{4}$	6 10 $\frac{3}{8}$	8,823	0 5 $\frac{1}{4}$	..

* Loss.

LEEDS CLOTHING

From

PERIOD.	ENDED.	Net Supplies.	EXPENSES.			
			Sundry.	Deprecia- tion.	Interest.	Total.
		£	£	£	£	£
2½ Years,	December, 1890	10,652	6,414	149	128	6,691
5 "	" " 1895	97,978	53,712	903	760	55,375
Year,	" " 1896	34,388	19,337	333	247	19,317
"	" " 1897	37,729	20,708	506	332	21,546
"	" " 1898	33,201	18,260	600	364	19,224
"	" " 1899	43,746	25,096	600	378	26,074
"	" " 1900	49,739	25,803	600	419	26,822
" (53 weeks)	" " 1901	52,184	27,189	602	419	28,210
Half Year,	June, 1902	33,001	14,490	663	404	15,566
13½ Years' Total		392,678	211,018	4,956	3,451	219,425

BROUGHTON CLOTHING

Since publishing a separate

PERIOD.	ENDED.	Net Supplies.	EXPENSES.			
			Sundry.	Deprecia- tion.	Interest.	Total.
		£	£	£	£	£
Half Year,	December, 1895	7,561	4,920	171	106	5,197
Year,	" " 1896	22,024	13,782	368	226	14,376
"	" " 1897	27,010	17,751	671	402	18,824
"	" " 1898	27,246	18,129	840	531	19,500
"	" " 1899	30,350	20,450	870	515	21,835
"	" " 1900	39,689	26,126	922	578	27,626
" (53 weeks)	" " 1901	40,180	25,444	994	639	27,077
Half Year,	June, 1902	22,698	13,885	515	325	14,725
7 Years' Total		216,758	140,487	5,351	3,322	149,160

FACTORY TRADE.

commencement.

PERIOD.	ENDED.	NET PROFIT.		NET LOSS.		Stocks at end.
		Amount.	Rate per £.	Amount.	Rate per £.	
2½ Years, December, 1890		£ ..	s. d. ..	£ 1,125	s. d. 2 1½	£ 1,316
5 " " 1895		5,663	1 1½	..	..	5,276
Year, " 1896		824	0 5½	..	..	5,102
" " 1897		2,752	1 5½	..	..	6,680
" " 1898		2,130	1 9½	..	..	5,181
" " 1899		4,326	1 11½	..	..	10,964
" " 1900		3,696	1 5½	..	..	9,764
" (53 weeks) " 1901		2,948	1 1½	..	..	9,274
Half Year, June, 1902		730	0 5½	..	..	4,027
13½ Years' Total		23,069	..	1,125	..	..
Less Loss		1,125	..			
Leaves Net Profit ..		21,944	1 1½			

WORKS TRADE.

Account in the Balance Sheet.

PERIOD.	ENDED.	NET PROFIT.		NET LOSS.		Stocks at end.
		Amount.	Rate per £.	Amount.	Rate per £.	
Half Year, December, 1895		£ 254	s. d. 0 8	£ ..	s. d. ..	£ 1,003
Year, " 1896		439	0 4½	..	..	1,703
" " 1897	719	0 6½	3,217
" " 1898	773	0 6½	3,038
" " 1899	108	0 0½	6,063
" " 1900	516	0 3	5,453
" (53 weeks) " 1901		699	0 4½	..	..	4,522
Half Year, June, 1902		238	0 2½	..	..	2,609
7 Years' Total		1630	..	2,116	..	..
Less Profit				1630	..	
Leaves Net Loss				486	0 0½	

DUNSTON CORN

From

PERIOD.	ENDED.	Net Supplies.	Produc- tion.	EXPENSES.			
				Sundry.	Deprecia- tion.	Interest.	Total.
4 Years & 36 Weeks, Dec., 1895.		£ 1,521,168	£ 1,502,636	£ 86,159	£ 29,715	£ 23,219	£ 189,098
Year,	" 1896.	454,080	451,908	26,470	6,747	5,105	38,322
"	" 1897.	537,475	531,189	27,259	6,763	4,682	38,654
"	" 1898.	604,163	588,175	24,417	6,762	3,537	34,716
"	" 1899.	559,439	561,663	29,143	6,760	3,082	38,985
"	" 1900.	617,014	599,989	31,849	6,778	3,291	41,918
" (53 weeks)	" 1901.	664,700	639,955	35,635	6,802	3,735	46,232
Half Year, June,	1902.	330,951	324,675	17,745	3,442	1,924	23,111
11 Years and 10 Weeks' Total.		5,288,990	5,200,190	278,737	73,769	48,525	401,031

BROUGHTON CABINET

From

PERIOD.	ENDED.	Net Supplies.	EXPENSES.			
			Sundry.	Deprecia- tion.	Interest.	Total.
4 Years, December, 1895		£ 22,423	£ 15,442	£ 1,216	£ 1,326	£ 17,984
Year,	" 1896	11,371	7,362	412	483	8,257
"	" 1897	12,457	7,802	465	549	8,816
"	" 1898	12,960	8,136	522	570	9,228
"	" 1899	13,802	8,475	492	517	9,484
"	" 1900	15,256	7,442	523	405	8,370
" (53 weeks) "	" 1901	13,259	6,833	518	425	7,776
Half Year, June,	1902	6,716	3,436	247	221	3,904
10½ Years' Total		108,244	64,928	4,395	4,496	73,819

MILL TRADE.

commencement.

PERIOD.	ENDED.	RATE ON PRO- DUCTION.		NET PROFIT.		NET LOSS.		Stocks at end.
		Per cent.	Per £.	Amo't.	Rate per £.	Amo't.	Rate per £.	
4 Years & 36 Weeks,	Dec., 1895.	£ s. d. 9 5 1½	s. d. 1 10½	£ ..	s. d. ..	£ 31,884	s. d. 0 5	£ 71,974
Year,	" 1896.	8 9 7½	1 8½	5,164	0 2½	..	..	78,073
"	" 1897.	7 5 6½	1 5½	..	..	5,292	0 2½	51,656
"	" 1898.	5 18 0½	1 2½	5,967	0 2½	..	..	30,086
"	" 1899.	6 18 9¾	1 4¾	8,404	0 3½	..	..	50,717
"	" 1900.	6 19 8¾	1 4¾	6,709	0 2½	..	..	54,476
"	" 1901.	7 4 5¾	1 5¾	2,890	0 1	..	..	77,637
" (53 weeks)	" 1901.							
Half Year,	June, 1902.	7 2 4½	1 5	796	0 0½	..	..	80,536
11 Years and 10 Weeks' Total.		7 14 2¾	1 6½	29,930	..	37,176	..	..
Less Profit						29,930	..	
Leaves Net Loss						7,246	0 0¼	

WORKS TRADE.

commencement.

PERIOD.	ENDED.	NET PROFIT.		NET LOSS.		Stocks at end.
		Amount.	Rate per £.	Amount.	Rate per £.	
4 Years,	December, 1895	£ ..	s. d. ..	£ 1,305	s. d. 1 1½	£ 7,257
Year,	" 1896 .....	..	..	1,262	2 2½	8,732
"	" 1897 .....	..	..	946	1 6½	9,044
"	" 1898 .....	..	..	879	1 4½	9,657
"	" 1899 .....	..	..	3,630	..	5,943
"	" 1900	767	1 0	..	..	4,452
" (53 weeks)	" 1901	337	0 6	..	..	4,187
Half Year,	June, 1902	104	0 3½	..	..	4,593
10½ Years' Total		1208	..	8,622	..	..
Less Profit				1,208	..	
Leaves Net Loss				6,814	1 3	

DURHAM SOAP

From

PERIOD.	ENDED.	Net Supplies.	Produc- tion.	EXPENSES.			
				Sundry.	Deprecia- tion.	Interest.	Total.
		£	£	£	£	£	£
6½ Years,	December, 1880 ..	64,378	65,883	4,193	1,654	2,119	7,966
5	„ „ 1885 ..	72,553	73,425	4,513	1,530	1,728	7,771
5	„ „ 1890 ..	106,021	105,101	8,676	1,615	1,319	11,610
5½	„ March, 1896 ..	180,868	175,503	10,149	925	1,364	12,438
21¾ Years' Total.....		423,820	419,912	27,531	5,724	6,530	39,785

NOTE.—Works sold 1896 and Trade transferred to Irlam.

IRLAM SOAP AND

From

PERIOD.	ENDED.	Net Supplies.	Produc- tion.	EXPENSES.			
				Sundry.	Deprecia- tion.	Interest.	Total.
		£	£	£	£	£	£
20 Weeks,	December, 1895 ..	26,999	32,391	3,597	807	656	5,060
Year,	„ 1896 ..	101,092	103,152	12,256	2,730	2,428	17,414
„	„ 1897 ..	130,477	132,181	18,171	3,302	2,685	24,158
„	„ 1898 ..	170,762	164,846	19,968	4,186	3,135	27,289
„	„ 1899 ..	226,994	225,024	24,403	4,669	3,268	32,340
„	„ 1900 ..	278,933	279,212	29,713	4,878	3,827	38,418
„ (53 weeks)	„ 1901 ..	316,608	304,793	32,245	5,098	3,972	41,315
Half Year,	June, 1902 ..	156,232	161,258	17,461	2,665	1,870	21,996
6 Years and 11 Months' Total		1,408,097	1,402,857	157,814	28,335	21,841	207,990

WORKS TRADE.

commencement.

PERIOD.	ENDED.	RATE ON PRODUCTION.		NET PROFIT.		Stocks at end.
		Per cent.	Per £.	Amount.	Rate per £.	
		£ s. d.	s. d.	£	s. d.	£
6½ Years,	December, 1880	12 1 9½	2 5	* 508	0 1½	3,571
5	„ „ 1885	10 11 8	2 1½	1,099	0 3½	4,361
5	„ „ 1890	11 0 11½	2 2½	2,822	0 6½	5,097
5½	„ March, 1896	7 1 8½	1 5	11,535	1 3½	2,046
21½ Years' Total.....		9 9 5½	1 10½	14,948	0 8½	..

* Loss.

CANDLE WORKS TRADE.

commencement.

PERIOD.	ENDED.	RATE ON PRODUCTION.		NET PROFIT.		Stocks at end.
		Per cent.	Per £.	Amount.	Rate per £.	
		£ s. d.	s. d.	£	s. d.	£
20 Weeks,	December, 1895	15 12 5½	3 1½	369	0 3½	30,825
Year,	„ „ 1896	16 17 7½	3 4½	7,822	1 6½	45,747
„	„ „ 1897	18 5 6½	3 7½	7,551	1 1½	46,347
„	„ „ 1898	16 11 1	3 3½	9,907	1 1½	44,103
„	„ „ 1899	14 7 5½	2 10½	10,117	0 10½	54,001
„	„ „ 1900	13 15 2½	2 9	4,922	0 4½	74,059
„ (53 weeks)	„ „ 1901	13 11 1½	2 8½	8,934	0 6½	50,366
Half Year,	June, 1902	13 12 9½	2 8½	2,638	0 4	102,348
6 Years and 11 Months' Total..		14 16 6½	2 11½	52,260	0 8½	..

LONGSIGHT PRINTING

From

PERIOD.	ENDED.	Net Supplies.	EXPENSES.			
			Sundry.	Deprecia- tion.	Interest.	Total.
		£	£	£	£	£
47 Weeks,	December, 1895	7,512	3,391	591	415	4,397
Year,	" 1896	15,333	7,387	1,011	599	8,997
$\frac{3}{4}$ "	September, 1897	17,445	7,736	869	507	9,112
$1\frac{1}{4}$ "	December, 1898	34,102	16,144	2,005	1,028	19,177
Year,	" 1899	45,665	21,898	3,287	1,568	26,753
"	" 1900	65,340	26,762	3,785	1,829	32,376
" (53 weeks)	" 1901	73,056	30,951	3,980	2,107	37,038
Half Year,	June, '1902	39,885	16,375	2,122	1,149	19,646
7 Years and 5 Months' Total.....		298,338	130,644	17,650	9,202	157,496

WEST HARTLEPOOL LARD REFINERY

From

PERIOD.	ENDED.	Net Supplies.	EXPENSES.			
			Sundry.	Deprecia- tion.	Interest.	Total.
		£	£	£	£	£
37 Weeks,	December, 1896	28,815	1,104	510	471	2,085
Year,	" 1897	65,875	2,916	760	550	4,226
"	" 1898	78,344	2,282	780	792	3,854
"	" 1899	83,062	3,129	813	822	4,764
"	" 1900	118,499	3,044	827	663	4,534
" (53 weeks)	" 1901	159,877	4,770	849	802	6,421
Half Year,	June, 1902	83,184	1,738	470	439	2,647
6 Years and 11 Weeks' Total..		617,656	18,983	5,009	4,539	28,531

WORKS TRADE.

commencement.

PERIOD.	ENDED.	NET PROFIT.		Stocks at end.
		Amount.	Rate per £.	
47 Weeks,	December, 1895	£ 475	s. d. 1 3½	£ 1,089
Year,	" 1896	695	0 10½	2,255
$\frac{3}{4}$ "	September, 1897	938	1 0½	1,019
$1\frac{1}{4}$ "	December, 1898	1,731	1 0½	4,300
Year,	" 1899	785	0 4½	6,450
"	" 1900	2,649	0 9½	11,818
" (53 weeks)	" 1901	2,227	0 7½	14,158
Half Year,	June, 1902	1,199	0 7½	13,172
7 Years and 5 Months' Total		10,699	0 8½	..

AND EGG WAREHOUSE TRADE.

commencement.

PERIOD.	ENDED.	NET PROFIT.		Stocks at end.
		Amount.	Rate per £.	
37 Weeks,	December, 1896	£ *837	s. d. 0 6½	£ 6,653
Year,	" 1897	2,388	0 8½	7,223
"	" 1898	1,317	0 4	13,717
"	" 1899	966	0 1	13,488
"	" 1900	4,262	0 8½	14,053
" (53 weeks)	" 1901	2,165	0 8½	13,893
Half Year,	June, 1902	2,654	0 7½	20,662
6 Years and 11 Weeks' Total		12,315	0 4½	..

* Loss.

MIDDLETON PRESERVE, PEEL,

From

PERIOD.	ENDED.	Net Supplies.	Produc- tion.	EXPENSES.			
				Sundry.	Deprecia- tion.	Interest.	Total.
		£	£	£	£	£	£
Half Year,	December, 1896	37,023	47,612	6,058	889	685	7,632
$\frac{3}{4}$ Year,	September, 1897	74,172	85,562	12,328	1,696	1,316	15,340
$1\frac{1}{4}$ Year,	December, 1898	171,055	175,106	21,394	3,603	3,382	28,379
Year,	" 1899	162,041	168,390	19,240	3,235	2,944	25,419
"	" 1900	163,927	163,233	22,998	3,317	2,927	29,242
"	(53 weeks) " 1901	176,651	179,779	22,206	3,404	3,621	29,231
Half Year,	June, 1902	103,168	75,206	9,913	1,714	1,906	13,533
6 Years' Total		888,037	894,888	114,137	17,858	16,781	148,776

LITTLEBOROUGH FLANNEL

From

PERIOD.	ENDED.	Net Supplies.	EXPENSES.			
			Sundry.	Deprecia- tion.	Interest.	Total.
		£	£	£	£	£
Three Quarters,	December, 1898	15,152	3,084	388	251	3,723
Year,	" 1899	21,279	4,459	518	297	5,274
"	" 1900	20,086	4,550	609	404	5,563
"	(53 weeks) " 1901	20,058	5,166	634	393	6,193
Half Year,	June, 1902	7,192	2,647	324	209	3,180
$4\frac{1}{4}$ Years' Total		83,767	19,906	2,473	1,554	23,933

AND PICKLE WORKS TRADE.

commencement.

PERIOD.	ENDED.	RATE ON PRO- DUCTION.		NET PROFIT.		Stocks at end.
		Per cent.	Per £.	Amount.	Rate per £.	
		£ s. d.	s. d.	£	s. d.	£
Half Year,	December, 1896.....	16 0 7	3 2 $\frac{3}{8}$	1,832	0 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	17,784
Year,	September, 1897.....	17 18 6 $\frac{3}{4}$	3 7	3,611	0 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	49,768
1$\frac{1}{4}$,,	December, 1898.....	16 4 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 2 $\frac{7}{8}$	3,891	0 5 $\frac{3}{8}$	51,611
Year,	„ 1899.....	15 1 10 $\frac{7}{8}$	3 0 $\frac{1}{8}$	8,728	1 0 $\frac{1}{8}$	57,339
„	„ 1900.....	17 18 3 $\frac{3}{8}$	3 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	6,266	0 9 $\frac{1}{8}$	66,044
„ (53 weeks) „	1901.....	16 5 2 $\frac{1}{4}$	3 3	6,011	0 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	72,114
Half Year, June,	1902.....	17 19 10 $\frac{3}{8}$	3 7 $\frac{1}{8}$	1,772	0 4	41,961
6 Years' Total	.....	16 12 6	3 3 $\frac{7}{8}$	32,111	0 8 $\frac{3}{8}$	..

WORKS TRADE.

commencement.

PERIOD.	ENDED.	NET PROFIT.		Stocks at end.
		Amount.	Rate per £.	
		£	s. d.	£
Three Quarters,	December, 1898	140	0 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8,146
Year,	„ 1899	202	0 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	9,090
„	„ 1900	*329	0 3 $\frac{7}{8}$	7,992
„ (53 weeks)	„ 1901	24	0 0 $\frac{1}{4}$	7,771
Half Year,	June, 1902	336	0 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	11,689
4$\frac{1}{4}$ Years' Total	.....	373	0 1	..

* Loss.

MANCHESTER TOBACCO

From

PERIOD.	ENDED.	Net Supplies.	EXPENSES.			
			Sundry.	Deprecia- tion.	Interest.	Total.
		£	£	£	£	£
Half Year, December, 1898 (29½ weeks) ..		55,570	4,372	231	425	5,028
Year, ,, 1899		158,731	11,075	640	1,052	12,767
,, ,, 1900		222,540	16,752	1,073	1,592	19,417
,, (53 weeks) ,, 1901		284,118	18,826	1,306	2,172	22,904
Half Year, June, 1902		156,160	9,740	689	1,130	11,559
4 Years' Total		877,119	60,765	3,939	6,371	71,075

SILVERTOWN FLOUR

From

HALF-YEARLY

PERIOD.	ENDED.	Net Supplies.	Produc- tion.	EXPENSES.			
				Sundry.	Depre- ciation.	Interest.	Total.
		£	£	£	£	£	£
Half Year, December, 1900		62,476	61,569	5,524	1,804	1,118	8,446
Year (53 weeks) ,, 1901		209,220	193,113	11,787	3,720	2,524	18,031
Half Year, June, 1902		132,102	133,127	6,861	1,860	1,346	10,067
2 Years' Total		403,798	387,809	24,172	7,384	4,988	33,544

FACTORY TRADE.

commencement.

PERIOD.	ENDED.	NET PROFIT.		Stocks at end.
		Amount.	Rate per £.	
		£	s. d.	£
Half Year, December, 1898 (28½ weeks).....		1,742	0 7½	26,847
Year, " 1899.....		3,715	0 5½	33,667
" 1900.....		1,031	0 1	44,502
" (53 weeks) " 1901.....		4,669	0 3¾	39,350
Half Year, June, 1902.....		3,684	0 5½	48,351
4 Years' Total		14,841	0 4	..

MILL TRADE.

Commencement.

ACCOUNTS.

PERIOD.	ENDED.	RATE ON PRODUCTION.		NET LOSS.		Stocks at end.
		Per cent.	Per £.	Amount.	Rate per £.	
		£ s. d.	s. d.	£	s. d.	£
Half Year, December, 1900.....		13 14 4¼	2 8½	4,381	1 4¾	18,538
Year (53 weeks) ,, 1901.....		9 6 8½	1 10¾	3,266	0 3½	27,993
Half Year, June, 1902.....		7 11 2¾	1 6½	* 753	0 1¼	37,884
2 Years' Total		9 8 5½	1 10½	6,894	0 4	..

* Profit.

DISTRIBUTIVE EXPENSES AND RATE PER CENT. ON

(FIFTY-THREE

SALES = Expenses =	TOTALS.		MANCHESTER	
	£15,911,330.		GROCERY.	
			£7,432,684.	
	Amount.	Rate per £100.	Amount.	Rate per £100.
	£	d.	£	d.
Wages	154294.32	232.73	39195.16	126.56
Auditors' Fees and Mileages	469.92	.71	219.58	.71
" Deputation Fees	47.78	.07	22.40	.07
" Fares	46.50	.07	21.73	.07
" Deputation Fares	44.51	.07	20.71	.07
Fees and Mileages—General and Branch Committees.....	4342.02	6.55	1057.94	3.42
" " Stocktakers	59.58	.09	5.10	.02
" " Scrutineers	25.35	.04	11.85	.04
" " Deputations	1756.66	2.65	539.49	1.74
Fares and Contracts—General and Branch Committees.....	1628.74	2.46	636.92	2.06
" " Stocktakers	13.58	.02	4.87	.01
" " Scrutineers	8.90	.01	4.16	.01
" " Deputations	867.28	1.30	286.11	.92
Price Lists: Printing	4417.35	6.66	1322.24	4.27
" Postage	568.49	.86	299.60	.97
Balance Sheets: Printing.....	322.50	.49	156.48	.50
Printing and Stationery.....	10106.33	15.25	3219.39	10.39
Periodicals	188.56	.28	97.89	.32
Travelling	15516.72	23.40	2364.10	7.63
Stamps	6067.48	9.15	2726.10	8.80
Telegrams	831.59	1.25	570.29	1.84
Petty Cash	1700.20	2.57	680.13	2.20
Advertisements and Showcards	2904.56	4.38	1393.66	4.50
"Wheat-sheaf" Record Expenses	5265.88	7.94	2459.09	7.94
Rents, Rates, and Taxes	8028.47	12.11	1640.20	5.30
Coals, Gas, and Water	5642.53	8.51	2016.33	6.51
Oil, Waste, and Tallow	662.47	1.00	365.34	1.18
Exhibition and Congress Expenses.....	2014.53	3.04	576.67	1.87
Expenses Quarterly Meetings	755.37	1.14	528.87	1.71
Telephones	708.43	1.06	341.74	1.10
Legal	124.92	.18	13.06	.04
"Annual," 1901	907.42	1.36	423.08	1.37
Employés' Picnic	204.92	.30	25.62	.08
Dining-rooms	18350.25	20.13	5282.46	17.06
Repairs, Renewals, &c.	9616.43	14.56	2321.51	7.50
Insurance.....	4493.36	6.77	572.49	1.85
Depreciation: Land	3142.53	4.74	927.86	2.99
" Buildings	13627.52	20.56	2360.26	7.62
" Fixtures	3373.49	5.08	262.72	.85
Interest.....	57036.64	86.03	16282.59	52.57
Totals	353184.48	505.57	91255.99	294.66
		=		=
	..	2/2/1.5	..	1/4/6.6

SALES FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 28TH, 1901
(Weeks).

MANCHESTER.

DRAPERY.		WOOLLENS AND READY-MADES.		BOOTS AND SHOES.		FURNISHING.	
£606,630.		£157,387.		£353,247.		£315,598.	
Amount.	Rate per £100.	Amount.	Rate per £100.	Amount.	Rate per £100.	Amount.	Rate per £100.
£	d.	£	d.	£	d.	£	d.
17709.62	700.64	4252.32	648.43	6295.21	427.68	8086.58	614.96
17.98	.71	4.72	.71	10.53	.71	8.53	.65
1.81	.07	.47	.07	1.05	.07	.87	.07
1.78	.07	.47	.07	1.04	.07	.84	.07
1.72	.07	.47	.07	1.03	.07	.80	.07
236.79	9.37	31.16	4.75	71.69	4.87	63.99	4.87
11.07	.44	.98	.15	1.40	.10	1.46	.11
.97	.04	.26	.04	.57	.04	.46	.04
209.80	8.30	32.49	4.95	20.81	1.41	46.14	3.51
66.02	2.61	16.01	2.44	35.93	2.44	29.34	2.23
1.05	.04	.29	.04	.25	.02	.30	.02
.34	.01	.09	.01	.20	.01	.16	.01
131.71	5.21	14.23	2.17	12.23	.83	17.54	1.33
330.18	13.06	466.24	71.10	25.00	1.70	46.90	3.57
21.61	.85	1.25	.20	3.63	.25	33.49	2.55
12.76	.50	3.31	.55	7.41	.51	6.08	.46
983.18	38.90	265.81	40.46	596.62	40.54	332.23	29.07
5.62	.22	2.33	.35	4.18	.29	3.06	.23
2415.85	95.58	1398.53	213.26	414.98	28.20	559.74	42.57
221.48	8.76	57.80	8.81	128.35	8.72	104.28	7.93
29.22	1.16	17.86	2.72	9.79	.67	13.99	1.06
9.231	3.65	21.24	3.24	44.11	3.00	42.77	3.25
133.08	5.27	67.23	10.25	201.15	13.67	30.60	2.33
201.60	7.98	53.23	8.12	118.47	8.05	95.54	7.26
1004.61	39.75	573.03	87.38	147.54	10.02	486.20	36.97
226.17	8.95	138.20	21.07	122.73	8.34	171.22	13.02
28.18	1.11	11.43	1.74	16.22	1.10	13.46	1.02
104.98	4.15	35.85	5.47	49.39	3.36	17.72	1.35
43.36	1.72	11.45	1.75	25.48	1.73	20.55	1.56
21.78	.86	10.38	1.58	18.08	1.23	13.53	1.03
1.00	.04	.28	.04	.63	.04	.47	.03
34.82	1.38	9.32	1.42	20.66	1.40	16.45	1.25
17.44	.69	7.75	1.18	8.62	.59	12.70	.96
1140.25	45.11	296.10	45.15	661.70	44.96	543.18	41.31
754.42	29.85	113.87	17.36	136.45	9.27	226.82	17.25
603.32	23.87	139.35	21.25	274.26	18.63	173.47	13.19
526.64	20.84	16.50	2.52	182.03	12.36	463.23	35.22
1342.66	53.12	172.15	26.25	509.52	34.62	1080.78	82.19
102.44	4.05	40.25	6.14	383.34	26.05	370.38	28.17
6499.52	257.14	1510.40	230.32	2923.02	198.59	2390.99	181.83
35289.14	1396.14	9794.60	1493.58	13485.90	916.21	15576.84	1184.57
..	=	..	=	..	=	..	=
..	5/16/4.1	..	6/4/5.5	..	3/16/4.2	..	4/18/8.5

DISTRIBUTIVE EXPENSES AND RATE PER CENT. ON (FIFTY-THREE

		NEWCASTLE.	
		GROCERY.	
SALES =		£2,922,146.	
Expenses =		Amount.	Rate per £100.
		£	d.
Wages		18091 58	148 59
Auditors' Fees and Mileages		86 39	71
" Deputation Fees		8 80	07
" Fares		8 55	07
" Deputation Fares		8 15	07
Fees and Mileages—General and Branch Committees		1106 89	9 09
" " Stocktakers		6 01	05
" " Scrutineers		4 64	04
" " Deputations		200 20	1 64
Fares and Contracts—General and Branch Committees		372 65	3 06
" " Stocktakers		1 22	01
" " Scrutineers		1 63	01
" " Deputations		48 10	40
Price Lists: Printing		148 73	1 22
" Postage		52 96	44
Balance Sheets: Printing		40 36	33
Printing and Stationery		1070 47	8 79
Periodicals		22 32	18
Travelling		617 81	5 08
Stamps		465 85	3 82
Telegrams		120 17	99
Petty Cash		305 94	2 51
Advertisements and Showcards		432 69	3 55
" "Wheatsheaf" Record Expenses		967 74	7 95
Rents, Rates, and Taxes		625 11	5 13
Coals, Gas, and Water		637 96	5 24
Oil, Waste, and Tallow		70 50	58
Exhibition and Congress Expenses		335 89	2 76
Expenses Quarterly Meetings		44 24	36
Telephones		118 01	97
Legal		5 44	05
"Annual," 1901		166 56	1 37
Employés' Picnic		26 10	22
Dining-rooms		2411 01	19 80
Repairs, Renewals, &c.		1705 09	14 00
Insurance		311 02	2 56
Depreciation: Land		220 22	1 81
" Buildings		1504 87	12 36
" Fixtures		822 30	6 75
Interest		6597 19	54 18
Totals		39791 36	326 81
		....	1/7/2-8

SALES FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 28TH, 1901
 WEEKS)—continued.

NEWCASTLE.

DRAPERY.		WOOLLENS AND READY-MADES.		BOOTS AND SHOES.		FURNISHING.	
£469,069.		£157,920.		£239,836.		£309,711.	
Amount.	Rate per £100.	Amount.	Rate per £100.	Amount.	Rate per £100.	Amount.	Rate per £100.
£	d.	£	d.	£	d.	£	d.
11205·32	573·32	2695·52	409·65	3959·17	396·19	8101·96	627·83
13·93	·71	4·73	·72	7·14	·71	9·20	·72
1·40	·07	·47	·07	·72	·07	·93	·07
1·38	·07	·47	·07	·71	·07	·91	·07
1·33	·07	·47	·07	·70	·07	·89	·07
311·65	15·95	69·57	10·57	108·08	10·81	141·64	10·98
3·90	·20	·31	·05	1·94	·19	1·36	·10
·76	·04	·26	·04	·39	·04	·50	·04
95·94	4·91	10·71	1·63	13·78	1·38	28·29	2·19
67·10	3·43	21·97	3·34	33·94	3·40	44·38	3·44
·11	....	·09	·01	·07	·01	·09	·01
·27	·01	·09	·01	·14	·01	·17	·01
47·18	2·41	2·02	·31	3·14	·31	11·53	·89
165·08	8·45	197·51	30·02	54·74	5·48	24·25	1·88
....
6·47	·33	2·18	·33	3·31	·33	4·28	·33
482·87	24·71	145·91	22·17	176·79	17·69	401·74	31·13
4·73	·24	3·83	·58	4·68	·47	2·95	·23
1416·49	72·48	352·92	53·64	338·35	33·86	420·72	32·60
281·22	14·39	39·38	5·99	82·52	8·26	250·08	19·38
28·33	1·45	10·20	1·55	7·38	·74	10·93	·85
34·14	1·75	9·39	1·43	19·66	1·99	47·96	3·72
57·49	2·94	18·78	2·85	119·99	12·01	39·10	3·03
156·41	8·00	53·30	8·09	80·29	8·03	103·39	8·01
464·06	23·74	86·30	13·12	301·94	30·21	464·94	36·03
342·85	17·54	114·06	17·33	201·56	20·17	259·70	20·12
12·33	·63	5·29	·80	6·46	·65	7·36	·57
53·66	2·75	18·68	2·84	44·72	4·47	35·19	2·73
7·24	·37	2·52	·38	3·76	·38	4·80	·37
23·04	1·18	13·54	2·06	16·05	1·61	18·19	1·41
·85	·04	·23	·03	·39	·04	·53	·04
27·09	1·39	9·30	1·41	13·96	1·40	17·91	1·39
11·50	·59	15·25	2·32	18·51	1·85	8·40	·65
482·27	24·68	159·61	24·26	244·79	24·50	318·83	24·71
617·15	31·58	201·06	30·56	268·43	26·86	191·19	14·81
404·16	20·68	114·50	17·40	177·09	17·72	196·76	15·25
171·17	8·76	32·58	4·95	100·73	10·08	153·48	11·89
1230·81	62·97	231·72	35·22	724·64	72·51	1108·08	85·87
463·44	23·71	89·57	13·61	371·74	37·20	91·39	7·08
3758·41	192·30	1498·73	227·77	2037·68	203·91	2225·27	172·44
22453·53	1148·84	6232·92	947·25	9550·23	955·68	14749·22	1142·94
....	=	=	=	=
....	4/15/8·8	....	3/18/11·2	....	3/19/7·6	....	4/15/2·9

DISTRIBUTIVE EXPENSES AND RATE PER CENT. ON
(FIFTY-THREE

	LONDON.	
	GROCERY.	
	SALES= £2,520,986.	
	Expenses= Amount.	Rate per £100.
	£	d.
Wages	19653-04	187-10
Auditors' Fees and Mileages	74-55	-71
" Deputation Fees	7-59	-07
" Fares	7-38	-07
" Deputation Fares	7-04	-07
Fees and Mileages—General and Branch Committees	817-81	7-78
" " Stocktakers	13-05	-12
" " Scrutineers	4-01	-04
" " Deputations	418-57	3-98
Fares and Contracts—General and Branch Committees	222-62	2-12
" " Stocktakers	4-94	-05
" " Scrutineers	1-41	-01
" " Deputations	225-79	2-15
Price Lists: Printing	387-73	3-69
" Postage	155-95	1-48
Balance Sheets: Printing	68-81	-65
Printing and Stationery	1579-05	15-08
Periodicals	30-08	-29
Travelling	1788-43	17-03
Stamps	1385-56	13-19
Telegrams	11-25	-11
Petty Cash	323-69	3-08
Advertisements and Showcards	307-00	2-92
"Wheatsheaf" Record Expenses	835-16	7-95
Rents, Rates, and Taxes	1075-32	10-24
Coals, Gas, and Water	1016-08	9-67
Oil, Waste, and Tallow	96-58	-92
Exhibition and Congress Expenses	565-11	5-38
Expenses Quarterly Meetings	53-91	-51
Telephones	98-14	-94
Legal	77-63	-74
"Annual," 1901	143-79	1-37
Employes' Picnic	32-90	-31
Dining-rooms	1206-69	11-49
Repairs, Renewals, &c.	2125-63	20-24
Insurance	658-31	6-27
Depreciation: Land	174-83	1-66
" Buildings	1969-48	18-75
" Fixtures	324-78	3-09
Interest	7072-01	67-33
Totals	45021-00	428-60
		=
	..	1/15/8-6

SALES FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 28TH, 1901
 WEEKS)—*continued*.

L O N D O N .

DRAPERY.		WOOLLENS AND READY-MADES.		BOOTS AND SHOES.		FURNISHING.	
£175,116.		£50,359.		£104,047.		£96,596.	
Amount.	Rate per £100.	Amount.	Rate per £100.	Amount.	Rate per £100.	Amount.	Rate per £100.
£	d.	£	d.	£	d.	£	d.
6352-54	870-63	1818-75	866-78	2897-87	668-44	3979-68	988-78
5-19	71	1-48	71	3-08	71	2-89	71
52	07	15	07	31	07	29	07
51	07	15	07	30	07	28	07
49	07	14	07	29	07	28	07
224-34	30-75	20-09	9-58	41-68	9-61	38-95	9-68
8-39	1-15	85	41	1-70	39	2-06	51
28	04	09	04	16	04	15	04
70-07	9-60	13-06	6-22	33-48	7-72	23-83	5-92
55-87	7-66	5-12	2-44	10-79	2-49	10-13	2-52
18	02	04	01	04	01	04	01
10	01	03	02	06	01	05	01
32-26	4-42	5-07	2-42	14-53	3-35	15-84	3-94
700-48	96-00	486-41	231-81	....	...	61-86	15-38
4-75	65	1-35	64	2-81	65	2-64	66
308-38	42-26	154-07	73-43	164-04	37-84	176-28	43-79
1-97	27	2-63	1-25	1-84	31	95	24
1432-63	196-35	685-29	326-60	631-25	145-61	679-58	168-85
141-54	19-40	43-25	20-61	73-97	17-06	66-10	16-42
90	12	26	12	53	12	49	12
32-61	4-47	9-59	4-57	15-40	3-55	21-06	5-23
20-51	2-81	5-70	2-72	59-08	13-63	18-50	4-59
58-21	7-98	16-62	7-92	34-53	7-97	32-40	8-05
597-35	81-87	110-28	52-56	125-10	28-86	326-49	81-12
167-76	22-99	68-75	32-77	72-96	16-83	86-00	21-36
12-19	1-67	3-45	1-64	7-10	1-64	6-58	1-64
59-76	8-19	20-56	9-80	65-63	15-14	30-72	7-63
3-76	52	1-10	52	2-23	51	2-10	52
13-44	1-84	02	01	04	01	2-45	61
9-89	1-35	3-03	1-44	5-96	1-37	5-53	1-37
10-04	1-38	2-88	1-37	5-97	1-38	5-59	1-39
9-15	1-25	1-82	87	3-85	89	5-31	1-32
249-12	34-14	69-52	33-13	146-46	33-78	138-26	34-35
416-84	57-13	120-98	57-37	220-85	50-94	196-74	48-88
435-95	59-75	143-95	68-60	172-73	39-84	116-60	28-97
60-64	8-31	16-43	7-83	29-44	6-79	66-55	16-54
607-19	83-22	217-63	103-72	236-28	66-03	281-45	69-98
48-27	6-62	34	16	1-20	28	1-33	33
2074-36	284-30	610-17	290-79	854-66	197-14	701-64	174-33
14228-48	1950-04	4660-50	2221-09	5987-70	1381-15	7107-67	1765-95
=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
..	8/2,6-0	..	9/5/1-0	..	5/15/1-1	..	7/7/1-9

LIST OF CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESSES AND PRESIDENTS.

(Compiled by the Co-operative Union.)

No.	Year.	Date of Opening.	Where Held.	President of First Day.	President of Second Day.	President of Third Day.
1	1869	May 31	London : Society of Arts, John Street, Adelphi.	T. Hughes, M.P.	A. J. Mundella, M.P.	W. Morrison, M.P.
2	1870	June 6	Manchester : Memorial Hall.	W. Morrison, M.P.	Rev. W. N. Molesworth, M.A.	J. T. Hibbert, M.P.
3	1871	April 10	Birmingham : Midland Institute.	Hon. Auberon Herbert, M.P.	G. Cattell.	W. Morrison, M.P.
4	1872	" 1	Bolton : Co-operative Hall.	T. Hughes, M.P.	E. V. Neale.	W. Morrison, M.P.
5	1873	" 12	Newcastle-on-Tyne : Mechanics' Institute.	Joseph Cowen, jun. ..	W. Morrison, M.P. ..	T. Hughes, M.P.
6	1874	" 6	Halifax : Mechanics' Hall.	Thomas Brassey, M.P.	W. Morrison.	W. Morrison.
7	1875	Mar. 29	London : Co-operative Institute.	Professor T. Rogers. .	T. Hughes, Q.C.	W. Morrison.
8	1876	April 17	Glasgow : Assembly Rooms, 138, Bath Street	*Professor Caird.	G. Anderson, M.P. . .	James Crabtree.
9	1877	" 2	Leicester : Museum Hall.	Hon. Auberon Herbert.	Lloyd Jones.	Abraham Greenwood.
10	1878	" 22	Manchester : Co-operative Hall, Downing Street.	Marquis of Ripon.	Bishop of Manchester	Dr. John Watts.
11	1879	" 14	Gloucester : Corn Exchange.	Professor Stuart.	J. T. W. Mitchell. . .	James Crabtree.
12	1880	May 17	Newcastle-on-Tyne: Bath Lane School-room.	Bishop of Durham.	R. S. Watson.	H. R. Bailey.
13	1881	June 6	Leeds : Albert Hall.	Lord Derby.	T. Hughes, Q.C.	James Crabtree.
14	1882	May 29	Oxford : Town Hall.	Lord Reay.	Councillor Pumphrey	George Hines.
15	1883	May 14	Edinburgh : Oddfellows' Hall.	Rt. Hon. W. E. Baxter, M.P.	William Maxwell. . .	John Allan.
16	1884	June 2	Derby : Lecture Hall.	Sedley Taylor, M.A. . .	A. Scotton.	Councillor Hartley.

LIST OF CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESSES AND PRESIDENTS—continued.

No.	Year.	Date of Opening.	Where Held.	President of First Day.	President of Second Day.	President of Third Day.
17	1885	May 25	Oldham : Co-operative Hall, King St.	Lloyd Jones.....	F. Hardern.....	Lewis Feber.
18	1886	June 14	Plymouth : Guildhall.....	Earl of Morley.....	A. H. D. Acland, M.P.	J. H. Young.
19	1887	May 30	Carlisle : Her Majesty's Theatre....	G. J. Holyoake.....	Sir W. Lawson, M.P.	Councillor Rule.
20	1888	" 21	Dewsbury : Co-operative Hall.....	E. V. Neale.....	Marquis of Ripon..	John Cave, jun.
21	1889	June 10	Ipswich : Public Hall.....	Professor A. Marshall..	B. Jones.....	George Hines.
22	1890	May 26	Glasgow : City Hall.....	Earl of Rosebery.....	William Maxwell..	James Deans.
23	1891	" 18	Lincoln : Drill Hall.....	A. H. D. Acland, M.P..	D. McInnes.....	J. Hepworth.
24	1892	June 6	Rochdale : Baillie Street Chapel....	J. T. W. Mitchell, J.P..	A. Greenwood.....	Councillor Cheetham.
25	1893	May 22	Bristol : Hall of the Y.M.C.A.	Councillor G. Hawkins.	J. Clay, J.P.	W. H. Brown, C.C.
26	1894	" 14	Sunderland : Victoria Hall.....	T. Tweddell, J.P., F.R.G.S.	J. McKendrick....	W. Crooks.
27	1895	June 3	Huddersfield : Town Hall.....	Geo. Thomson.....	T. Bland, J.P.....	Jas. Broadbent.
28	1896	May 25	Woolwich : Tabernacle, Beresford St.	† B. Jones.....	B. Jones.....	B. Jones.
29	1897	June 7	Perth : City Hall.....	Wm. Maxwell, J.P.....	Wm. Maxwell, J.P..	Wm. Maxwell, J.P.
30	1898	May 30	Peterborough : Theatre Royal, Broad- way.	† D. McInnes.....	D. McInnes.....	D. McInnes.
31	1899	" 22	Liverpool : St. George's Hall.....	F. Hardern, J.P.....	F. Hardern, J.P..	F. Hardern, J.P.
32	1900	June 4	Cardiff : Park Hall.....	W. H. Brown.....	W. H. Brown....	W. H. Brown.
33	1901	May 27	Middlesbrough : Town Hall.....	J. Warwick.....	J. Warwick.....	J. Warwick.
34	1902	" 19	Exeter : Theatre Royal.....	G. Hawkins.....	G. Hawkins.....	G. Hawkins.

* Inaugural Address delivered by Prof. Hodgson. † Inaugural Address delivered by Earl of Winchilsea. ‡ Inaugural Address delivered by Bishop of London.

LIST OF PAPERS READ AT CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESSES SINCE 1869,
TOGETHER WITH NAMES OF WRITERS.

(*Compiled by the Co-operative Union.*)

No.	Year.	Place of Congress Meeting.	Title of Paper.	Name of Writer.
1	1869	London.....	Trade Unions and Co-operation	John Frcarson.
2	"	"	The North of England Co-operative Wholesale Society	W. Nuttall.
3	"	"	Co-operation: How to Secure Safe Progress Therein.....	Dr. John Watts.
4	"	"	Associated Homes	Col. Henry Clinton.
5	"	"	Higher Aims of Co-operation and How to Realise Them.....	Dr. Travis.
6	"	"	Organisation and Co-operation	— Bray.
7	"	"	The Principles of Co-operation as Applied to Credit.....	R. B. D. Morier.
8	"	"	The Best Means of Making Co-operative Societies Mutually Helpful	Rev. W. N. Molesworth.
9	"	"	Self-supporting Educational Establishments	Ion Perdicaris.
10	"	"	Co-operative Libraries and the Principles on which they should be Formed and Managed.	W. E. A. Axon, F.R.S.L.
11	"	"	Industrial Partnerships	A. Briggs.
12	"	"	Co-operative Organisation and Propaganda.....	W. Pare, F.S.S.
13	"	"	National Co-operative Organisation	J. Borrowman.
14	"	"	Land, Labour, and Capital	E. T. Craig.
15	"	"	A London Co-operative Board.....	G. J. Holyoake.
16	"	"	The Claims of Co-operative Societies to the Use of Public Land for Agricultural and Building Purposes.	T. Hare.

LIST OF PAPERS READ AT CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESSES SINCE 1869—continued.

No.	Year.	Place of Congress Meeting.	Title of Paper.	Name of Writer.
37	1871	Birmingham	London Co-operative Agency	R. Stephens.
38	1872	Bolton	Mutual Guarantee	E. O. Greening.
39	"	"	The Check System	J. Borrowman.
40	"	"	A Plea for Checking the Cash taken by Salesmen	J. Watt.
41	"	"	Co-operative Check System	W. Nuttall.
42	"	"	Productive Co-operation	J. Borrowman.
43	"	"	Production of Flour by the Wholesale Society	— Mc. Pherson.
44	"	"	How to Dispose of the Surplus Capital of Co-operative Societies	F. Smith.
45	"	"	Co-operative Agriculture	R. Stapleton.
46	"	"	How the Rapidly Accumulating Capital of Co-operators may be Best Employed.	E. T. Craig.
47	"	"	Federative Trading	Lloyd Jones.
48	"	"	The Extension of Wholesale Co-operative Societies	J. Borrowman.
49	1873	Newcastle-on-Tyne	The Most Efficient and Practical Plan of Arranging the Powers and Duties of the Central Board.	E. V. Neale.
50	"	"	Principles and Methods of Voting	J. T. McInnes.
51	"	"	The Best Means of Promoting Co-operative Production	J. Borrowman.
52	"	"	" " " "	G. J. Holyoake.
53	"	"	Some Hints on the Problem of Co-operative Production	J. M. Ludlow.
54	"	"	The Co-operative News	T. Hayes.

LIST OF PAPERS READ AT CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESSES SINCE 1869—*continued.*

No.	Year.	Place of Congress Meeting.	Title of Paper.	Name of Writer.
55	1873	Newcastle-on-Tyne	The Journalism of the Movement.....	G. J. Holyoake.
56	"	"	How to Increase Co-operation	P. H. Holland.
57	"	"	The Highest Form of Co-operation	Dr. Henry Travis.
58	1874	Halifax	Mode of Appointing the Central Board	E. V. Neale.
59	"	"	The Leakage Question	— Whiteley.
60	"	"	The Progress and Consolidation of Co-operation	Lloyd Jones.
61	"	"	The Future of Labour in Co-operation	E. O. Greening.
62	"	"	Co-operative Production	J. Borrowman.
63	"	"	A Plea for a Truly Co-operative Press	E. O. Greening.
64	"	"	The Best Form of the Co-operative Organ	J. T. McInnes.
65	"	"	Co-operative Propaganda.....	G. J. Holyoake.
66	"	"	Higher Education on Co-operative Principles.....	— Cunningham.
67	"	"	Equitable Distribution of Profits	J. Holmes.
68	"	"	Trade Unions in Relation to Co-operation	Lloyd Jones.
69	1875	London.....	The Schulze-Delitzsch System of Banking	W. Morrison.
70	"	"	Co-operation v. Individualism.....	R. Kyle.
71	"	"	Co-operative Production	E. O. Greening.
72	"	"	The Management of Productive Societies	F. Smith.
73	"	"	The Management and Best Form of Constitution to be given to Productive Societies, &c.	E. V. Neale.

LIST OF PAPERS READ AT CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESSES SINCE 1869—*continued*.

No.	Year.	Place of Congress Meeting.	Title of Paper.	Name of Writer.
74	1875	London.....	The Present State of the Co-operative Movement and the Future before it	Bailey Walker.
75	"	"	Proposal of a National Industrial Orphanage.....	Dr. Rutherford.
76	"	"	Proposal for the Establishment of International Co-operation	G. J. Holyoake.
77	"	"	International Co-operation.....	Dr. Worrall.
78	"	"	Trade Societies' Funds and Co-operative Production	Lloyd Jones.
79	1876	Glasgow	The Policy of Paying High Dividends.....	E. V. Neale.
80	"	"	Organisation for Propaganda	J. Smith.
81	"	"	Co-operation and Trades Unionism	H. R. Slatter.
82	"	"	Hindrances to Productive Co-operation.....	R. Kyle.
83	"	"	How to Diminish the Risks and Increase the Benefits of Productive Co-operation.	W. Campbell.
84	"	"	Associated Healthy Dwellings; or, a New Plan of Practical Propaganda .	E. T. Craig.
85	1877	Leicester	Banking.....	T. Hughes.
86	"	"	A Special Means of Safe and Profitable Investment	W. Campbell.
87	"	"	The Accumulation of Capital	E. T. Craig.
88	"	"	How should Labour be Paid in Co-operation?	Lloyd Jones.
89	"	"	The Relation of Capital and Labour when engaged in Co-operative Production.	F. Smith.
90	"	"	Labour in Co-operative Workshops	J. Smith.
91	"	"	What Trade Unionists Might Do for the Worker through Co-operation ..	E. V. Neale.
92	"	"	Trade Unions and Co-operation	H. R. Slatter.

LIST OF PAPERS READ AT CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESSES SINCE 1869—continued.

No.	Year.	Place of Congress Meeting.	Title of Paper.	Name of Writer.
93	1877	Leicester	Store Management	Lloyd Jones.
94	"	"	The Proper Position of Labour in the Co-operative Movement	R. Kyle.
95	"	"	The Place of the Labourer in Co-operation.	J. Greenwood.
96	"	"	The Failures of Industrial Partnerships	E. O. Greening.
97	"	"	Diffusion of the <i>Co-operative News</i>	G. J. Holyoake.
98	"	"	Re-establishment of Labour Exchanges.	"
99	"	"	Educational Funds	G. Hines.
100	"	"	The Necessity of Co-operative Education, &c.	J. Holmes.
101	1878	Manchester	Working Men's Clubs	Hodgson Pratt.
102	"	"	Co-operative Friendly Society	J. Odgers.
103	"	"	Co-operation and Culture	J. H. Jones.
104	"	"	The Development, Promotion, and Benefits of Education	R. Kyle.
105	"	"	Voluntary Propagandist Efforts	E. V. Neale.
106	1879	Gloucester	The Co-operative Union: Its Work, Duties, and Machinery	J. Borrowman.
107	"	"	"	R. Kyle.
108	"	"	"	E. V. Neale.
109	"	"	Co-operative Production	J. Odgers.
110	"	"	Spread of Co-operation in Agricultural Villages, &c.	G. Hines.
111	"	"	"	W. H. Hall.
112	"	"	The Attitude of the Co-operative Movement to Private Trade	E. V. Neale.

LIST OF PAPERS READ AT CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESSES SINCE 1869—*continued*.

No.	Year.	Place of Congress Meeting.	Title of Paper.	Name of Writer.
113	1879	Gloucester	A Co-operative Review, &c.	E. T. Craig.
114	"	"	"	R. Newton.
115	"	"	A Co-operative Orphanage	Dr. Rutherford.
116	1880	Newcastle-on-Tyne	The Co-operative Union	R. Kyle.
117	"	"	Productive Co-operation	W. Swallow.
118	"	"	Wholesale Co-operation	Lloyd Jones.
119	"	"	Store Management	G. Scott.
120	"	"	Co-operative Cottage Building and the Land Question	T. Thirlaway.
121	"	"	Co-operation and the Perils of Credit	G. Hines.
122	"	"	The Land	E. V. Neale.
123	"	"	Education in Connection with Co-operation	J. Holmes.
124	1881	Leeds	Surplus Funds	J. Smith.
125	"	"	"	J. Crabtree.
126	"	"	The Land Question in Connection with Co-operation	Lloyd Jones.
127	"	"	Co-operative Production	J. Hepworth.
128	"	"	The Fundamental Principles of Co-operation	A. Greenwood.
129	"	"	Manual of Auditing	R. J. Milburne.
130	"	"	Organisation and Education	J. Holmes.
131	"	"	The Constitution of the Central Board	H. R. Bailey.
132	1882	Oxford	The Banking Question	J. Crabtree.

LIST OF PAPERS READ AT CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESSES SINCE 1869—*continued.*

No.	Year.	Place of Congress Meeting.	Title of Paper.	Name of Writer.
133	1882	Oxford	The Banking Question	T. Hughes, Q.C.
134	"	"	Co-operation and Agriculture	Rev. G. W. Kitchin.
135	"	"	The Education of Co-operators	Arnold Toynbee.
136	"	"	"	B. Jones.
137	"	"	The Revenue of the Central Board	John Allan.
138	"	"	"	G. J. Holyoake.
139	1883	Edinburgh	The Present Position and Future Development of Co-operation	A. H. D. Acland.
140	"	"	"	J. Lochhead.
141	"	"	The Banking Question	E. V. Neale.
142	"	"	Utilisation of Surplus Capital	Lloyd Jones.
143	"	"	"	J. Lord.
144	"	"	The Best Means of Propagating Co-operation in Large Towns	J. Mc.Nair.
145	"	"	"	W. Nuttall.
146	1884	Derby	The Nationalisation of the Land	G. Purcell.
147	"	"	Co-operative Farming	D. Johnson.
148	"	"	Surplus Capital	W. T. Nutter.
149	"	"	"	J. Hopworth.
150	"	"	The Economic Aspect of Co-operation	E. V. Neale.
151	1885	Oldham	The Limited Liability Movement in Oldham	F. Hardern.
152	"	"	Difficulties of Productive Co-operation	T. W. Fenton.

LIST OF PAPERS READ AT CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESSES SINCE 1869—*continued*.

No.	Year.	Place of Congress Meeting.	Title of Paper.	Name of Writer.
153	1885	Oldham	The Rise and Progress of Co-operation in Oldham	L. Feber.
154	"	"	Education in Connection with Co-operation	W. Crooks.
155	"	"	The Future of the Working Classes	E. O. Greening.
156	1886	Plymouth	Co-operative Education	Miss Sharp.
157	"	"	"	J. H. Jones.
158	"	"	Co-operative Production	J. C. Gray.
159	"	"	"	W. Swallow.
160	"	"	The Common Sense of Co-operation	E. V. Neale.
161	1887	Carlisle	Co-operative Agriculture	D. McInnes.
162	"	"	"	W. G. Loveday.
163	"	"	Co-operative and Competitive Trade and Dividends	D. Thomson.
164	"	"	"	T. Ritchie.
165	1888	Dewsbury	What should be the True Relations between a Wholesale Distributive Society and the Productive Societies whose work it may sell?	G. E. Quirk.
166	"	"	What should be the True Relations between a Wholesale Distributive Society and the Productive Societies whose work it may sell?	C. Shuttlebotham.
167	"	"	Ought Productive Works to be carried on as Departments of Wholesale Societies; if so, under what conditions?	C. Shuttlebotham.
168	"	"	Ought Productive Works to be carried on as Departments of Wholesale Societies; if so, under what conditions?	E. Copland.
169	1889	Ipswich	The Credit System	W. Swallow.

LIST OF PAPERS READ AT CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESSES SINCE 1869—*continued.*

No.	Year.	Place of Congress Meeting.	Title of Paper.	Name of Writer.
170	1889	Ipswich	Co-operation and International Commerce	Vaughan Nash.
171	1890	Glasgow	The Relations between Co-operation and Socialistic Aspirations	Miss M. L. Davies.
172	"	"	Cash and Check Systems	J. Thirlaway.
173	"	"	Co-operation in Ireland	Hon. H. C. Plunkett.
174	"	"	Labour, Capital, and Consumption	E. S. Bycraft.
175	1891	Lincoln	The Best Method of bringing Co-operation within the Reach of the Poorest of the Population.	Sydney Webb.
176	"	"	How Best to Consolidate and Improve the Position of Productive Societies.	W. G. Harrison.
177	"	"	The Best Means of bringing Co-operation and Trades Unions into closer union.	J. Arnold.
178	"	"	How Best to Utilise the Increasing Surplus Capital of the Movement	A. Maskery.
179	1892	Rochdale	The Best Method of Consolidating and Federating Existing Productive Effort.	J. Deans.
180	"	"	The Duties of Co-operators in Regard to the Hours and Conditions of Labour.	Tom Mann.
181	"	"	How Best to Do Away with the Sweating System	Miss Beatrice Potter.
182	1893	Bristol	The Relation of Employés to the Co-operative Movement	W. Maxwell.
183	"	"	Overlapping, its Varieties and Dangers	C. J. Beckett.
184	"	"	The Position Co-operators ought to take with regard to the Social and Industrial Problems of the Present Day.	R. H. Tutt.
185	1894	Sunderland	Store Management	W. Openshaw.

LIST OF PAPERS READ AT CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESSES SINCE 1869—*continued.*

No.	Year.	Place of Congress Meeting.	Title of Paper.	Name of Writer.
186	1894	Sunderland	Co-operative Agriculture	W. Campbell.
187	1895	Huddersfield	Co-operation as Applied to the Agricultural Population and to Agriculture.	D. McInnes.
188	1896	Woolwich	The Relation of the Co-operative Movement to National and International Commerce.	A. Williams.
189	"	"	Are Modifications in the Rochdale System of Co-operation necessary to Meet the Needs of Great Centres of Population?	G. Hawkins.
190	1897	Perth	The Rights and Privileges of Citizens, with special reference to the Scottish Traders' Agitation against the Co-operative Movement.	W. E. Snell.
191	"	"	Superannuation of Co-operative Employés	R. J. Wilson.
192	1898	Peterborough	Co-operative Credit Banking	H. W. Wolff.
193	"	"	Co-operation in Agriculture	J. C. Gray.
194	1899	Liverpool	How to Make Co-operation succeed in Large Centres of Population	E. O. Greening.



THE CO-OPERATIVE UNION LIMITED.

OFFICES: LONG MILLGATE, MANCHESTER.

WHAT IS THE CO-OPERATIVE UNION?

IT is an institution charged with the duty of keeping alive and diffusing a knowledge of the principles which form the life of the Co-operative movement, and giving to its active members, by advice and instruction—literary, legal, or commercial—the help they may require, that they may be better able to discharge the important work they have to do.

WHAT HAS IT DONE?

THE greater part of the legal advantages enjoyed by Co-operators originated in the action of the Central Board of the Union, and the Central Committee which it succeeded. They may be summarised as follows:—

- (1) The right to deal with the public instead of their own members only.
- (2) The incorporation of the Societies, by which they have acquired the right of holding in their own name lands or buildings and property generally, and of suing and being sued in their own names, instead of being driven to employ trustees.
- (3) The power to hold £200 instead of £100 by individual members of our Societies.
- (4) The limitation of the liability of members for the debts of the Society to the sum unpaid upon the shares standing to their credit.
- (5) The exemption of Societies from charge to income tax on the profits of their business, under the condition that the number of their shares shall not be limited.
- (6) The authorising one Registered Society to hold shares in its own corporate name to any amount in the capital of another Registered Society.
- (7) The extension of the power of members of Societies to bequeath shares by nomination in a book, without the formality of a will or the necessity of appointing executors, first from £30 to £50, and now to £100, by the Provident Nominations and Small Intestacies Act, 1883, which also makes this power apply to loans and deposits as well as to shares.
- (8) The Industrial and Provident Societies Act, 1871, which enables Societies to hold and deal with and freely.
- (9) The Industrial and Provident Societies Act, 1876, which consolidated into one Act the laws relating to these Societies, and, among many smaller advantages too numerous to be mentioned in detail, gave them the right of carrying on banking business whenever they offer to the depositors the security of transferable share capital.
- (10) The Industrial and Provident Societies Act, 1893.

The Union consists of Industrial and Provident Societies, Joint-Stock Companies, and other bodies corporate.

THE CO-OPERATIVE UNION LIMITED.

No Society is admitted into Union unless its management is of a representative character, nor unless it agree—●

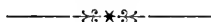
- (1) To accept the statement of principles in the rules of the Union as the rules by which it shall be guided in all its own business transactions.
- (2) To contribute to the fund called the Congress Fund the annual payment following:—
 - (a) If the number of members of any such Society is less than 1,000, then the sum of 2d. for each member.
 - (b) If the number of such members exceeds 1,000, then, at least, the sum of 2,000d.

In estimating the number of members of a Society comprising other Societies, each such Society is considered to be one member.

The subscription is considered due, 1d. in the first and 1d. in the third quarter of each year, but may be wholly paid in the first quarter.

The financial year commences on January 1st in each year, and ends on December 31st following.

N.B.—Secretaries forwarding Cheques on account of the Union are requested to make them payable to the Co-operative Union Limited; Money Orders to A. WHITEHEAD, Cashier.



SUMMARY OF THE LAW RELATING TO SOCIETIES

UNDER THE

INDUSTRIAL AND PROVIDENT SOCIETIES ACT, 1893.

I. The Formation of Societies—

1. Application must be made to the Registrar of Friendly Societies, in London, Edinburgh, or Dublin, according to the case, on a form supplied by the office, signed by seven persons and the secretary, accompanied by two copies of the rules, signed by the same persons.

2. These rules must provide for twenty matters stated on the form of application.

3. No fees charged on the registration of a society.

N.B.—Model rules on these twenty matters can be obtained from the Registrar's office; and the CO-OPERATIVE UNION LIMITED, LONG MILLGATE, MANCHESTER, publishes, at the cost of 1½d. a copy, general rules, approved of by the Chief Registrar, providing also for many other matters on which rules are useful; and capable of being adopted, either with or without alterations, by a few special rules, with a great saving in the cost of printing.

The General Secretary of the Union will prepare such special rules, without charge, on receiving a statement of the rules desired.

THE CO-OPERATIVE UNION LIMITED.

II. Rights of a Registered Society—

1. It becomes a body corporate, which can by its corporate name sue and be sued, and hold and deal with property of any kind, including shares in other societies or companies, and land to any amount.

2. Its rules are binding upon its members, though they may have signed no assent to them; but may be altered by amendments duly made as the rules provide, and registered, for which a fee of 10s. is charged. The application for registration must be made on a form supplied by the Registrar's office.

3. It can sue its own members, and can make contracts, either under its seal or by a writing signed by any person authorised to sign, or by word of mouth of any person authorised to speak for it, which will be binding wherever a contract similarly made by an individual would bind him.

4. It may make all or any of its shares either transferable or withdrawable, and may carry on any trade, including the buying and selling of land, and banking under certain conditions, and may apply the profits of the business in any manner determined by its rules; and, if authorised by its rules, may receive money on loan, either from its members or others, to any amount so authorised.

5. If it has any withdrawable share capital it may not carry on banking, but may take deposits, within any limits fixed by its rules, in sums not exceeding 10s. in any one payment, or £20 for any one depositor, payable at not less than two clear days' notice.

6. It may make loans to its members on real or personal security; and may invest on the security of other societies or companies, or in any except those where liability is unlimited.

7. It may make provision in its rules for the settlement of disputes between members and the Society or any officer thereof, and any decision given in accordance with the conditions stated in the rules is binding on all parties to the dispute, and is not removable into any court of law.

8. If the number of its shares is not limited either by its rules or its practice it is not chargeable with income tax on the profits of its business.

9. It can, in the way provided by the Act, amalgamate with or take over the business of any other society, or convert itself into a company.

10. It can determine the way in which disputes between the society and its officers or members shall be settled.

11. It can dissolve itself, either by an instrument of dissolution signed by three-fourths of its members, or by a resolution passed by a three-fourths vote at a special general meeting, of which there are two forms—(A) purely voluntary, when the resolution requires confirmation at a second meeting; (B) on account of debts, when one meeting is sufficient. In such a winding up hostile proceedings to seize the property can be stayed.

THE CO-OPERATIVE UNION LIMITED.

III. Rights of Members (see also IV., 4, 5, 6)—

1. They cannot be sued individually for the debts of the society, nor compelled to pay more towards them than the sum remaining unpaid on any shares which they have either expressly agreed to take or treated as their property, or which the rules authorise to be so treated.

2. If they transfer or withdraw their shares, they cannot be made liable for any debts contracted subsequently, nor for those subsisting at the time of the transfer or withdrawal, unless the other assets are insufficient to pay them.

3. Persons not under the age of 16 years may become members, and legally do any acts which they could do if of full age, except holding any office.

4. An individual or company may hold any number of shares allowed by the rules, not exceeding the nominal value of £200, and any amount so allowed as a loan. A society may hold any number of shares.

5. A member who holds at his death not more than £100 in the society as shares, loans, or deposits, may, by a writing recorded by it, nominate, or vary or revoke the nomination of any persons to take this investment at his death; and if he dies intestate, without having made any subsisting nomination, the committee of management of the society are charged with the administration of the fund; subject in either case to a notice to be given to the Commissioners of Inland Revenue whenever the sum so dealt with exceeds £80.

6. The members may obtain an inquiry into the position of the society by application to the Registrar.

IV. Duties of a Registered Society—

1. It must have a registered office, and keep its name painted or engraved outside, and give due notice of any change to the Registrar.

2. It must have a seal on which its name is engraved.

3. It must have its accounts audited at least once a year, and keep a copy of its last balance sheet and the auditors' report constantly hung up in its registered office.

4. It must make to the Registrar, before the 31st of March in every year, a return of its business during the year ending the 31st December previous, and supply a copy of its last returns gratis to every member and person interested in its funds on application.

5. It must allow any member or person interested in its funds to inspect his own account and the book containing the names of the members.

6. It must supply a copy of its rules to every person on demand, at a price not exceeding one shilling.

7. If it carries on banking, it must make out in February and August in every year, and keep hung up in its registered office, a return, in a form prescribed by the Act; and it has also to make a return every February to the Stamp Office under the Banking Act.

The non-observance by a society of these duties exposes it and its officers to penalties varying from £1 to £50, which are in some cases cumulative for every week during which the neglect lasts.

THE SCOTTISH
CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE
SOCIETY LIMITED.



PLATES, ADVERTISEMENTS, STATISTICS, &c.,

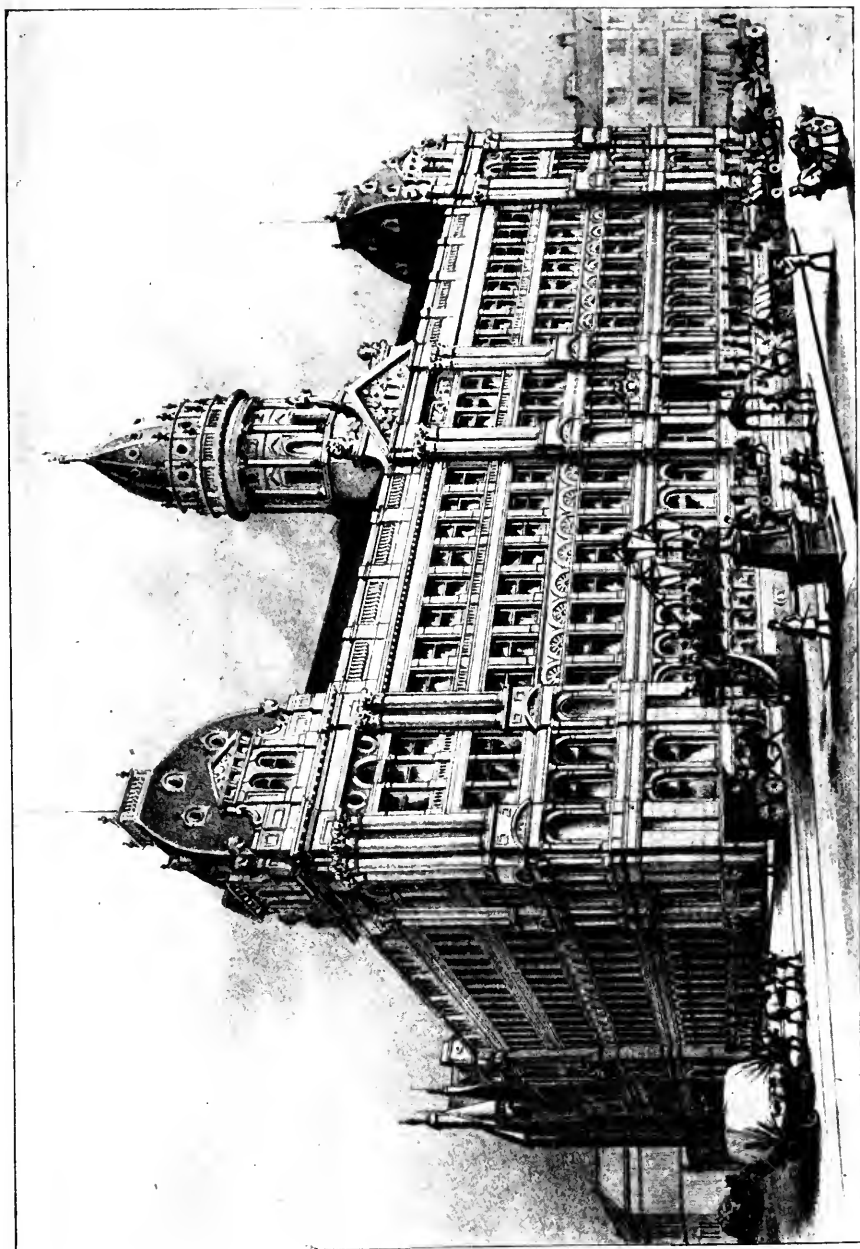
PAGES 71 TO 110.

Thirty-four Years' Wholesale Distribution in Scotland.

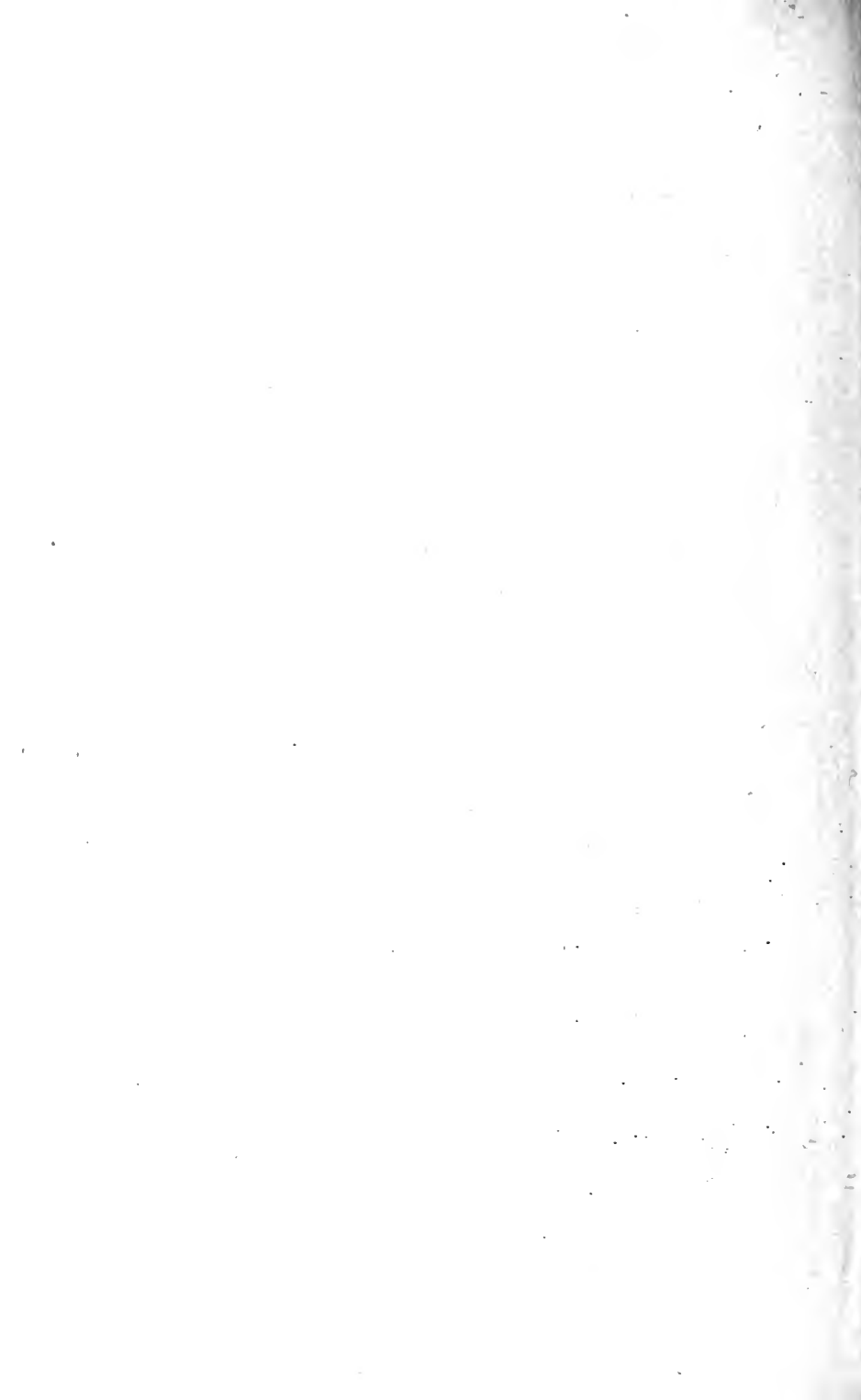


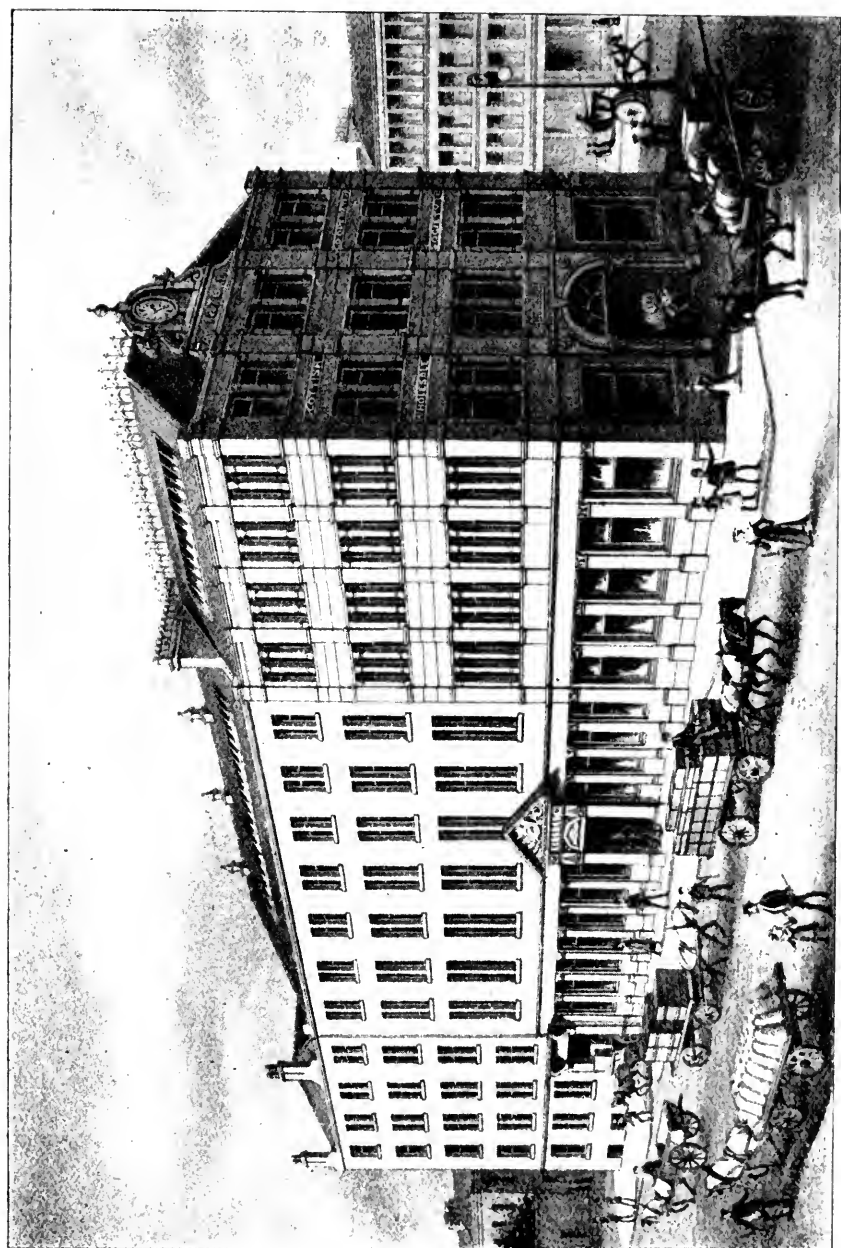
YEARS.	CAPITAL.	SALES.	PROFITS.	YEARS.
1868, 13 weeks	£1,795	£9,697	£48	13 weeks, 1868
1869, 52 "	5,175	81,094	1,304	52 " 1869
1870, 50 "	12,543	105,249	2,419	50 " 1870
1871, 52 "	18,009	162,658	4,131	52 " 1871
1872, 52 "	30,931	262,530	5,435	52 " 1872
1873, 52 "	50,433	384,489	7,446	52 " 1873
1874, 52 "	48,982	409,947	7,553	52 " 1874
1875, 52 "	56,751	430,169	8,233	52 " 1875
1876, 51 "	67,219	457,529	8,836	51 " 1876
1877, 52 "	72,568	589,221	10,925	52 " 1877
1878, 52 "	83,174	600,590	11,969	52 " 1878
1879, 52 "	93,077	630,097	14,989	52 " 1879
1880, 52 "	110,179	845,221	21,685	52 " 1880
1881, 54 "	135,713	986,646	23,981	54 " 1881
1882, 52 "	169,429	1,100,588	23,220	52 " 1882
1883, 52 "	195,396	1,253,154	28,366	52 " 1883
1884, 52 "	244,186	1,300,331	29,435	52 " 1884
1885, 52 "	288,946	1,438,220	39,641	52 " 1885
1886, 60 "	333,653	1,857,152	50,398	60 " 1886
1887, 53 "	367,309	1,810,015	47,278	53 " 1887
1888, 52 "	409,668	1,963,853	53,538	52 " 1888
1889, 52 "	480,622	2,273,782	61,756	52 " 1889
1890, 52 "	575,322	2,475,601	76,545	52 " 1890
1891, 52 "	671,108	2,828,036	89,090	52 " 1891
1892, 53 "	778,494	3,104,768	96,027	53 " 1892
1893, 52 "	869,756	3,135,562	89,116	52 " 1893
1894, 52 "	940,835	3,056,582	88,452	52 " 1894
1895, 52 "	1,134,269	3,449,461	132,374	52 " 1895
1896, 52 "	1,237,317	3,822,580	174,982	52 " 1896
1897, 52 "	1,286,624	4,405,854	156,341	52 " 1897
1898, 53 "	1,333,078	4,692,330	165,580	53 " 1898
1899, 52 "	1,457,645	5,014,189	213,596	52 " 1899
1900, 52 "	1,676,765	5,463,631	222,366	52 " 1900
1901, 52 "	1,929,113	5,700,743	231,686	52 " 1901
1902, 26 "	2,038,243	2,919,165	115,746	26 " 1902
TOTALS.	2,038,243	69,020,750	2,314,495	TOTALS.

COMMENCED SEPTEMBER, 1868.

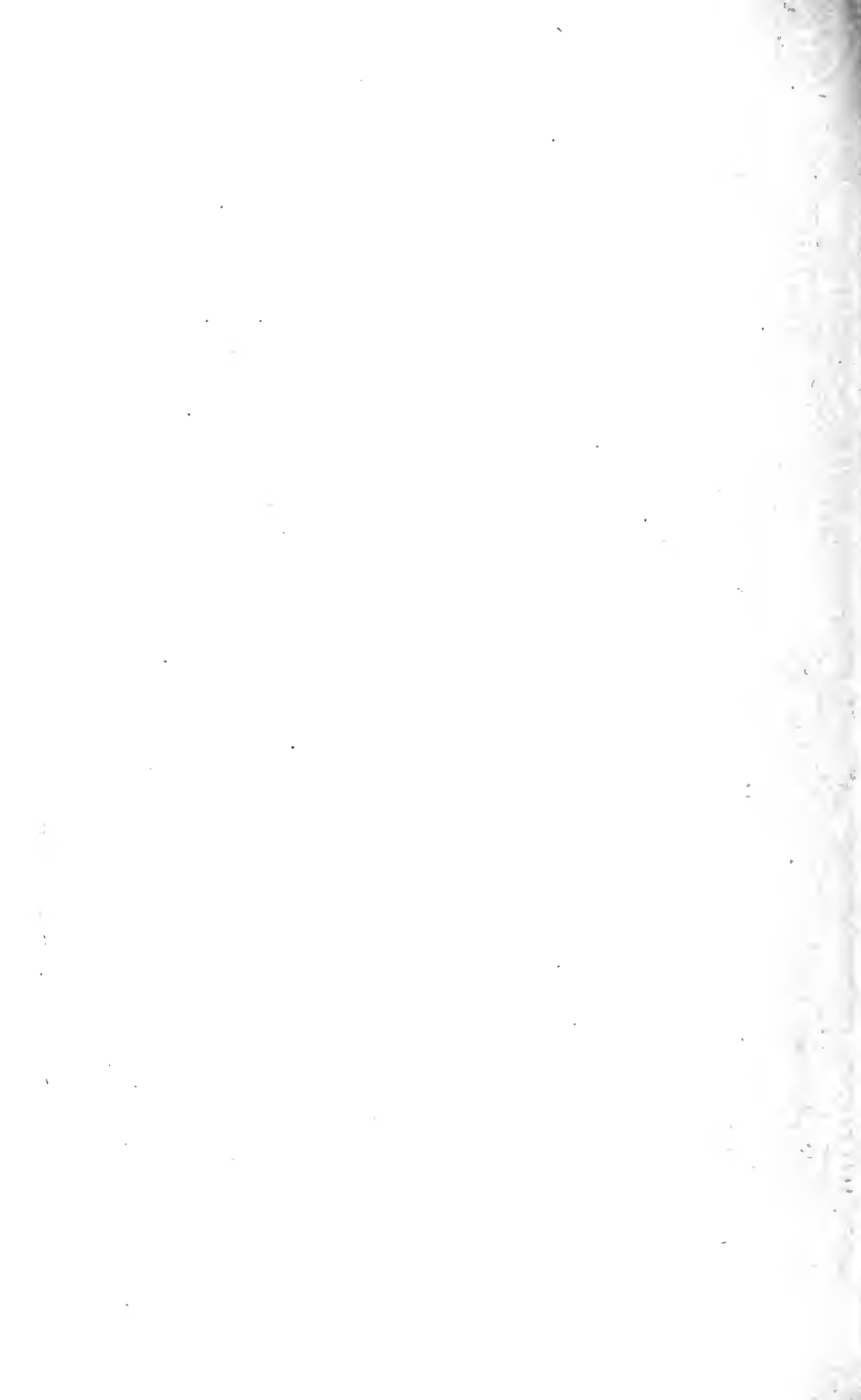


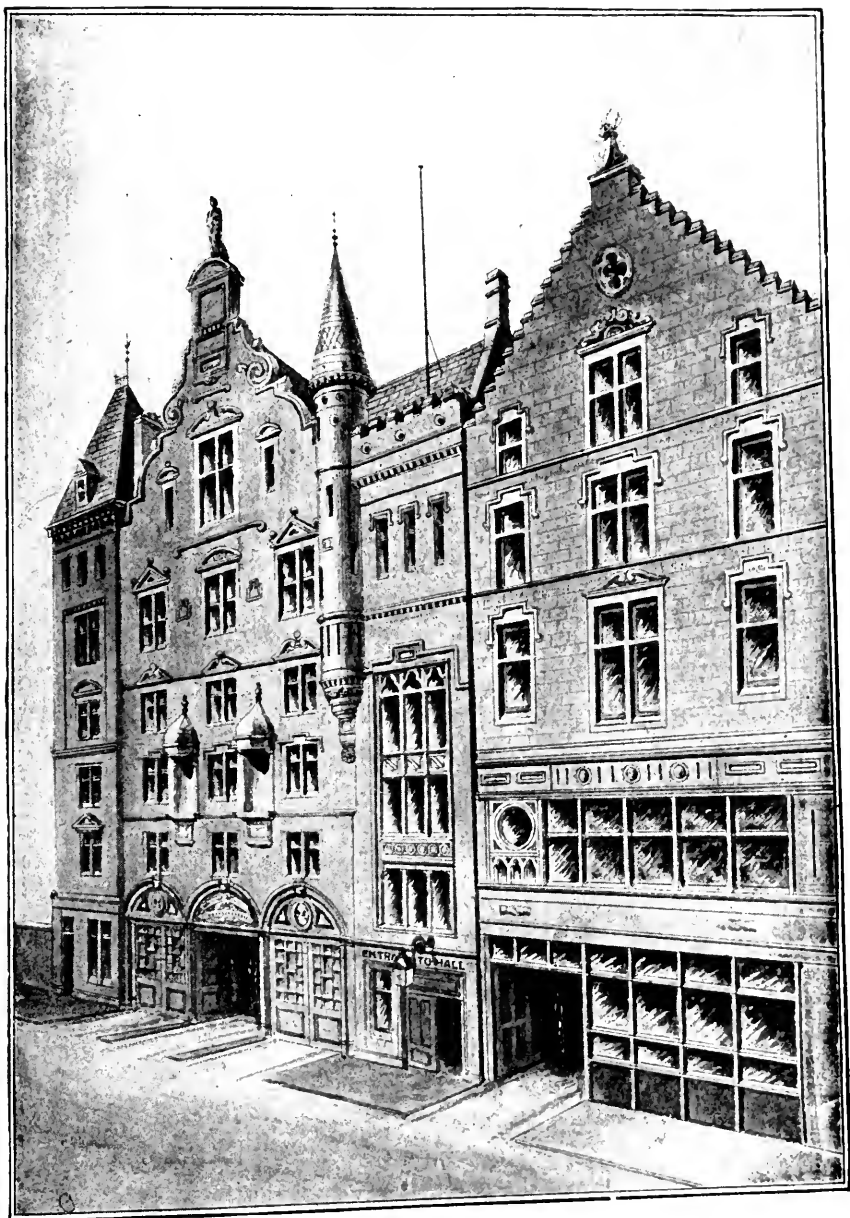
REGISTERED OFFICE AND FURNITURE WAREHOUSE. 95 MORRISON STREET GLASGOW.





GROCERY AND PROVISION WAREHOUSE, 119 PAISLEY ROAD, GLASGOW.



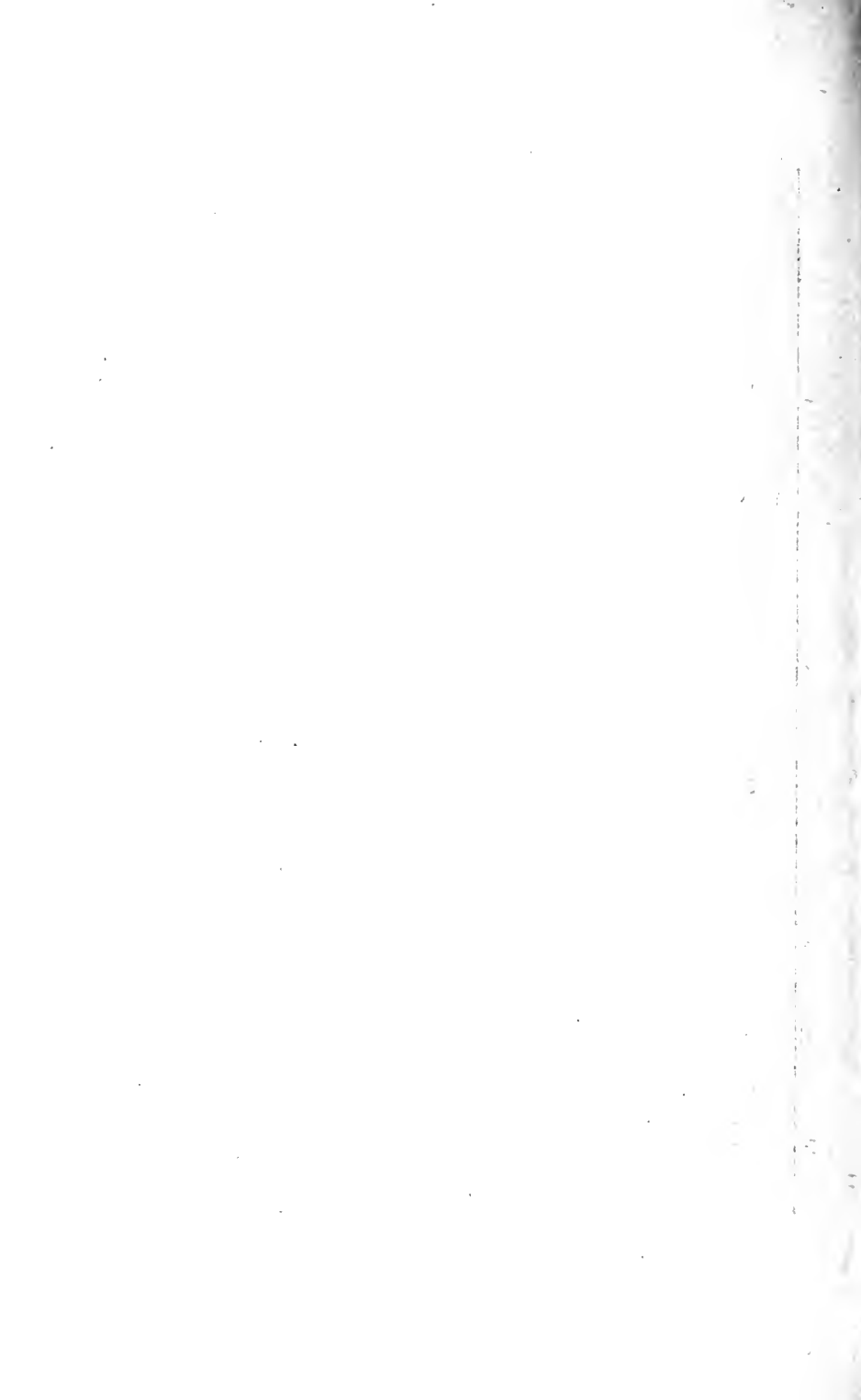


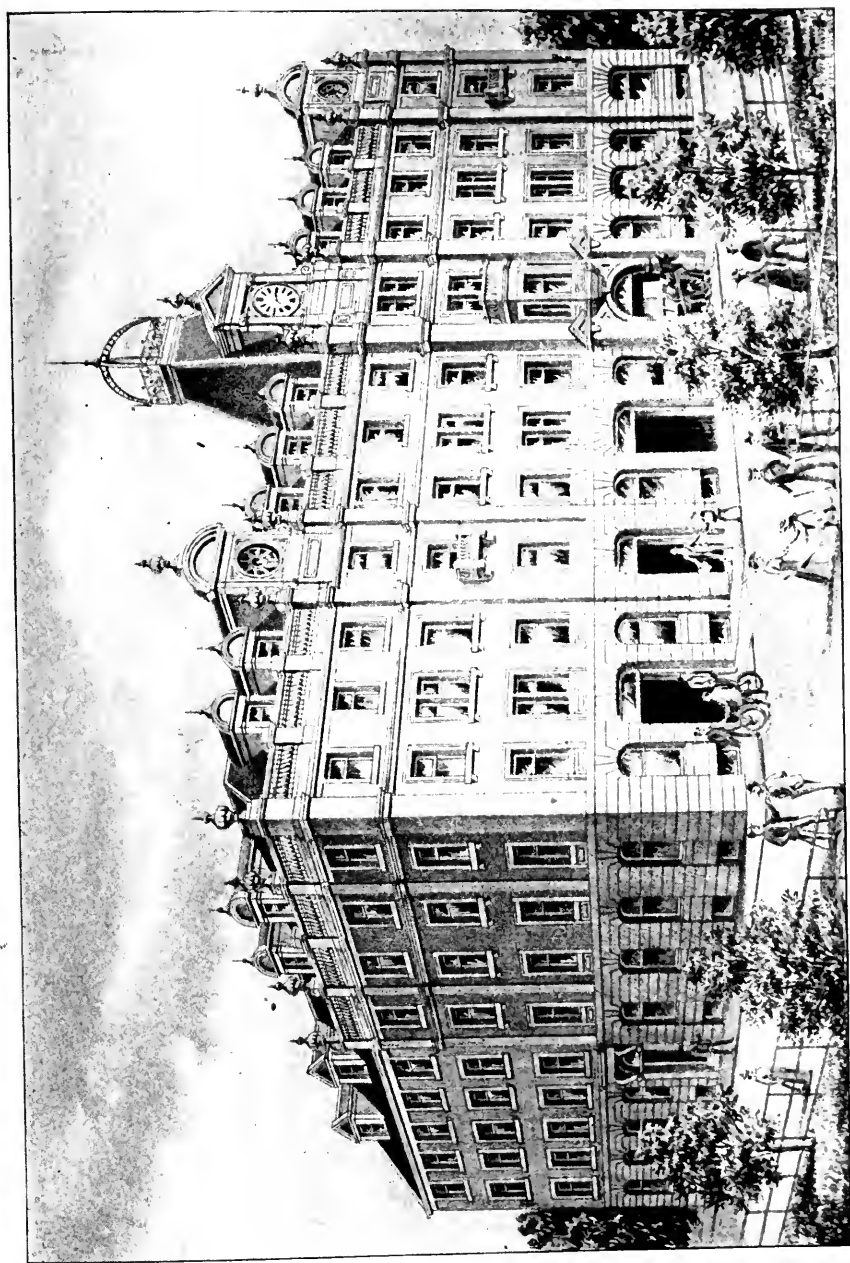
GLASGOW GROCERY AND PROVISION WAREHOUSE AND HALL,
CLARENCE STREET.



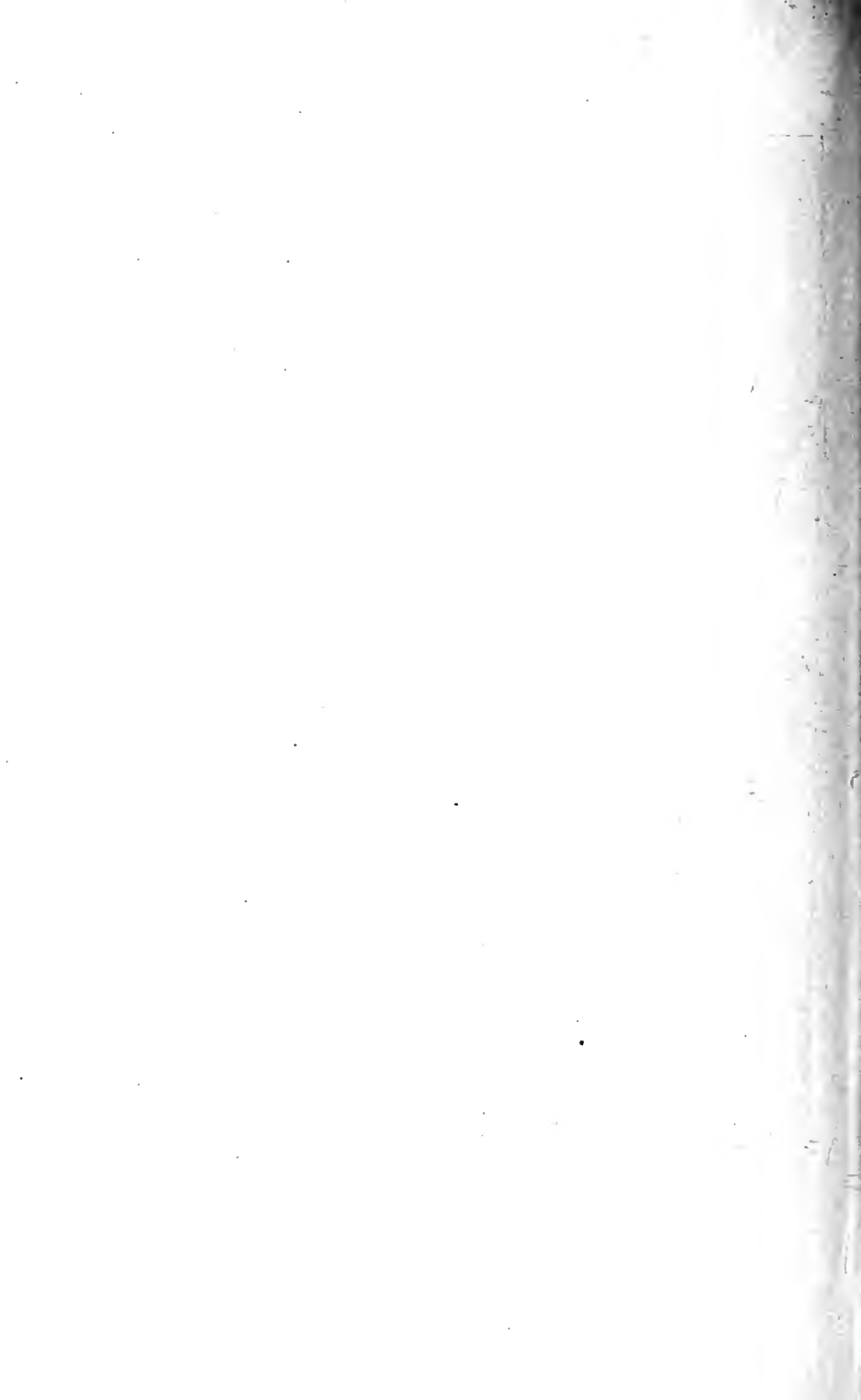


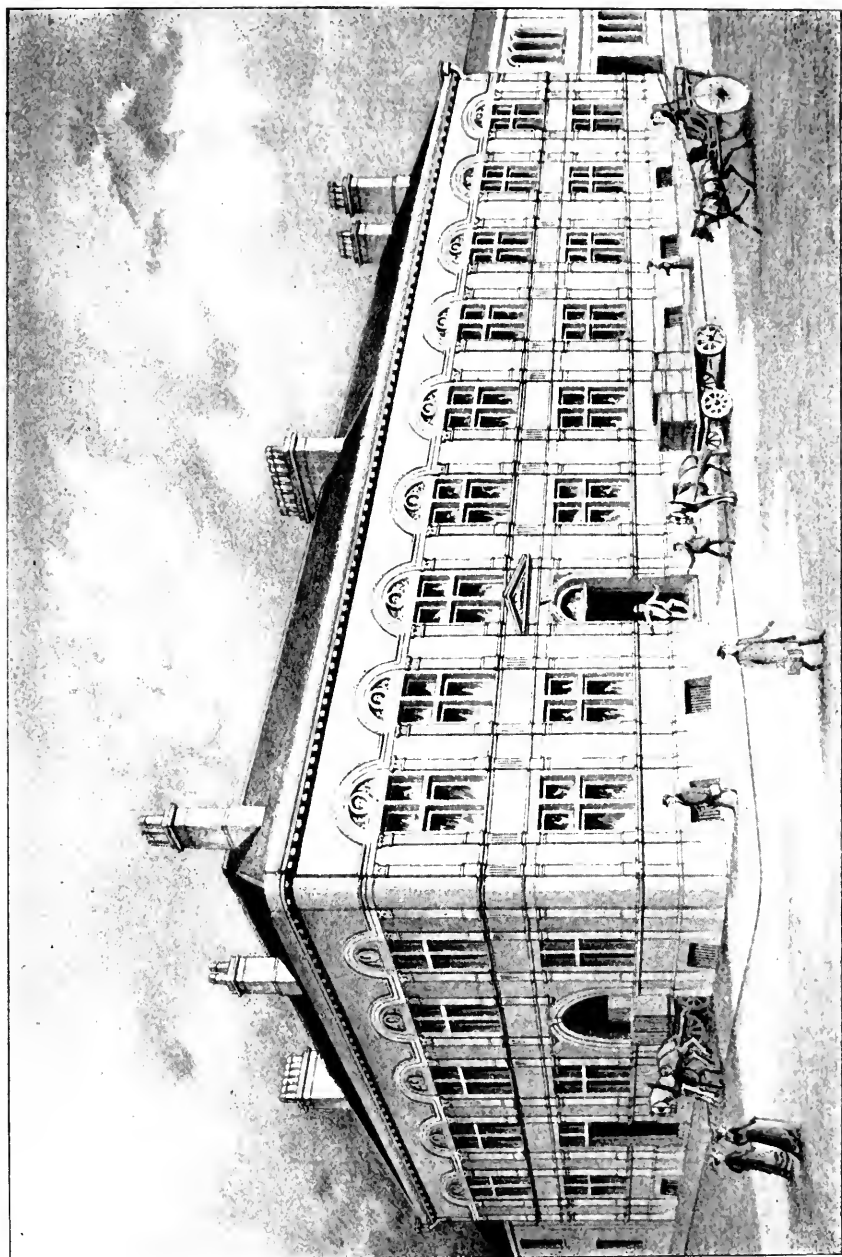
GROCERY ETC. CROOKSTON STREET, GLASGOW.





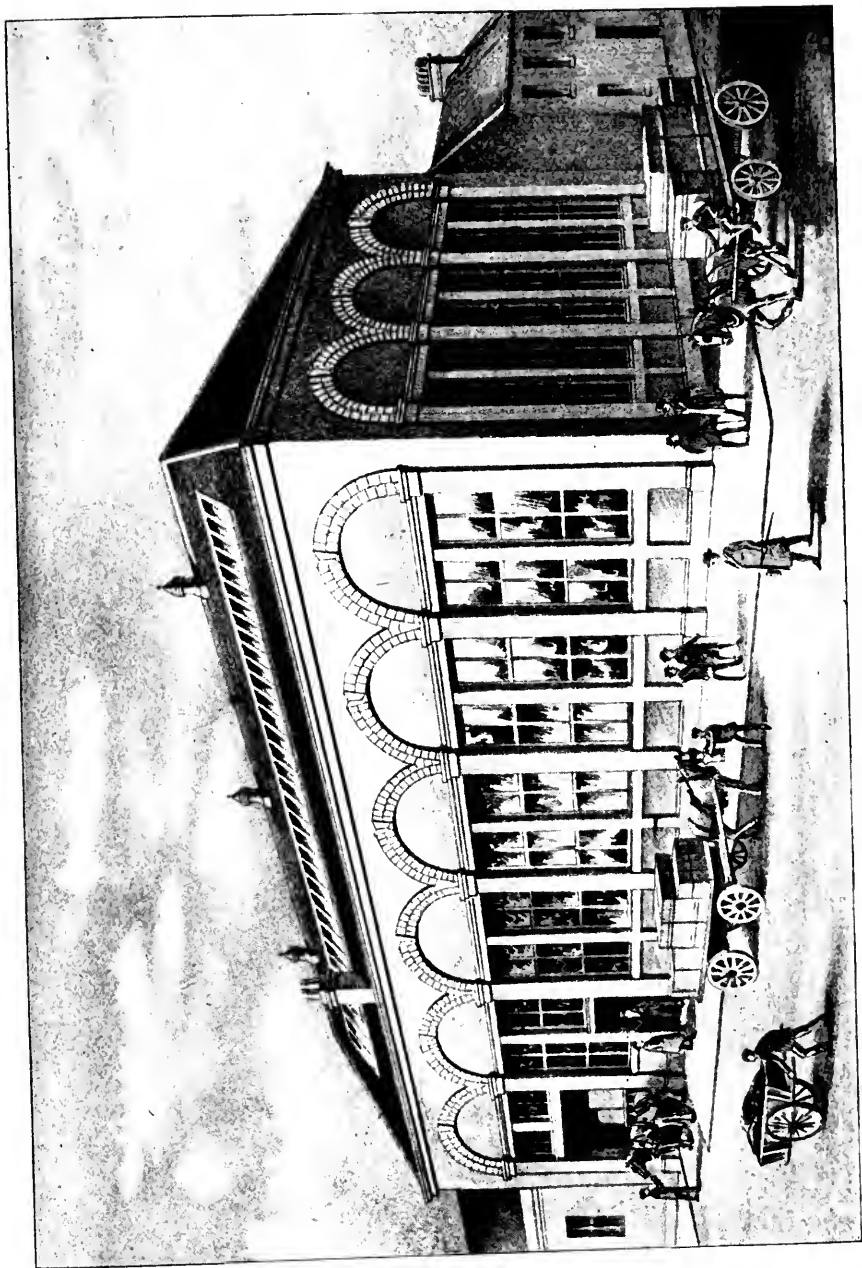
LEITH GROCERY AND PROVISION WAREHOUSE LINKS PLACE.



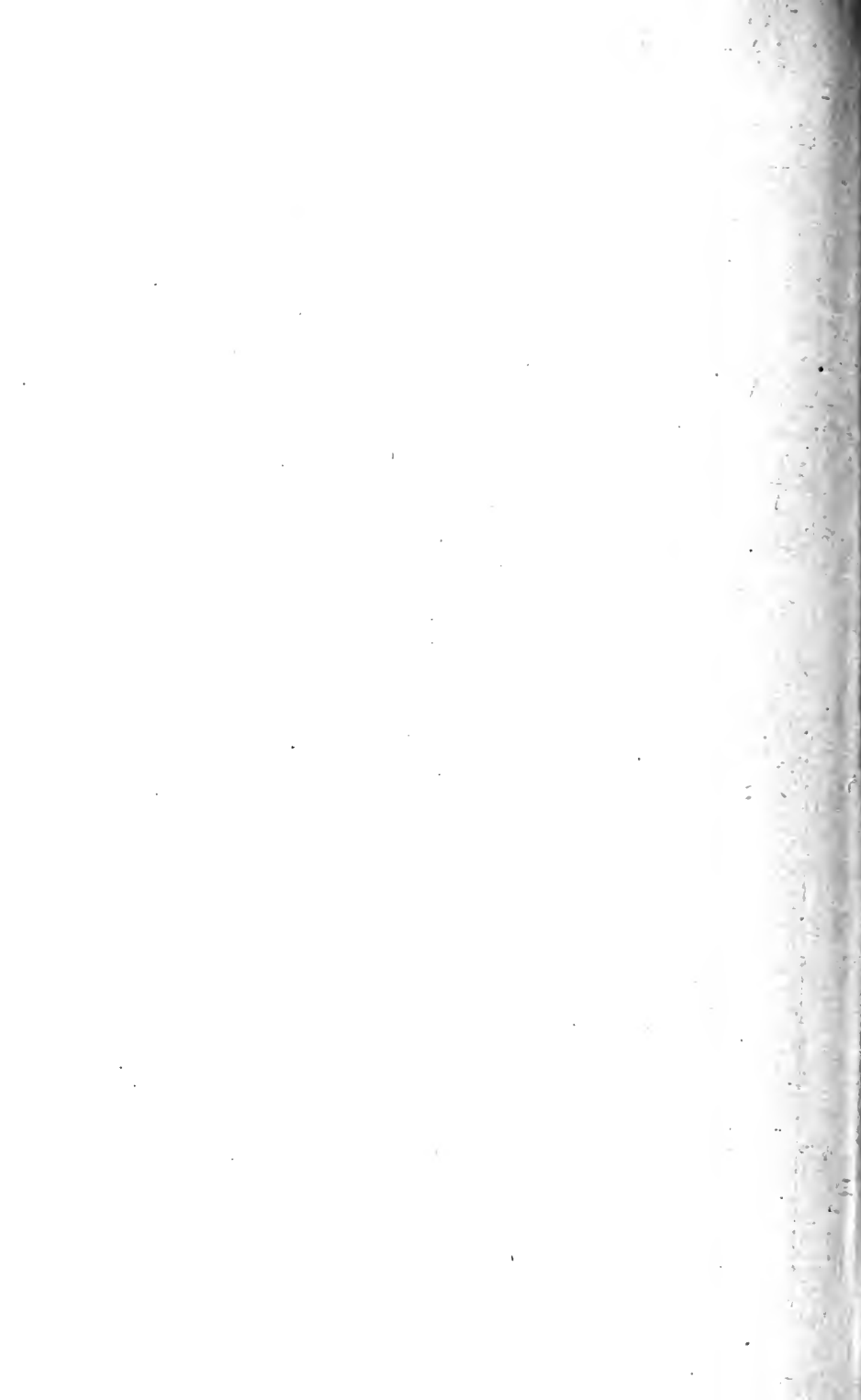


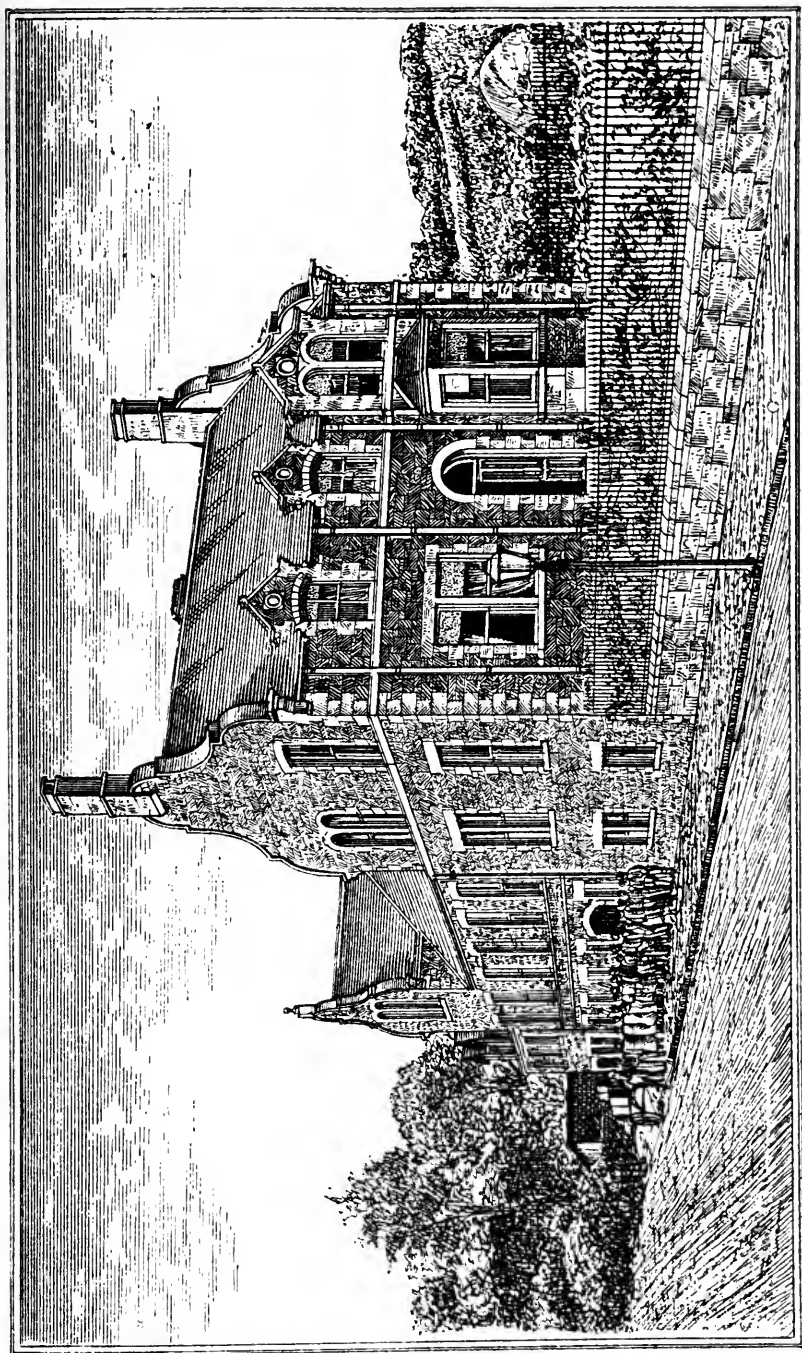
KILMARLOCK GROCERY AND PROVISION WAREHOUSE, GRANGE PLACE



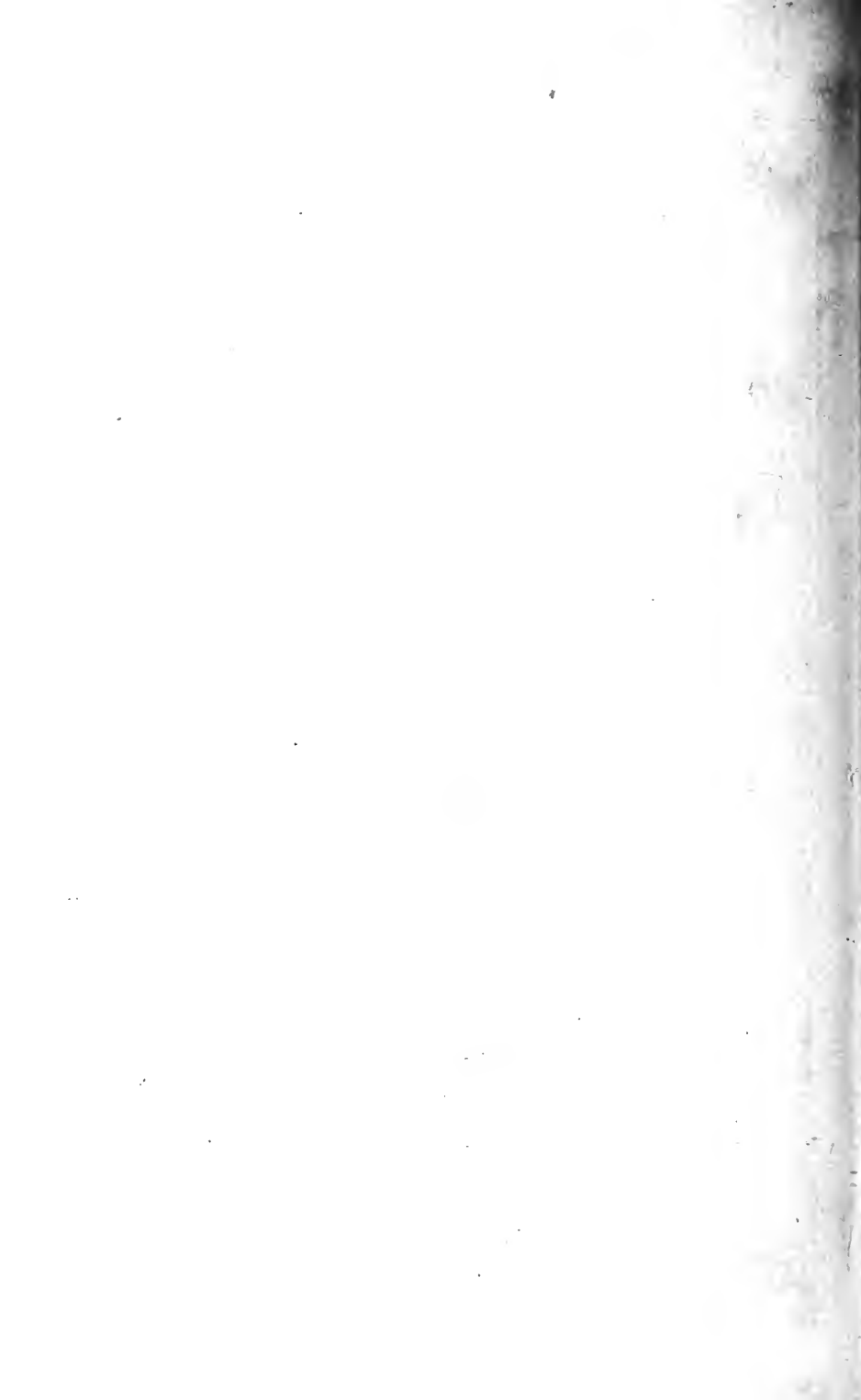


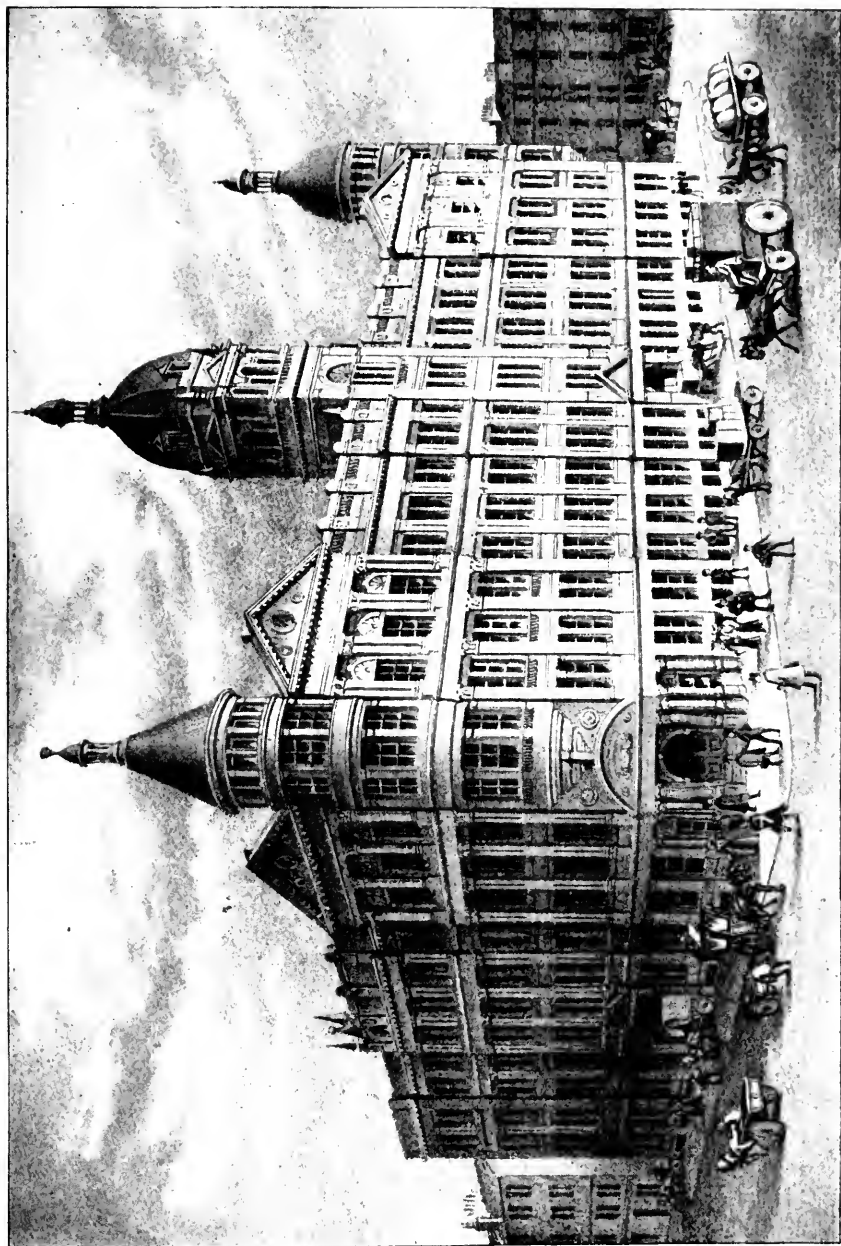
DUNDEE BRANCH.



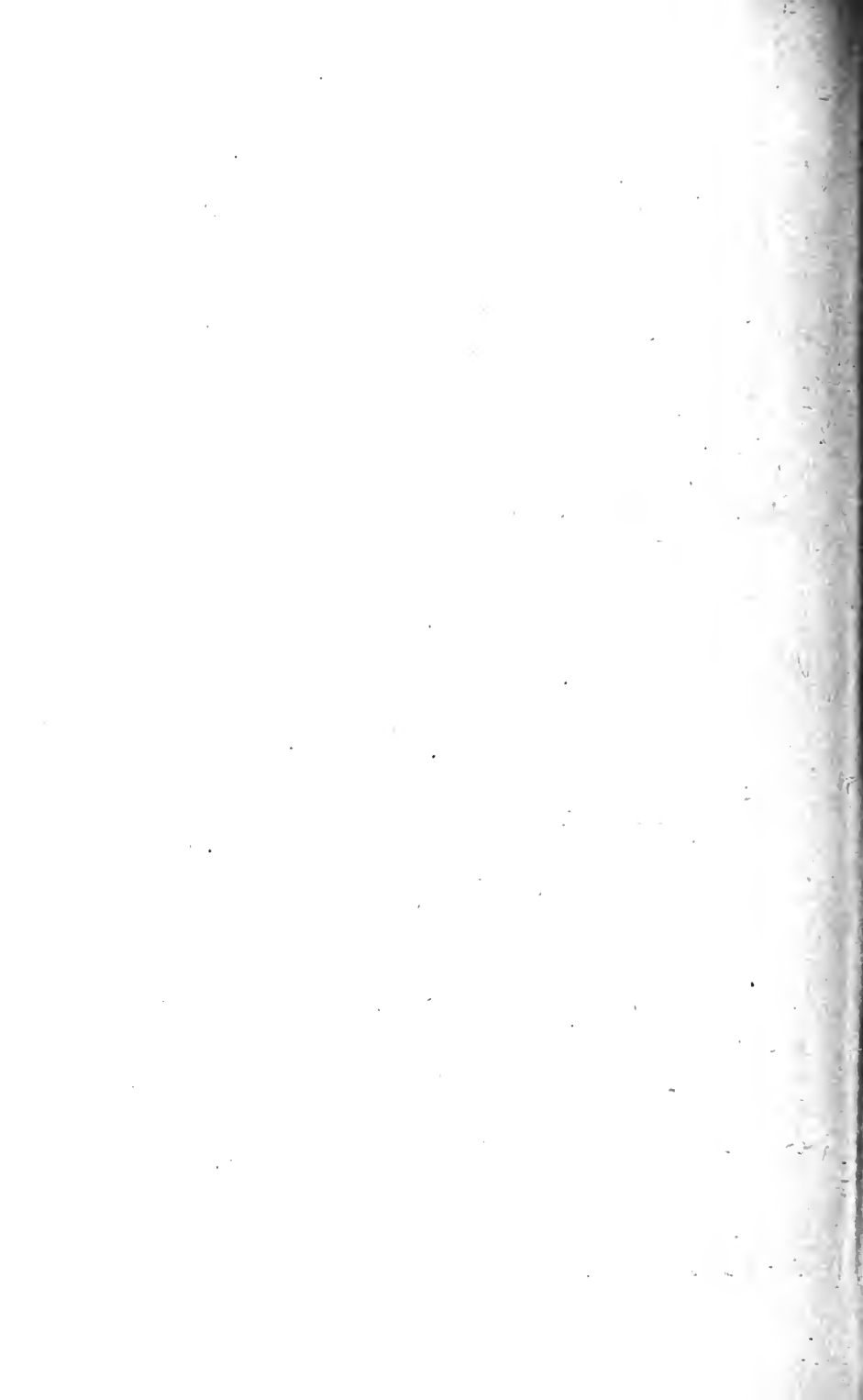


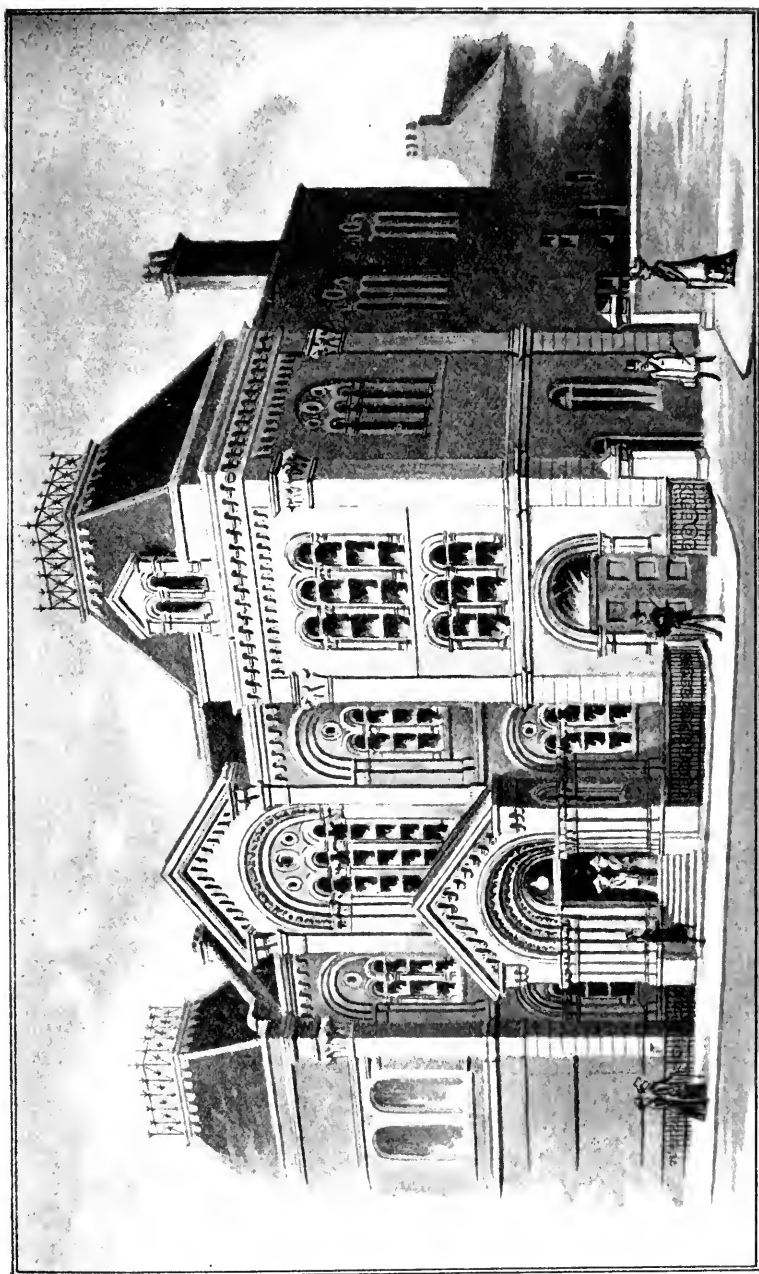
ENNISKILLEN DEPOT—BUTTER, EGGS, AND BACON.



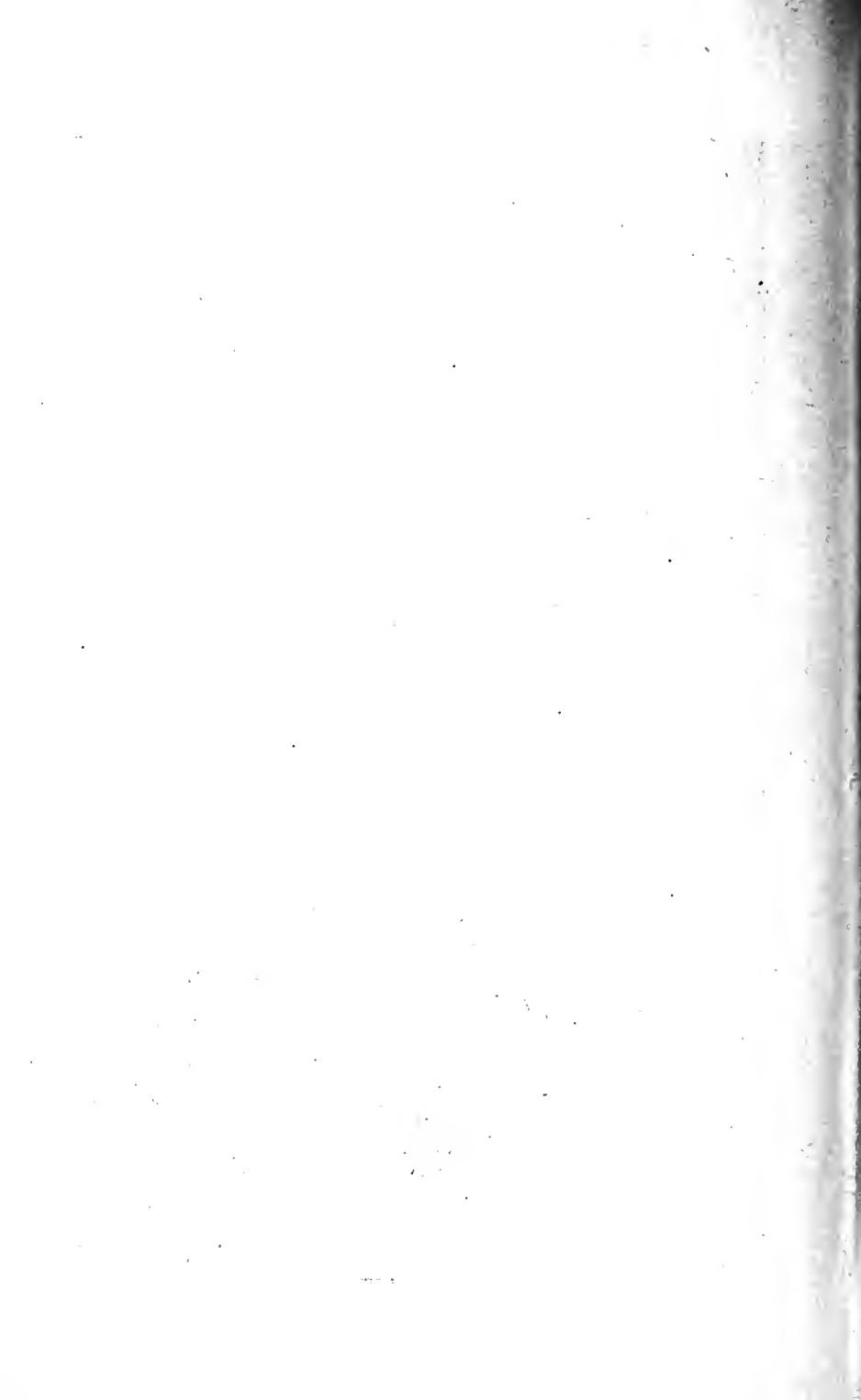


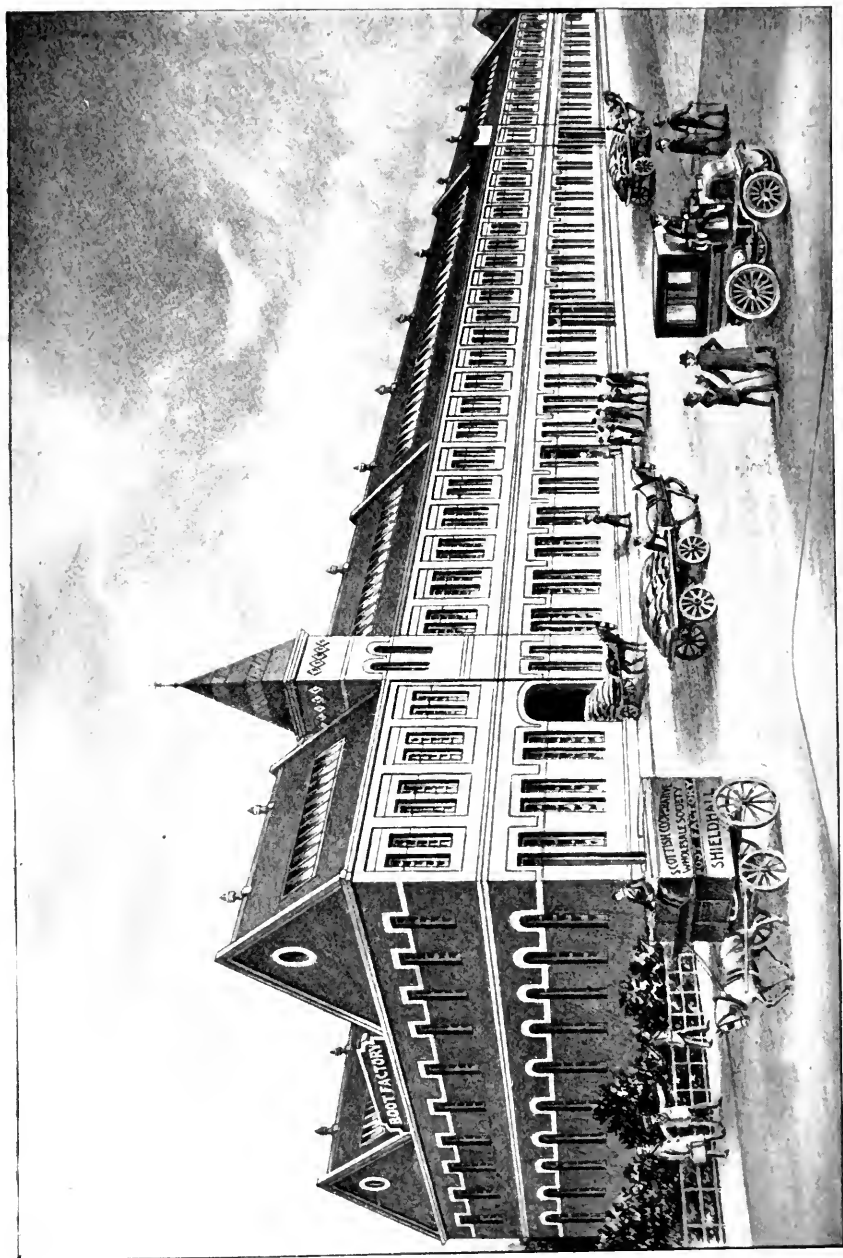
DRAPERY WAREHOUSE, ST JAMES STREET, GLASGOW.



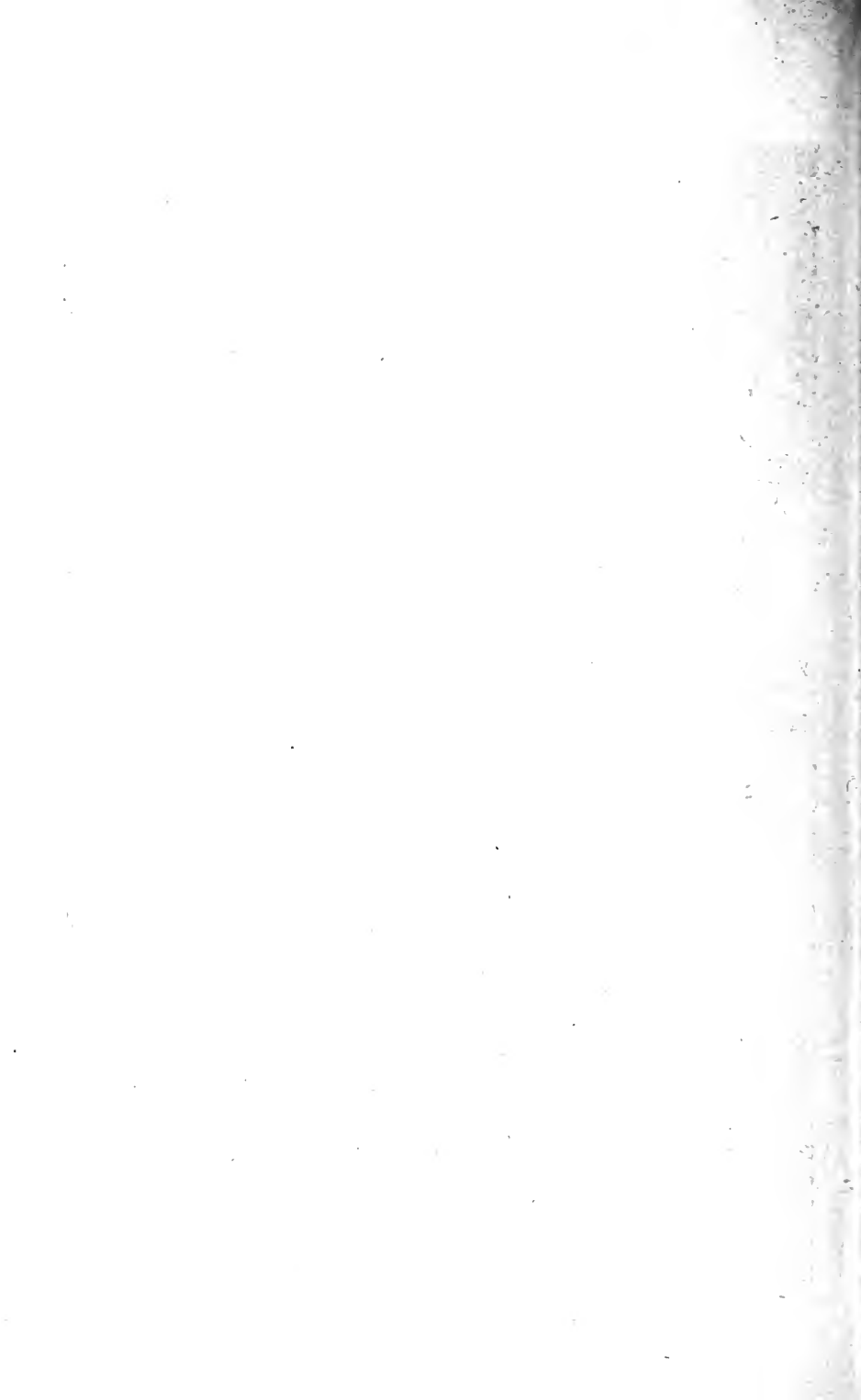


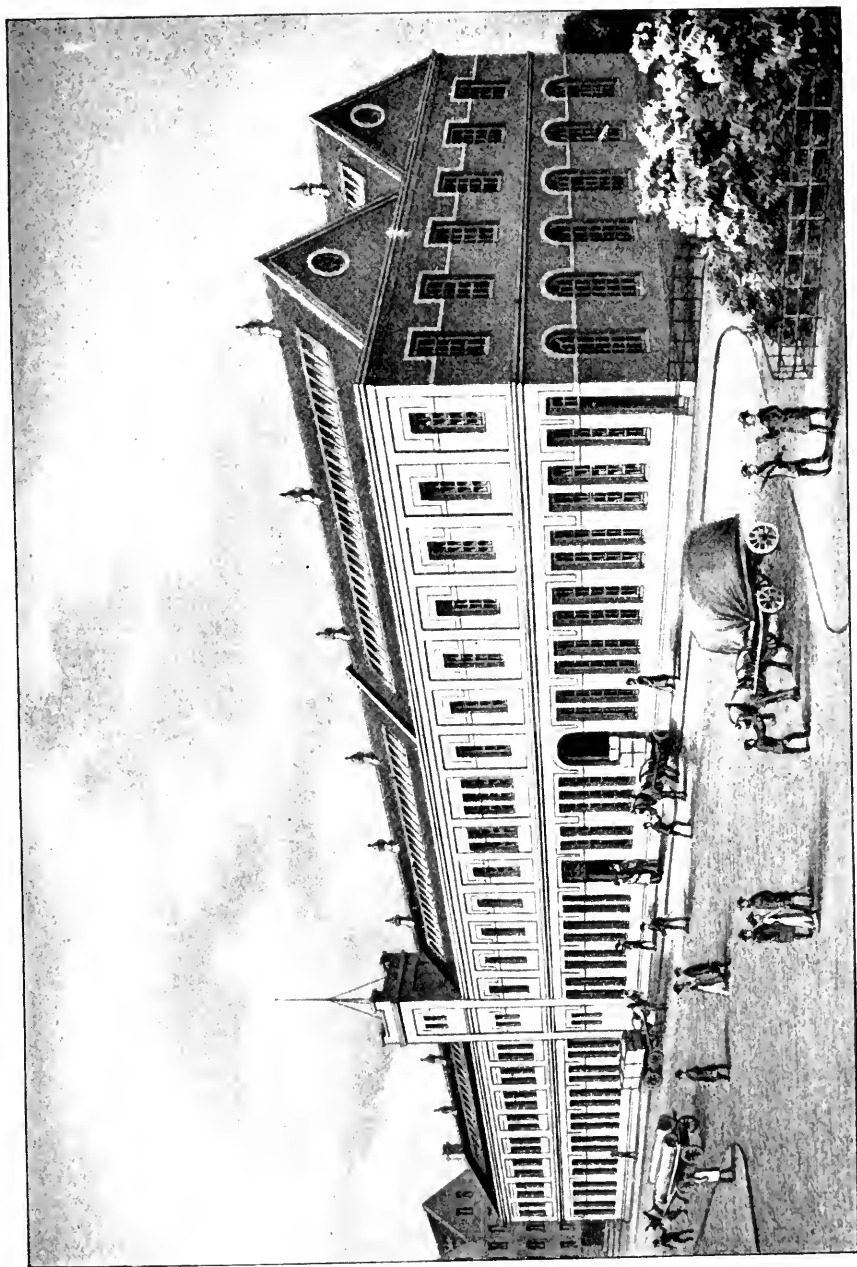
CHAMBERS STREET, EDINBURGH.





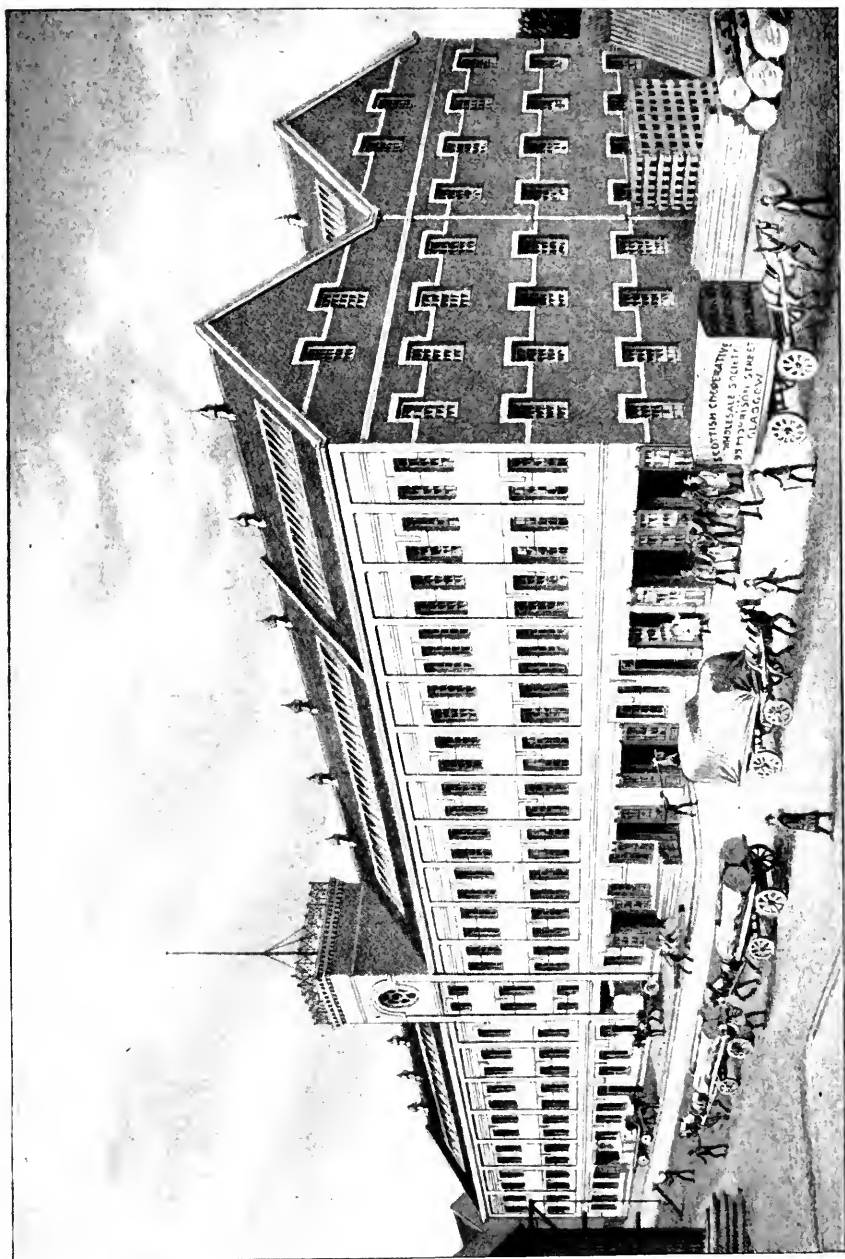
BOOT FACTORY, SHIELDHALL.



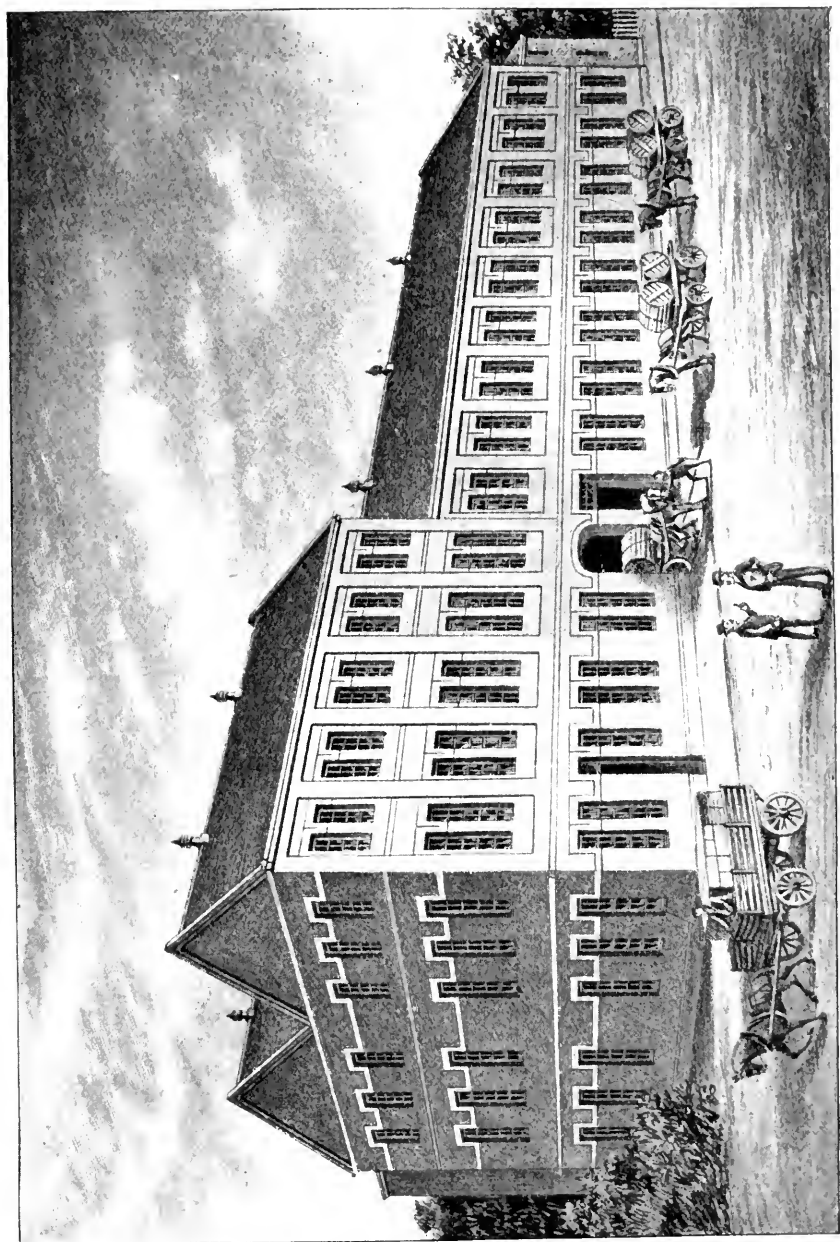


PRINTING DEPARTMENT, SHIELDHALL.

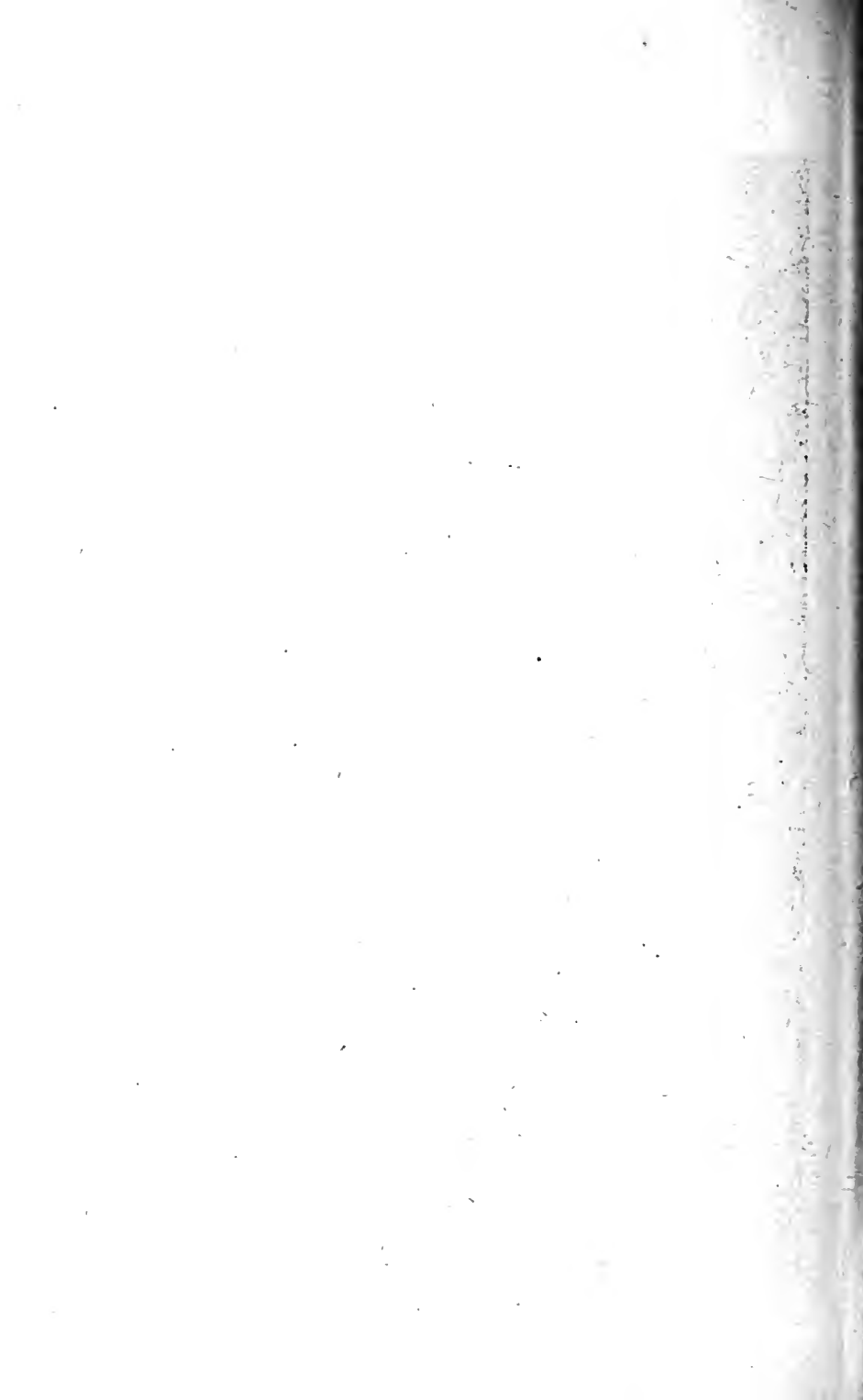




CABINET FACTORY, SHIELDHALL.

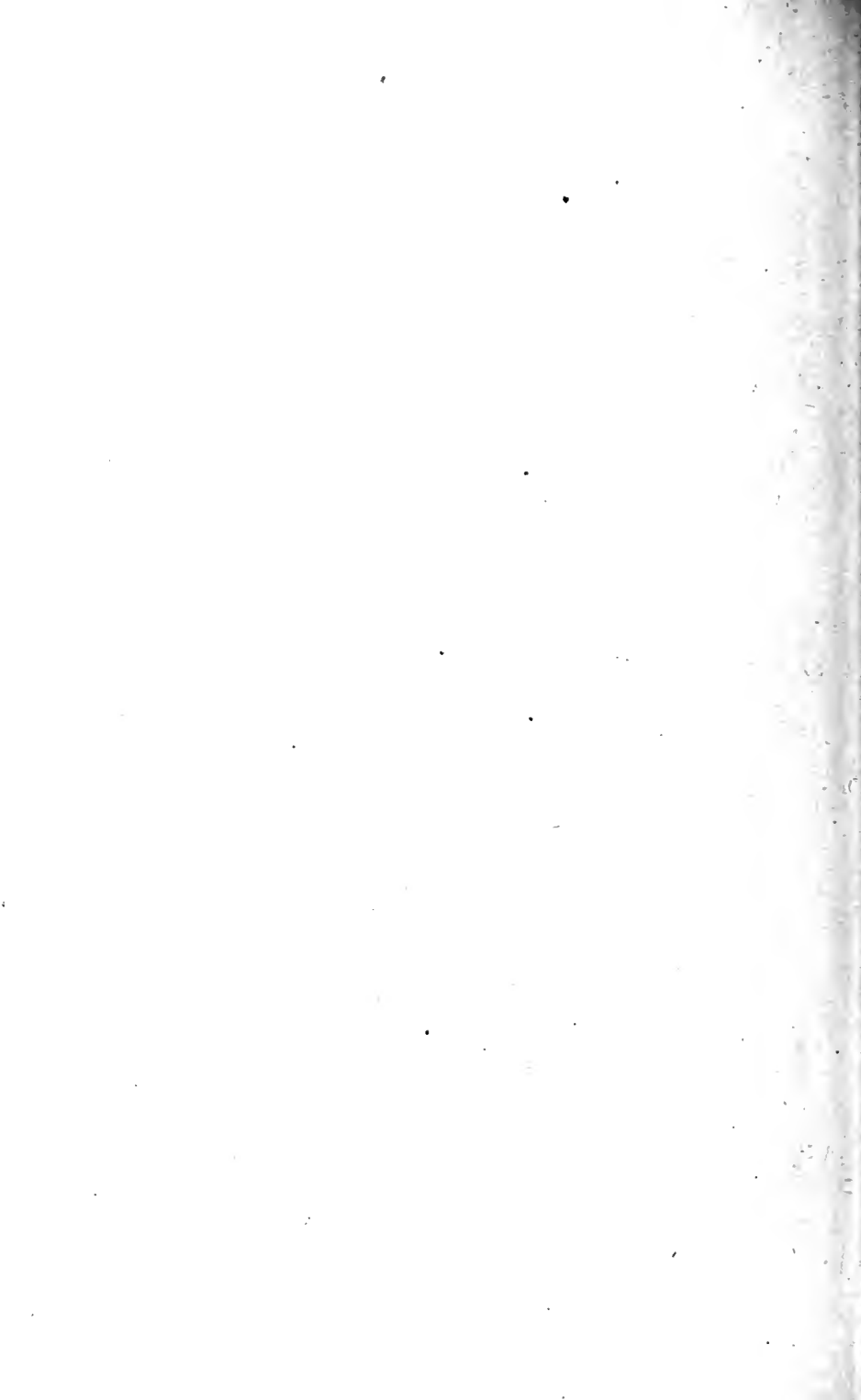


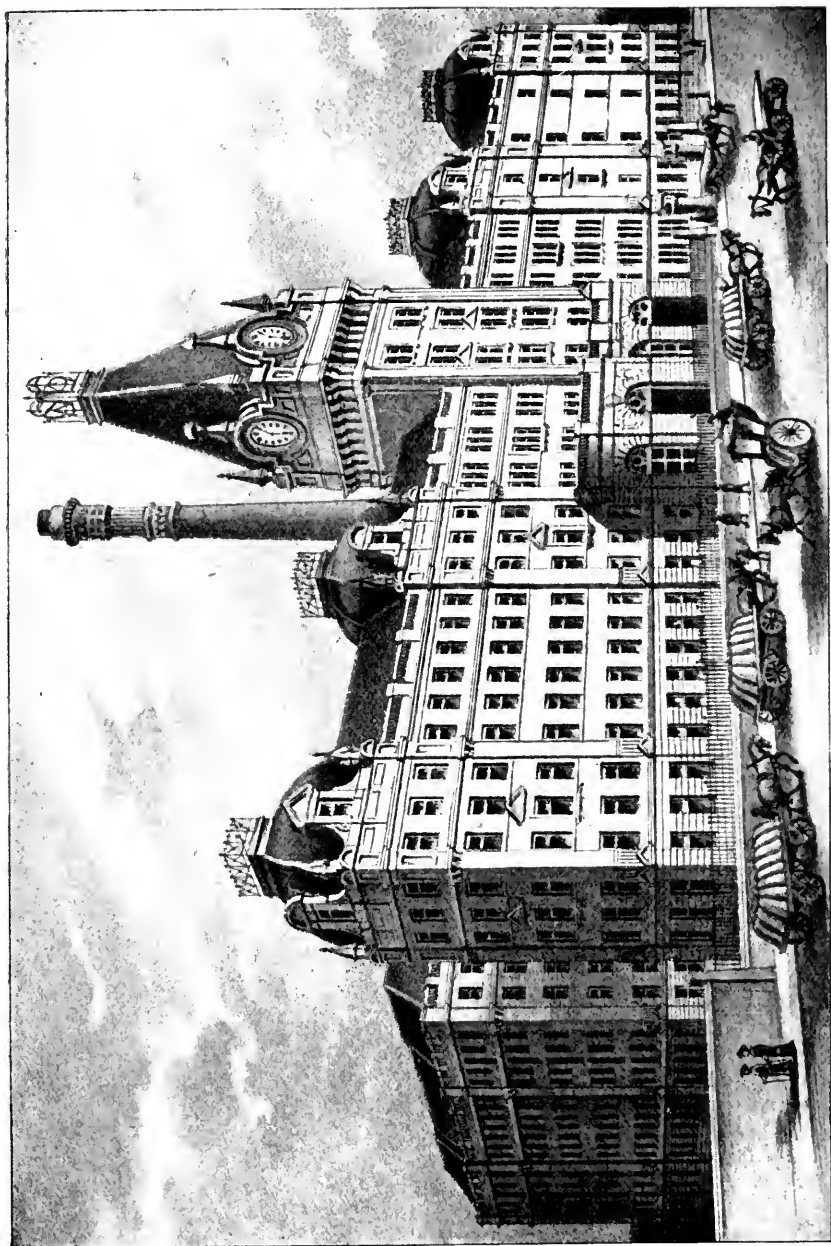
TOBACCO FACTORY, SHIELDHALL.



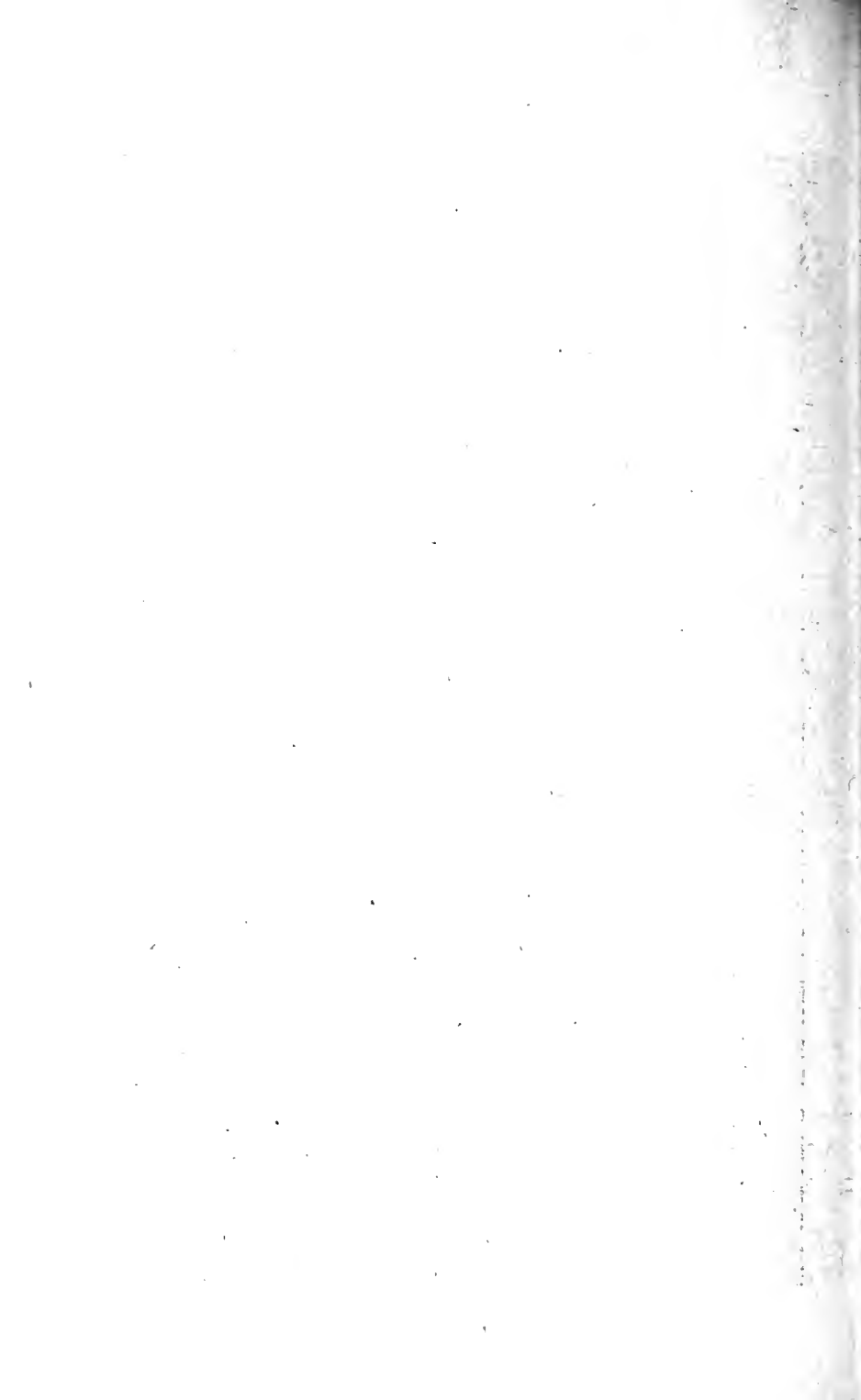


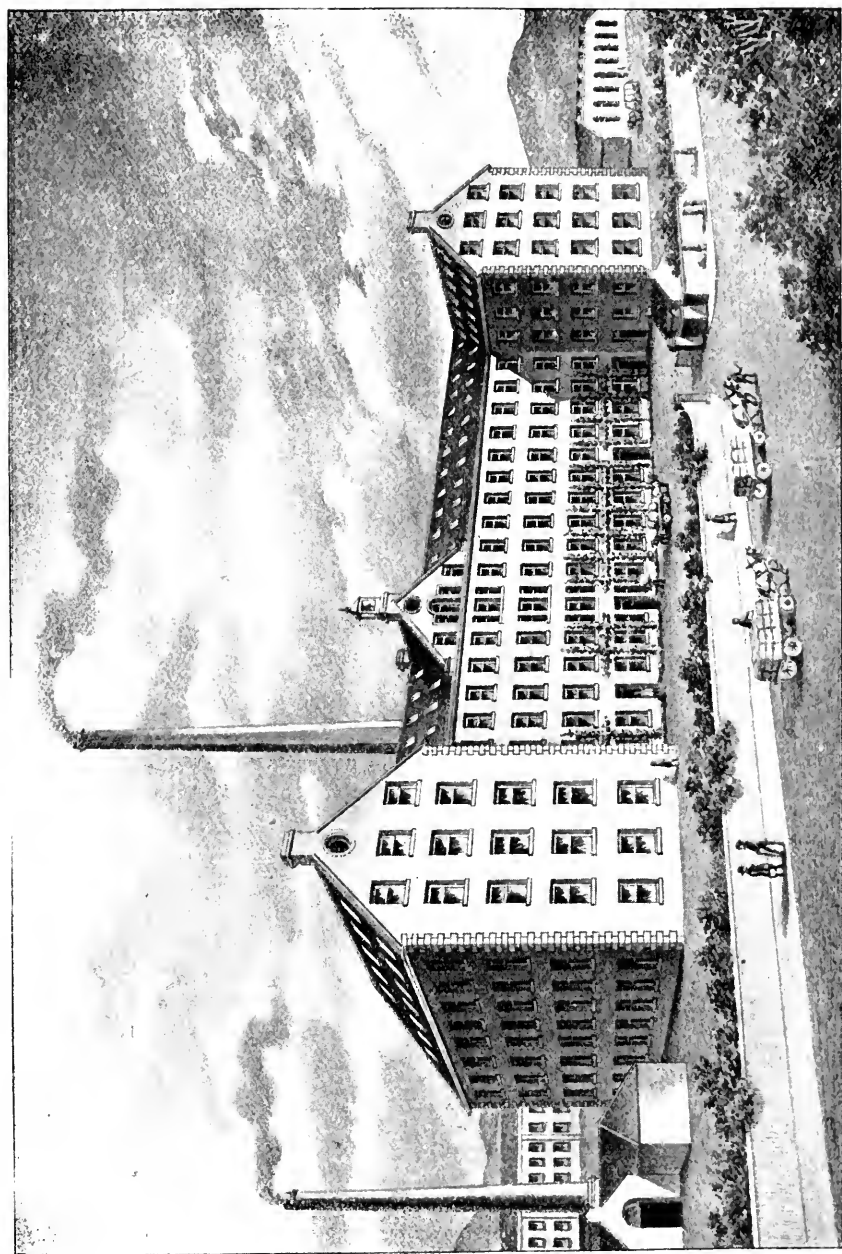
CHEMICAL DEPARTMENT. SHIELDHALL.



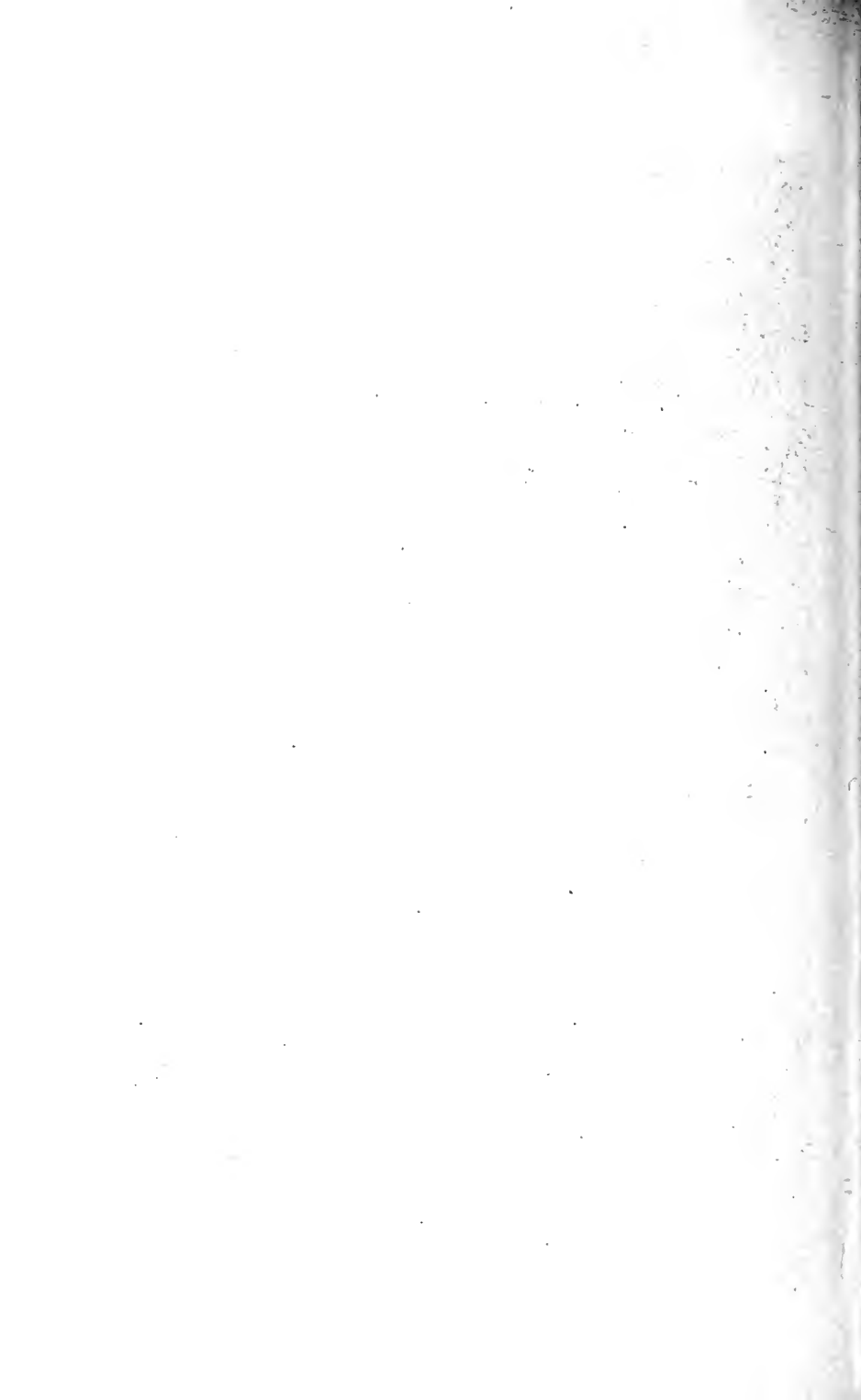


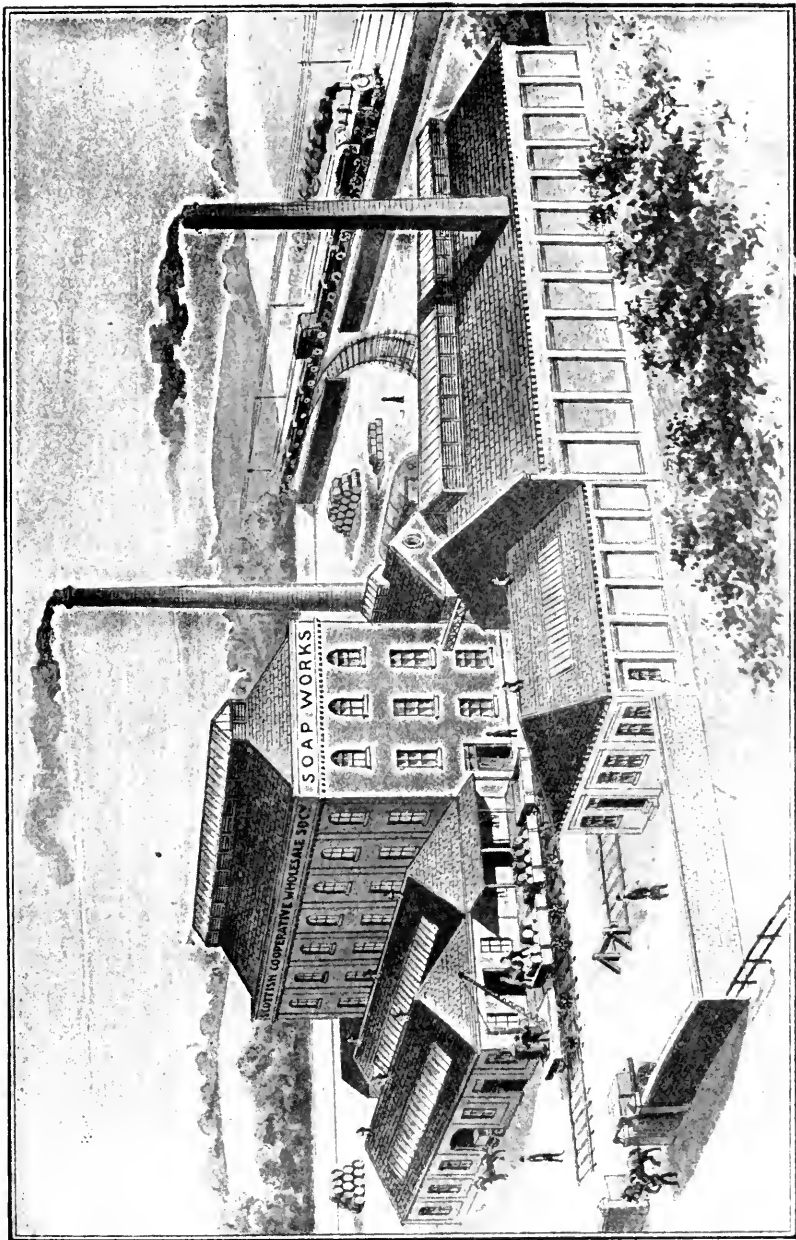
CHANCELOT ROLLER FLOUR MILLS, EDINBURGH.



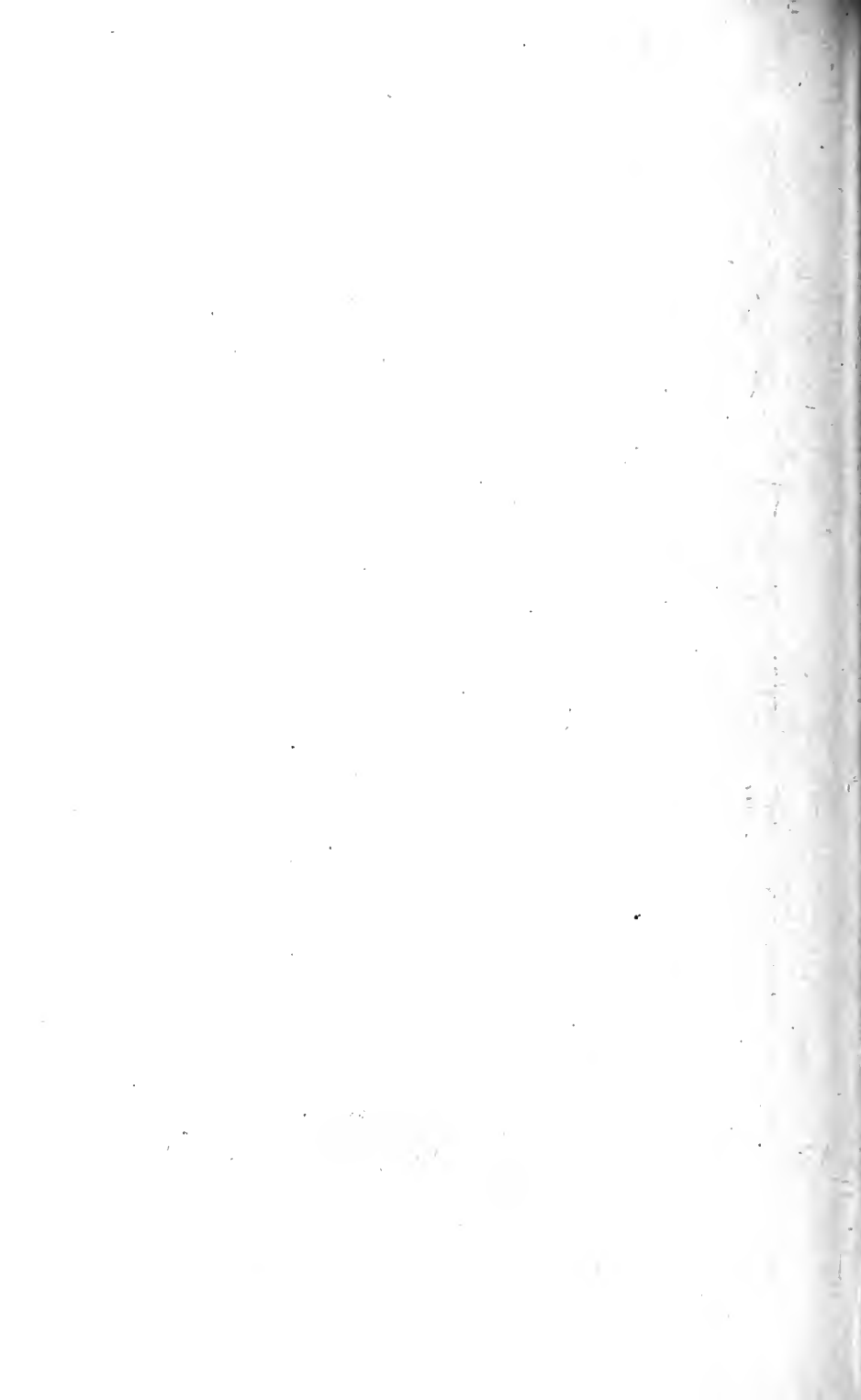


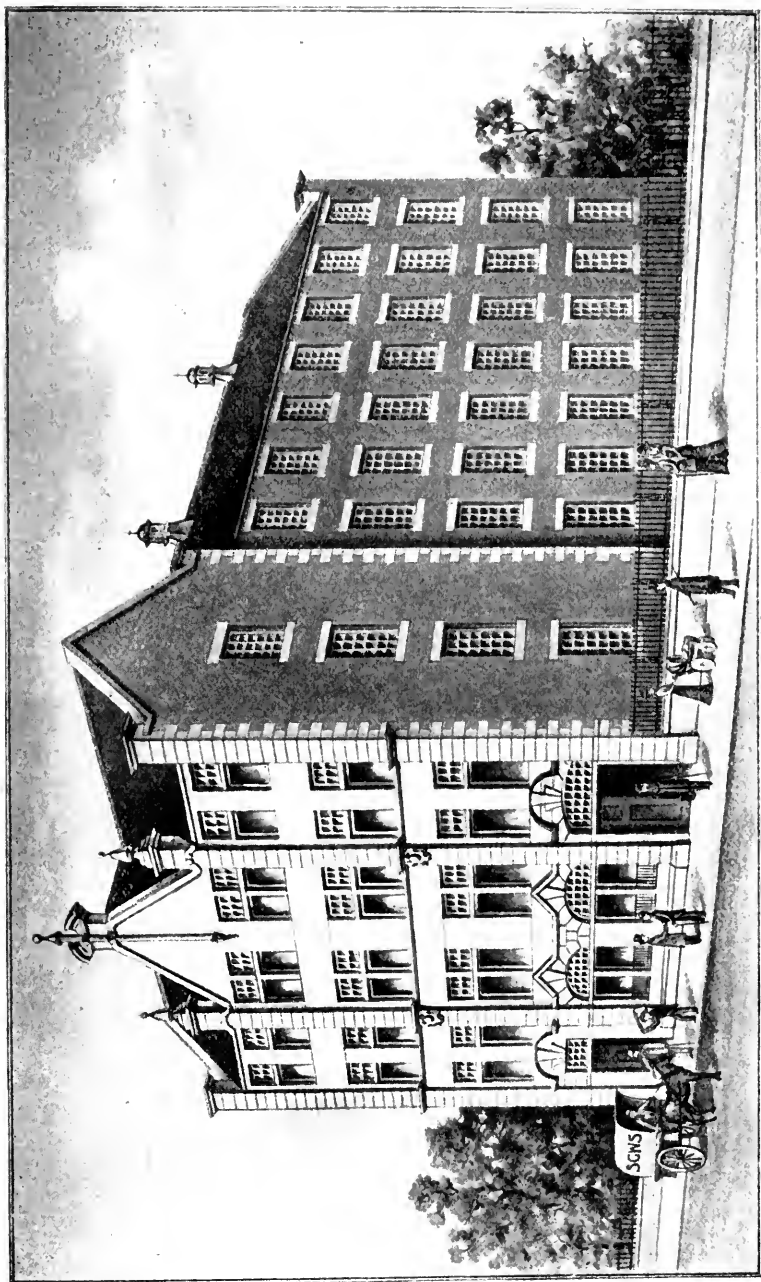
ETTRICK TWEED MILLS SELKIRK.



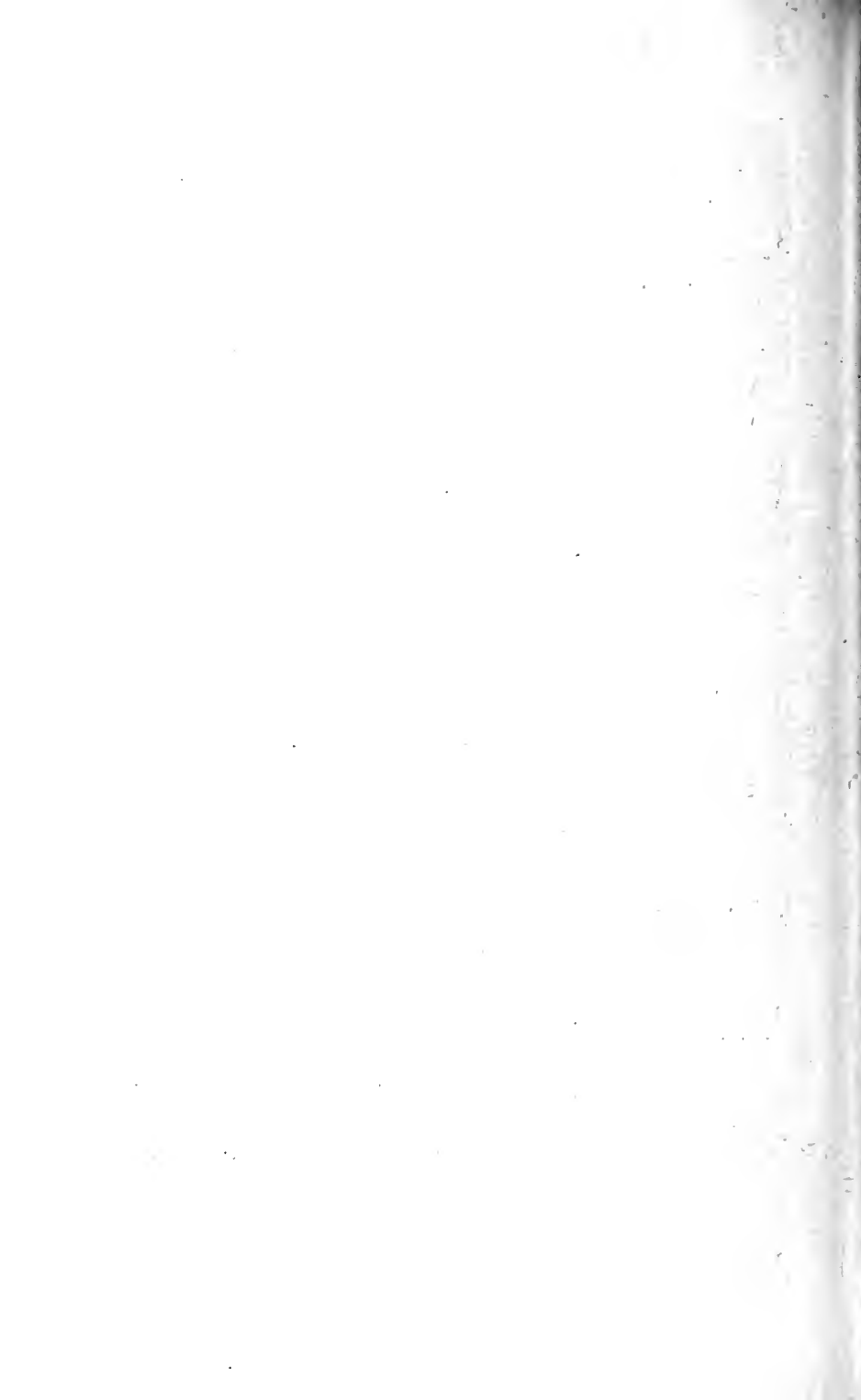


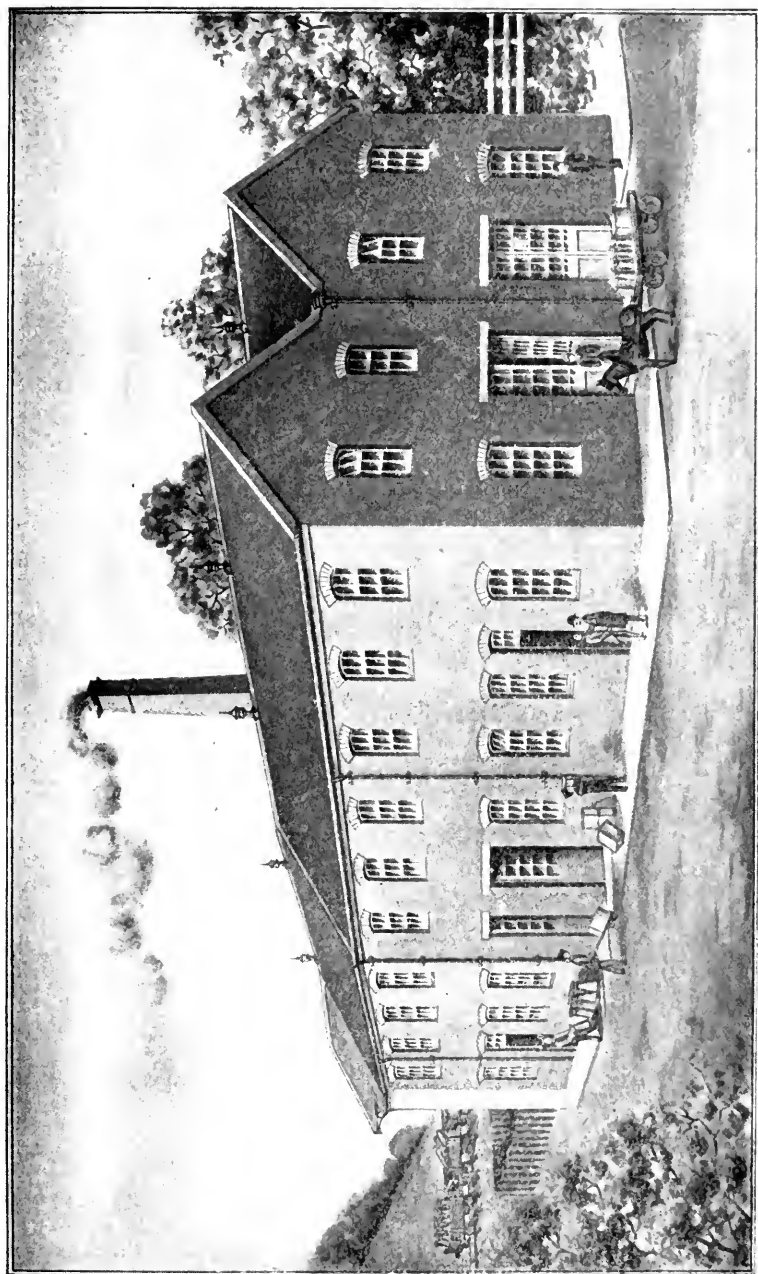
SOAP WORKS, GRANGEMOUTH



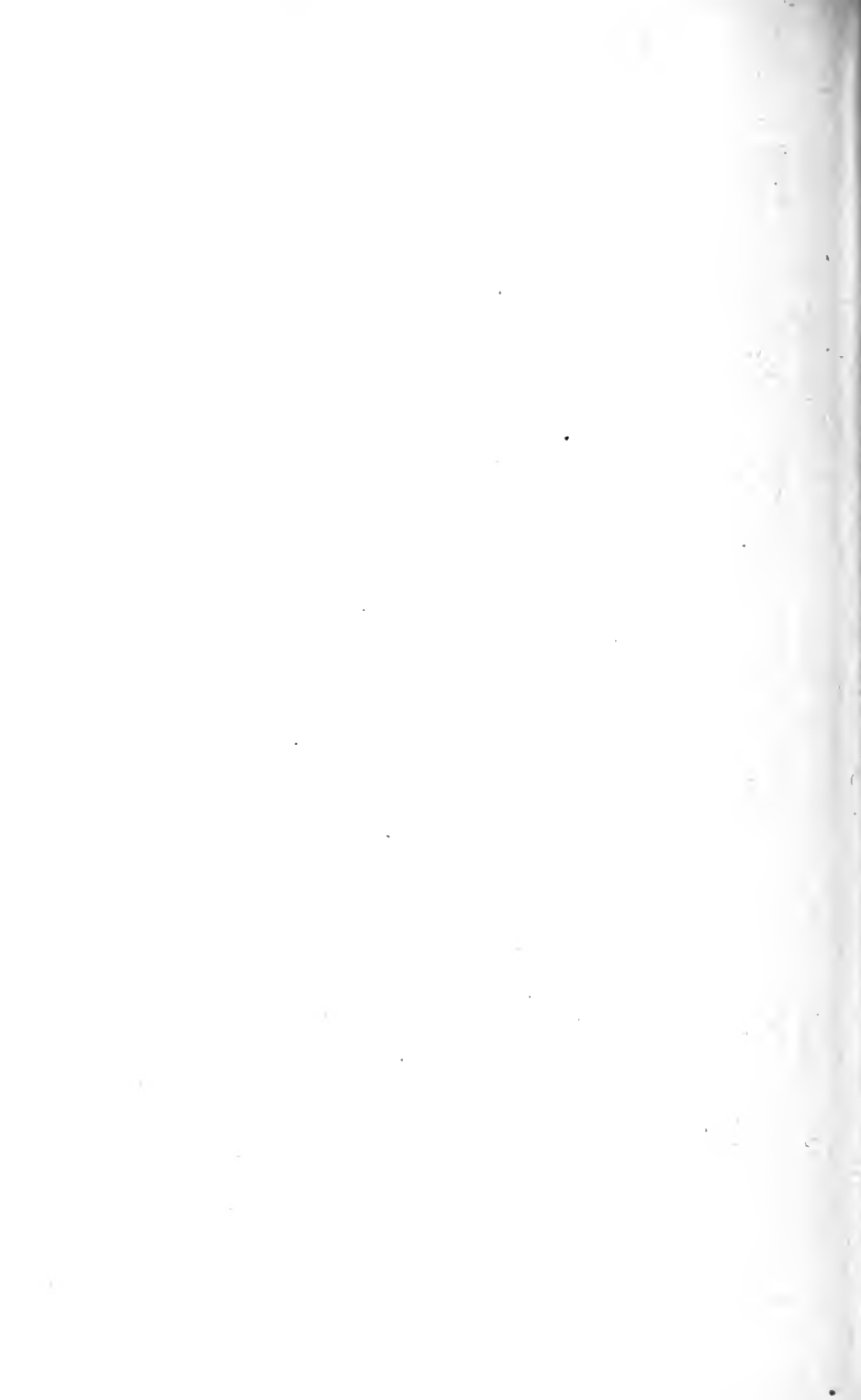


DRESS SHIRT FACTORY, LEITH.





BLADNOCH CREAMERY, WIGTOWNSHIRE.



THE SCOTTISH CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY LIMITED.

Enrolled 20th April, 1868, under the provisions of the Industrial and Provident Societies Act, 20th August, 1867, 30 and 31 Vict., cap. 117, sec. 4.

Business Commenced 8th September, 1868.

REGISTERED OFFICE, FURNITURE, & STATIONERY WAREHOUSE:
MORRISON STREET, GLASGOW.

GROCERY AND PROVISION WAREHOUSES:
PAISLEY ROAD, CROOKSTON AND CLARENCE STREETS.
GLASGOW.

DRAPERY WAREHOUSE:
DUNDAS, ST. JAMES', AND PATERSON STREETS, GLASGOW.

BOOT AND SHOE WAREHOUSE:
DUNDAS STREET, GLASGOW.

SHIRT FACTORY, TAILORING FACTORY, WATERPROOF FACTORY,
AERATED WATER FACTORY, AND CARTWRIGHT DEPT.:
PATERSON STREET, GLASGOW.

MANTLE FACTORY:
DUNDAS STREET, GLASGOW.

BOOT AND SHOE FACTORY, CLOTHING FACTORIES,
CABINET AND BRUSH FACTORIES, PRINTING WORKSHOP,
PRESERVE AND CONFECTION WORKS, COFFEE ESSENCE WORKS,
TOBACCO FACTORY, AND PICKLE WORKS:
SHIELDHALL, NEAR GOVAN, GLASGOW.

Branches:

LINKS PLACE, LEITH.
GRANGE PLACE, KILMARNOCK.
TRADES LANE, DUNDEE.

HENRY STREET, ENNISKILLEN, IRELAND.

FURNITURE WAREHOUSE, DRAPERY & BOOT SAMPLE
ROOM—CHAMBERS STREET, EDINBURGH.

CHANCELOT ROLLER FLOUR MILLS—BONNINGTON,
EDINBURGH.

SOAP WORKS—GRANGEMOUTH.

ETTRICK TWEED MILLS—SELKIRK.

JUNCTION FLOUR AND OATMEAL MILLS—LEITH.

DRESS SHIRT FACTORY—LEITH.

CREAMERIES:

ENNISKILLEN, BELNALECK, GOLA, FLORENCE COURT,
S. BRIDGE, GARDNER'S CROSS, BLACK LION, IRELAND;
BLADNOCH AND WHITHORN, WIGTOWNSHIRE, N.B.

FISH-CURING WORKS: ABERDEEN.

THE ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH WHOLESALE SOCIETIES' CO-PARTNERY
COCOA WORKS: LUTON, BEDFORDSHIRE.

TEA AND COFFEE DEPARTMENT: LEMAN STREET, LONDON, E.

TEA ESTATES: NUGAWELLA AND WELLAGANGA, CEYLON.

Bankers:

THE UNION BANK OF SCOTLAND LIMITED.

Head Offices:

GLASGOW:	LONDON:	EDINBURGH:
INGRAM STREET.	62, CORNHILL, E.C.	GEORGE STREET.
General Manager:	Manager:	Manager:
ROBERT BLYTH.	JOHN A. FRADGLEY.	JAMES MORTON.

General Committee.

President :

Mr. WILLIAM MAXWELL, Caerlaverock, Polmont Station.

Secretary :

Mr. ANDREW MILLER, Haldane Cottage, Balcarres Street, Tillicoultry.

Directors :

Mr. DANIEL THOMSON .. Rolland House, Rolland Street, Dunfermline.
 Mr. JOHN PEARSON..... Fenton Street, Alloa.
 Mr. ISAAC Mc.DONALD .. 7, Knoxland Street, Dumbarton.
 Mr. JOHN ARTHUR 39, High Street, Paisley.
 Mr. T. C. Mc.NAB..... 43, Dudley Crescent, North Leith.
 Mr. HENRY MURPHY.... Clydeview Villa, Castlegate Street, Lanark.
 Mr. JOHN STEVENSON .. 5, W. Fullarton Street, Kilmarnock.
 Mr. PETER GLASSE..... 296, St. George's Road, Glasgow.
 Mr. THOMAS LITTLE 264, Scott Street, Galashiels.
 Mr. ROBERT STEWART .. 15, Rutland Crescent, Paisley Rd. W., Glasgow.

Sub-Committees :

(1) FINANCE AND PROPERTY—

Messrs. MURPHY, GLASSE, MILLER, and STEVENSON.

Conveners: Mr. MURPHY (Finance). Mr. GLASSE (Property).

(2) GROCERY: DISTRIBUTIVE AND PRODUCTIVE—

Messrs. THOMSON, STEWART, LITTLE, and Mc.NAB.

Conveners: Mr. THOMSON (Distributive). Mr. STEWART (Productive).

(3) DRAPERY AND FURNISHING: DISTRIBUTIVE AND PRODUCTIVE—

Messrs. Mc.DONALD, MAXWELL, PEARSON, and ARTHUR.

Conveners: Mr. Mc.DONALD (Distributive). Mr. MAXWELL (Productive).

Auditors :

Mr. JNO. MILLEN, Rutherglen. | Mr. ROBT. J. SMITH, C.A., Glasgow.

Mr. WM. H. JACK, Glasgow.

Officers of the Society.

Accountant: M. ROBERT MACINTOSH, Glasgow.

Cashier: Mr. ALLAN GRAY, Glasgow.

Buyers, &c.:

Grocery and Provisions.....	GLASGOW.....	Mr. E. ROSS.
" "	"	Mr. JOHN Mc.DONALD.
" "	"	Mr. JOHN JAMIESON.
" "	LEITH	Mr. PETER ROBERTSON.
" "	"	Mr. WILLIAM McLAREN.
" "	KILMARNOCK ..	Mr. DAVID CALDWELL.
" "	"	Mr. HUGH CAMPBELL.
" "	DUNDEE	Mr. JOHN BARROWMAN.
Potato Department	GLASGOW.....	Mr. JOHN McINTYRE.
" "	LEITH	Mr. JOHN McKERACHER.
Cattle.....	GLASGOW.....	Mr. WILLIAM DUNCAN.
Provisions.....	ENNISKILLEN ..	Mr. WILLIAM WHYTE.
Preserve Works	GLASGOW.....	Mr. N. ANDERSON.
Tobacco Factory.....	"	Mr. THOMAS HARKNESS.
Chancelot and Junction Flour Mills	EDINBURGH ..	Mr. WM. F. STEWART.
	Master Miller..	Mr. SYLVANUS WEAR.
Soap Works	GRANGEMOUTH ..	Mr. T. B. BOLTON.
Farm	CARNTYNE	Mr. ROBERT DEMPSTER.
Tea Department	LONDON	Mr. CHARLES FIELDING.
Printing & Stationery Dept....	GLASGOW.....	Mr. DAVID CAMPBELL.
Drapery Department	"	Mr. DAVID GARDINER.
" " Assistant..	"	Mr. J. McGILCHRIST.
" " " ..	"	Mr. WM. ALLAN.
Furniture Department	"	Mr. WILLIAM MILLER.
	Assistant	Mr. THOMAS FENWICK.
" "	EDINBURGH ..	Mr. GEO. D. LAWSON.
Boot and Shoe Department ..	GLASGOW.....	Mr. ALBERT JOHNSON.
	Assistant	Mr. J. J. HORN.
Ettrick Tweed & Blanket Mills..	SELKIRK	Mr. ANDREW WESTLAND.
Building Department	GLASGOW.....	Mr. JAMES DAVIDSON.
Engineering Department	"	Mr. JAMES STEWART.
Carting Department	"	Mr. JAMES CALDWELL.
Coal Department	"	Mr. T. BURTON.
Fish Curing Department	ABERDEEN	Mr. W. C. STEPHEN.
Electrical Department	GLASGOW.....	Mr. A. R. TURNER.
Dress Shirt Factory	LEITH	Mr. ARCHER MITCHELL.

Travellers:

Grocery Department	GLASGOW.....	Mr. GEO. BLACKWOOD.
" "	"	Mr. JOHN KNOX.
" "	"	Mr. J. M. STEWART.
" "	LEITH	Mr. A. STODDART.
Flour Mills	EDINBURGH ..	Mr. GEORGE FISHER.
Drapery Department	GLASGOW.....	Mr. J. D. STEWART.
" "	"	Mr. JAMES HENRY.
" "	"	Mr. JOHN BOWMAN.
" "	"	Mr. ROBERT WOOD.
" "	EDINBURGH ..	Mr. GEORGE TAIT.
Ettrick Mills	GLASGOW.....	Mr. JAMES ALLAN.
Furniture Department	"	Mr. GEORGE CARSON.
Boot and Shoe Department	"	Mr. G. W. ROSS.

Business Arrangements.

Registered Office :

MORRISON STREET, GLASGOW.

Branches :

LINKS PLACE, LEITH ; GRANGE PLACE, KILMARNOCK ;

TRADES LANE, DUNDEE ;

HENRY STREET, ENNISKILLEN, IRELAND ;

LEMAN STREET, LONDON, E.

Societies, to which our trade is strictly confined, desirous of opening an account with this Society, should forward a copy of their registered Rules and latest balance sheet ; or, if but recently started, a statement showing the number of members, value of shares, amount subscribed for and paid up, weekly turnover expected, and the amount of credit allowed, if any, per member in proportion to the capital paid up. Should these particulars be considered satisfactory, goods will be supplied on the following terms:—The *maximum credit allowed is fourteen days, and interest is charged quarterly on all in excess of this allowance at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum, but in cases where the debt exceeds one month's purchases 5 per cent. is charged.*

Interest at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum is allowed on prepaid accounts.

The Directors, by authority of the general meeting, are empowered to have the books of societies examined whose accounts are overdue, and to take the necessary steps to protect the other members of the federation.

Orders for goods should bear the price or brand of the article wanted, the mode of transit, and name of station to which the goods are to be sent. Orders for the different departments should be on separate slips. Goods not approved of must be returned at once and intact. No claim for breakage, short weight, &c., can be entertained unless made within six days after goods are received. Delay in delivery should be at once advised.

WEEKLY STATEMENT OF ACCOUNT.

5TH WEEK.

73RD QUARTER.

LEDGER FOLIO, 929.

119, PAISLEY ROAD,

GLASGOW, September 3rd, 1887.

*The Grahamston and Bainsford Co-operative Society Limited.***Dr. To The Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited. Cr.**

GOODS.			CASH AND CREDITS.			
Date.	Amount of each Invoice.	Balance last Statement.	Date.	Cash.	Credit.	Totals.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Aug. 30..	0 4 3	698 7 2	Aug. 30..	....	0 5 0	....
" 30..	18 11 7	....	" 31..	....	1 0 0	....
" 30..	29 0 8	....	" 31..	....	0 12 9	....
" 30..	32 4 0	....	" 31..	....	0 12 10	....
" 30..	0 17 7	....	Sept. 1..	....	0 5 6	....
" 30..	4 10 0	....	" 1..	....	0 1 0	....
" 30..	4 4 0	....	" 1..	....	1 3 6	....
" 30..	3 2 6	....	" 1..	....	2 7 0	....
" 31..	0 6 6	....	" 2..	....	0 12 9	....
" 31..	0 8 3	....	" 2..	....	0 12 9	....
" 31..	0 10 10	....	" 2..	....	0 14 9	....
" 31..	0 8 3	....	" 2..	....	0 10 0	....
" 31..	1 5 0	....	" 3..	....	0 15 6	....
" 31..	0 10 11	....	" 3..	....	10 11 1	....
" 31..	59 16 9	....	" 3..	....	0 15 6	....
" 31..	0 11 3	....	" 3..	....	1 12 0	....
" 31..	7 3 5	....				22 11 11
Sept. 1..	2 10 6	....	" 2..	600 0 0	....	600 0 0
" 1..	4 17 6	....			
" 1..	0 15 2	....			
" 3..	0 6 6	....			
" 3..	0 9 2	....			
" 3..	17 10 0	....			
" 3..	0 18 0	....			
" 3..	3 10 6	....			
" 3..	5 13 8	....			
" 3..	12 11 1	....			
" 3..	4 18 7	....			
" 3..	5 3 6	....			
" 3..	0 12 9	....			
" 3..	0 1 10	....			
" 3..	2 14 9	....			
" 3..	1 8 6	....			
" 3..	27 12 8	....			
		255 10 5				
	To balance	....			By balance	331 5 8
	£ 953 17 7				£ 953 17 7	

If the above Statement differs from your Books, we shall be glad if you will point out the difference at once.

Terms of Membership.

EXCERPT FROM SOCIETY'S RULES.

ADMISSION OF MEMBERS AND APPLICATION FOR SHARES.

The Society shall consist of such Co-operative Societies registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act, 1893, or any employé of this Society who is over twenty-one years of age, as have been admitted by the Committee, subject to the approval of a general meeting of the Society; but no society trafficking in intoxicating liquors shall be eligible for membership in the Society, and each admission must be entered in the minute book of the Society. Every application for membership, except in the case of employés, must be sanctioned by a resolution of a general meeting of any society making such application, and the same must be made in the form as on next page, said form to be duly attested by the signature of the president, secretary, and three of the members thereof, and stamped with such society's seal. Every society making application shall state the number of its members, and take up not less than one share for each member, and shall increase the number annually as its members increase, in accordance with its last return to the Registrar; but no member other than a society registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act, 1893, shall hold an interest in the funds exceeding £50. It shall be in the option of any society to apply for shares in excess of their individual membership at any time; such applications shall be signed by the president, secretary, and three members of committee, but the granting of such excess shares shall be at the discretion of the Committee of this Society.

Any employé applying for membership must apply for not less than five shares.

CAPITAL: HOW PAID UP.

The capital of the Society shall be raised in shares of twenty shillings each, which shall be transferable only; every member, society, or employé, on admission, shall pay the sum of not less than one shilling on each share taken up, and the unpaid portion of the shares may be paid by dividends, or bonus, and interest; but any member may pay up shares in full or in part at any time.

APPLICATION FORM.

*Whereas, by a resolution of the.....Co-operative Society Limited, passed at a general meeting held on the....day of....., it was resolved to take up.....shares (being one share of twenty shillings for each member), said shares being transferable, in the **Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited**, and to accept the same on the terms and conditions specified in the Rules. Executed under the seal of the society on the....day of..... Attested by*

.....

 } *Three Members.*

BENEFITS DERIVED FROM MEMBERSHIP.

(a) The liability of the member is limited, each member being only responsible for the value of the shares held.

(b) Members receive double the rate of dividend on purchases paid to non-members.

(c) Share capital is paid 5 per cent per annum.

(d) Members have a share in the management of the Wholesale in proportion to the amount of goods bought, as each society has one vote in right of membership, one for the first £1,000 worth of goods bought, and one other additional vote for every complete £2,000 of purchases thereafter.

These advantages, added to the special benefits secured by the leading position of the Wholesale, will, we trust, induce societies as yet non-members to carefully reconsider the question, and take the necessary steps to secure to their members the full benefits of co-operative distribution.

CORRESPONDENCE.

All letters must be addressed to the Society, and not to individuals. Addressed envelopes are supplied at cost price. Separate slips ought to be used for the different departments—the Accountant's, Grocery and Provision, Drapery, Boot and Shoe, Furniture. The slips can all be enclosed in the one envelope. Attention to this simple rule will greatly facilitate the despatch of goods and ensure promptitude in answering inquiries; it will also aid in the classification of the letters for reference in any case of irregularity or dispute.

Cash Remittance.

Cheques must be made payable to the Society. If remitted through the UNION BANK OF SCOTLAND LIMITED, the usual commission charged will be saved.

LIST OF BRANCHES OF THE UNION BANK OF SCOTLAND LTD.

HEAD OFFICES:—GLASGOW, INGRAM STREET; EDINBURGH, GEORGE STREET.
LONDON OFFICE:—62, CORNHILL, E.C.

BRANCHES:

Aberdeen.	Edinburgh, Morningside.	Largs.
Aberdeen, George Street.	" Murrayfield.	Larkhall.
" Holburn.	" Newington.	Leith.
" Torry.	" Norton Park.	Lerwick.
" West End.	" S. Morningside	Leslie.
Aberfeldy.	Edzell.	Lochgelly, Fifeshire.
Aberlour, Strathspey.	Elgin.	Lochgilthead.
Alloa.	Ellon.	Macduff.
Alva.	Errol.	Maybole.
Ardishaig.	Fochabers.	Mearns (open on Tuesdays and
Ardrossan.	Forfar.	Fridays—sub to Barrhead).
Auchterarder.	Fraserburgh.	Millport.
Auchtermuchty.	Galston.	Moffat.
Ayr.	Gatehouse.	Moniaive.
Ballater.	Girvan.	New Aberdour (open on Mon
Banchory.	Glasgow, Anderston.	days and Fridays—sub to
Banff.	" Bridgeton Cross.	Rosehearty).
Barrhead.	" Buchanan Street.	New Pitsligo.
Barrhill.	" Charing Cross.	Paisley.
Bathgate.	" Cowcaddens.	Paisley, Wellmeadow.
Beith.	" Eglinton Street.	Partick.
Blair-Athole (sub to Pitlochrie).	" Hillhead.	Perth.
Blairgowrie.	" Hope Street.	Peterhead.
Bo'ness.	" Kinning Park.	Pitlochrie.
Braemar.	" Maryhill.	Port-Glasgow.
Brechin.	" St. Vincent Street.	Portsoy.
Bridge of Allan.	" Shawlands.	Renfrew.
Buckie, Banffshire.	" Springburn.	Rosehearty.
Campbeltown.	" Tradeston.	St. Margaret's Hope, Orkney.
Castle-Douglas.	" Trongate.	Scalloway, Shetland (open on
Clydebank.	" Union Street.	Tuesdays and Fridays—sub
Coatbridge.	Gourock.	to Lerwick).
Coupar-Angus.	Govan.	Shettleston.
Crieff.	Greenock.	Stewarton.
Cullen.	Hamilton.	Stirling.
Dalbeattie.	Helensburgh.	Stonehouse.
Dalry, Galloway.	Huntly.	Strachur, Lochfyne (open on
Darvel (sub to Galston).	Inveraray.	Thursdays—sub to Inveraray)
Donne.	Inverness.	Stranraer.
Dumbarton.	Inverurie.	Strathaven.
Dumfries.	Irvine.	Stromness.
Dunblane.	Johnstone.	Tarbert, Lochfyne.
Dundee.	Keith.	Tarland.
Dunkeld.	Killin.	Thornton, Fife (open on Mon-
Dunning.	Kilmarnock.	days—sub to Kirkcaldy).
Dunoon.	" Riccarton.	Thornhill.
Edinburgh, Forrest Road.	Kincairdine.	Tillicoultry.
" Golden Acre.	Kirkcaldy.	Tollcross.
" Haymarket.	Kirkwall.	Troon.
" Hunter Square.	Kirriemuir.	Turriff.
" Lothian Road.	Ladybank.	Wick.

STATEMENT SHOWING THE PROGRESS OF THE SOCIETY FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT IN
SEPTEMBER, 1868, TO DATE.

Period.	Number of Shares Subscribed by Soc. etics.	Number of Share s Subscribed by Employees	Share Capital paid up.	Deposits, including Reserve and Insurance Funds.	Net Sales.		Increase over Previous Period.		Expenses.			Rate per £ on Sales.
			£	£	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	d.
2 Years ended November, 1870 ..	*591	....	2,668	9,575	136,041	1	11	....	....	2,733	15	2
5 " " 1875 ..	+27,112	....	11,765	44,985	1,649,795	7	1	1,443,754	4	2	24,541	1
5 " " 1880 ..	41,584	....	19,159	91,020	3,122,660	6	7	1,472,864	19	6	50,422	9
5 " " 1885 ..	70,066	....	34,257	254,688	6,678,941	15	0	2,956,281	8	5	109,185	9
5 " " December, 1890 ..	+117,664	....	84,454	490,868	10,380,405	1	10	4,301,463	6	10	206,108	0
5 " " 1895 ..	\$171,985	3,069	169,906	964,363	15,574,412	2	4	5,194,007	0	6	350,127	5
5 " " 1900 ..	253,273	6,481	254,076	1,422,689	23,398,585	13	11	7,894,173	11	7	534,273	3
1 Year " " 1901 ..	£70,920	7,029	£74,157	1,654,976	5,700,743	7	3	257,112	4	7	133,458	12
6 Months " June, 1902 ..	£74,763	7,341	£79,319	1,754,924	2,919,105	3	3	127,668	1	3	71,611	13
Totals to June, 1902	£74,763	7,311	£79,319	1,754,924	69,020,719	19	2	....	....	....	1,482,466	10

* £5 each. † 10s. each. ‡ 15s. each. § 20s. each.

STATEMENT SHOWING THE PROGRESS OF THE SOCIETY FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT IN
SEPTEMBER, 1868, TO DATE—*continued*.

Period.	Net Profit.	Average Dividend.	RESERVE AND INSURANCE FUNDS.			Depreciation on Buildings and Plant.
			Added.	Withdrawn.	Amount of Funds.	
	£ s. d.	d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
2 Years ended November, 1870.....	3,770 17 0	4	436 5 11	.....	436 5 11	£50 0 5
5 " " 1875.....	32,798 8 0	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	2,798 1 2	826 14 3	2,402 12 10	2,315 9 10
5 " " 1880.....	63,403 16 5	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	7,782 14 0	1,780 16 10	8,404 10 0	4,516 19 2
5 " " 1885.....	144,643 4 0	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	19,534 8 7	6,684 14 0	21,254 4 7	11,277 8 6
5 " " December, 1890.....	289,518 7 11	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	42,569 12 10	10,971 7 5	52,882 10 0	27,299 3 10
5 " " 1895.....	435,060 10 1	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	76,719 8 7	50,661 15 6	78,931 3 1	120,120 16 8
5 " " 1900.....	932,867 11 4	7 $\frac{3}{4}$	161,687 12 7	27,193 11 6	213,425 4 2	247,801 18 1
1 Year " " 1901.....	231,686 9 9	8	54,018 13 8	6,923 1 4	560,547 16 6	42,090 4 7
6 Months " " June, 1902.....	115,746 7 7	8	22,531 17 6	2,185 0 8	280,897 13 4	26,396 12 8
Totals to June, 1902.....	2,314,495 12 1	..	398,127 14 10	107,220 1 6	280,897 13 4	483,077 13 9

GLASGOW GROCERY AND PROVISION DEPARTMENTS.

Period.	Drapery and Boots.	Dundee.	Kilmarnock.	Glasgow.	Total.	Expenses.	Rate per £ on Sales.	Net Profit.	Rate per £ on Sales.	Stocks.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	d.	£ s. d.	d.	£
2½ Years ended Nov., 1870 ..	....	....	....	196,041 1 11	196,041 1 11	2,738 15 2	34	3,770 17 0	46	9,060
5 , " 1875 ..	....	....	....	1,649,795 7 1	1,649,795 7 1	24,541 1 9	36	32,738 8 0	47	29,400
5 , " 1880 ..	293,990 6 2	....	....	2,487,052 12 5	2,781,042 18 7	45,425 19 0	39	60,102 10 4	51	43,190
5 , " 1885 ..	155,347 8 11	21,507 10 0	12,982 1 4	3,697,796 1 6	3,887,633 1 9	60,284 9 3	37	80,069 5 7	49	28,130
5 , " Dec., 1890 ..	....	....	....	5,176,664 9 2	5,176,664 9 2	75,677 13 5	35	121,135 11 2	56	63,000
5 , " 1895 ..	....	....	....	7,707,270 3 11	7,707,270 3 11	120,547 16 8	37	189,795 18 3	59	80,424
5 , " 1900 ..	....	....	....	11,609,641 11 0	11,609,641 11 0	164,998 12 4	34	340,881 12 6	76	85,303
1 Year " 1901 ..	....	....	....	2,717,173 15 7	2,777,173 15 7	38,751 15 4	33	78,901 18 0	68	109,897
6 Months " June, 1902 ..	....	....	....	1,450,412 16 3	1,450,412 16 3	21,004 12 4	34	40,422 4 7	66	110,510
Totals.....	449,937 15 1	21,507 10 0	12,982 1 4	86,751,847 18 10	87,235,675 5 3	554,090 15 3	35	947,878 5 5	61	....

GROCERY DEPARTMENT, LEITH.

Period.	Net Sales.	Expenses.	Rate per £ of Sales.	Net Profit.	Rate per £ of Sales.	Amount of Stock.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	d.	£ s. d.	d.	£
4 Years ending October, 1880.....	341,617 8 0	4,996 10 2	3·5	8,301 6 1	5·8	8,410
5 " " 1885.....	1,299,895 19 6	18,266 10 5	3·3	34,089 9 9	6·2	29,750
5 " " December, 1890.....	2,717,040 17 4	39,141 1 0	3·4	68,339 15 7	6·0	34,600
5 " " 1895.....	3,646,429 13 4	52,328 11 3	3·4	91,462 2 7	6·0	31,647
5 " " 1900.....	4,650,166 9 11	60,830 0 7	3·1	139,842 11 0	7·2	38,279
1 Year " " 1901.....	1,135,456 17 6	14,009 1 10	3·0	38,599 12 8	8·1	44,800
6 Months " June, 1902.....	558,517 11 3	7,226 4 11	3·1	17,539 7 11	7·5	36,280
Totals.....	14,349,124 16 10	196,798 1 2	3·3	398,124 5 7	6·6	.....

GROCERY DEPARTMENT, KILMARNOCK.

Period.	Net Sales.	Expenses.	Rate Per £ of Sales.	Net Profit.	Rate per £ of Sales.	Stocks.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	d.	£ s. d.	d.	£
3½ Years ending October, 1885	136,895 15 11	2,952 19 11	5·1	3,151 1 3	5·5	2,300
5 " " December, 1890	269,960 11 5	4,309 19 4	3·7	9,037 4 2	8·0	2,400
5 " " " 1895	365,040 0 8	7,180 4 11	4·7	12,962 12 3	8·5	2,030
5 " " " 1900	514,966 15 3	10,467 16 8	4·8	17,185 4 3	8·0	3,848
1 Year " " 1901	121,990 19 0	2,266 19 10	4·4	5,201 13 2	10·2	3,980
6 Months " June, 1902	61,595 15 1	1,066 15 4	4·1	2,262 18 11	8·8	2,890
Totals.....	1,470,889 17 4	28,244 16 0	4·6	49,800 13 0	8·1	...

GROCERY DEPARTMENT, DUNDEE.

Period.	Net Sales.	Expenses.	Rate per £ of Sales.	Profit.	Rate per £ of Sales.	Stocks.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	d.	£ s. d.	d.	£
3½ Years ending October, 1885	150,955 18 1	3,436 7 9	5·4	1,628 4 2	2·5	2,890
5 " " December, 1890	320,587 3 5	5,614 14 0	4·2	5,035 2 10	3·7	4,070
5 " " " 1895	450,497 14 8	6,239 6 5	3·3	11,080 15 11	5·9	2,260
5 " " " 1900	558,835 10 6	6,563 2 1	2·8	15,747 19 6	6·7	1,853
1 Year " " 1901	124,171 7 6	1,326 5 9	2·5	4,287 17 4	8·2	3,680
6 Months " " June, 1902	60,239 4 11	750 6 6	2·9	1,944 0 8	7·7	5,878
Totals.....	1,665,286 19 1	23,930 2 6	3·4	39,724 0 5	5·7	....

DRAPERY DEPARTMENT.

Period.	Net Sales.	Expenses.	Rate Per £ of Sales.	Profit.	Rate Per £ of Sales.	Stocks.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	d.	£ s. d.	d.	£
*3½ Years ending October, 1885.....	529,694 8 2	20,815 4 5	9·4	20,314 11 1	9·2	35,990
5 " " December, 1890.....	1,195,913 8 3	50,393 9 7	10·1	50,920 4 4	10·2	64,000
5 " " " 1895.....	2,057,557 6 1	97,333 9 6	11·3	79,958 18 8	9·3	103,971
5 " " " 1900.....	3,351,714 13 11	156,926 2 11	11·2	146,985 18 8	10·5	149,209
1 Year " " 1901.....	832,021 3 0	41,548 19 8	11·9	35,176 4 11	10·2	133,713
6 Months " June, 1902.....	428,552 11 7	21,988 4 9	12·3	18,930 4 10	10·6	153,085
Total	8,395,453 11 0	389,005 10 10	11·1	352,286 2 6	10·0	....

* Includes Boots and Furniture to 1884.

BOOT AND SHOE DEPARTMENT.

Period.	Net Sales.	Expenses.	Rate per £ of Sales.	Net Profit.	Rate per £ of Sales.	Stocks.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	d.	£ s. d.	d.	£
1 Year ending October, 1885	55,467 0 1	1,602 18 5	6·9	2,481 18 3	10·7	11,520
5 " " December, 1890.....	427,110 9 1	15,177 13 2	8·5	10,991 17 9	6·1	14,360
5 " " " 1895.....	781,264 3 8	31,492 10 8	9·6	23,802 16 7	7·3	34,754
5 " " " 1900.....	1,372,450 4 4	53,697 13 5	9·3	37,303 11 3	6·5	66,107
1 Year " " 1901.....	351,205 14 6	13,399 17 6	9·1	11,241 1 0	7·7	78,935
6 Months ending June, 1902.....	180,369 15 1	7,698 15 3	10·2	3,958 3 10	5·2	79,793
Totals.....	3,167,867 6 9	123,069 8 5	9·3	89,779 8 8	6·8	....

FURNITURE AND FURNISHING DEPARTMENT.

Period.	Net Sales.	Expenses.	Rate per £ of Sales.	Net Profit.	Rate per £ of Sales.	Stocks.-
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	d.	£ s. d.	d.	£
1 Year ending October, 1885.....	18,459 11 6	1,285 5 9	16·7	431 3 11	5·6	5,600
5 " " December, 1890.....	250,296 11 9	15,793 1 2	15·1	11,842 11 11	11·3	13,600
5 " " " 1895.....	494,445 18 0	35,005 5 8	16·9	22,516 2 0	6·1	20,509
5 " " " 1900.....	1,031,234 6 10	80,789 15 0	18·8	39,502 7 11	9·1	43,758
1 Year " " 1901.....	265,746 9 5	22,155 12 10	20·0	7,900 17 9	7·1	54,152
6 Months ending June, 1902.....	138,135 3 8	11,816 14 0	20·5	1,801 16 4	3·2	50,028
Totals.....	2,198,318 1 2	166,845 14 5	18·1	83,994 19 10	9·1	...

PRODUCTIVE DEPARTMENTS.—YEARLY STATEMENT. TAILORING FACTORY.

Year ending	Transferred.	Production.	Expenses on Production.	Rate per cent.	Net Profit on Production.	Rate per cent.	Stocks.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£
*November 4, 1882	427 10 10	427 10 10	319 12 11	74.70	1 11 2	0.23	.....
" 3, 1883	2,269 8 1	2,269 8 1	1,632 19 4	71.92	11 9 5	0.48	304
" 1, 1884	2,521 7 10	2,521 7 10	1,653 13 11	65.56	45 9 2	1.78	341
October 31, 1885	3,611 11 9	3,611 11 9	2,179 5 7	60.34	80 4 4	2.21	445
†December 25, 1886	6,252 18 7	6,252 18 7	3,846 10 4	61.51	13 9 8	0.20	485
† " 31, 1887	8,079 6 7	7,745 12 10	4,847 7 10	62.58	175 8 0	0.96	424
" 29, 1888	8,331 15 9	8,639 6 6	5,310 17 11	61.45	509 3 5	5.89	1,083
" 28, 1889	9,250 3 7	9,399 10 8	5,580 3 7	59.36	935 2 1	9.94	1,280
" 27, 1890	13,869 6 9	14,138 2 1	7,832 17 8	55.39	1,345 19 4	9.58	1,564
" 26, 1891	13,117 7 5	12,756 14 6	7,287 13 1	57.12	1,287 5 4	10.08	1,222
" 31, 1892	15,597 19 7	15,817 9 9	8,596 18 3	54.84	1,878 11 4	11.87	1,663
† " 30, 1893	15,694 17 5	15,471 11 3	8,922 13 10	57.66	1,846 11 10	11.93	1,120
" 29, 1894	16,161 12 1	16,137 17 10	9,145 18 0	56.67	2,040 7 7	12.64	1,177
" 28, 1895	20,263 12 9	20,753 2 9	10,597 2 7	51.06	3,091 13 0	14.89	1,634
" 26, 1896	22,765 6 9	23,443 19 2	11,383 5 11	50.72	3,620 8 6	16.12	1,459
" 25, 1897	22,374 11 10	25,753 6 9	11,227 18 3	43.59	3,541 4 10	13.74	1,332
" 31, 1898	19,209 18 4	19,383 18 11	10,616 6 0	54.76	2,891 10 7	14.91	1,268
" 30, 1899	22,552 7 11	23,203 17 9	11,797 11 5	50.84	3,922 12 8	16.90	2,499
" 29, 1900	24,513 13 6	23,629 11 3	13,113 11 9	55.49	3,144 18 6	13.30	2,106
" 28, 1901	21,235 9 4	21,461 7 10	12,990 9 3	60.56	1,747 8 3	8.13	2,615
§June 28, 1902	11,926 8 3	11,909 0 2	6,687 11 10	56.15	723 2 9	6.07	2,189
Totals.....	280,031 14 11	283,727 7 1	155,570 9 3	54.83	32,602 15 9	11.49	....
				† Fifty-three weeks.	§ Half year.	|| Loss.	
		† Sixty weeks.	* Quarter.				

PRODUCTIVE DEPARTMENTS.—YEARLY STATEMENT.
SHIRT FACTORY.

Year ending	Transferred.	Production.	Expenses on Production.	Rate per cent.	Net Profit on Production.	Rate per cent.	Stocks.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£
*November 4, 1882	201 11 0	201 11 0	159 13 10	79.10	21 9 4	10.44	....
" 3, 1883	759 13 1	759 13 1	654 19 9	86.30	21 19 2	2.89	15
" 1, 1884	869 19 7	869 19 7	744 1 9	85.51	1 8 11	0.17	20
October 31, 1885	1,407 7 8	1,407 7 8	885 0 8	62.90	89 5 6	6.32	70
+December 25, 1886	1,892 16 11	1,892 16 11	1,132 12 6	59.83	72 3 4	3.80	48
† " 31, 1887	1,631 16 4	1,650 6 0	1,033 10 9	62.60	40 5 5	2.42	92
" 29, 1888	2,368 15 6	2,380 15 0	1,577 7 3	66.26	113 5 6	0.54	112
" 28, 1889	2,797 17 8	2,804 8 5	1,728 7 3	61.62	210 9 4	7.48	119
" 27, 1890	2,858 13 1	2,852 14 7	1,781 1 5	62.44	253 16 6	8.90	72
" 26, 1891	3,390 12 2	3,354 12 11	2,046 18 11	61.01	335 4 8	9.98	120
† " 31, 1892	3,361 0 1	3,433 1 2	2,213 18 6	64.49	245 5 11	7.13	208
" 30, 1893	3,851 10 0	3,797 16 11	2,467 11 5	64.97	328 15 5	8.63	256
" 29, 1894	4,762 11 0	4,792 4 5	2,872 9 3	59.98	633 14 2	13.21	764
" 28, 1895	7,502 19 3	7,622 1 5	3,947 2 8	51.78	451 17 0	5.93	958
" 26, 1896	9,040 12 5	8,960 12 6	4,651 1 10	51.90	946 5 4	10.55	2,133
" 25, 1897	10,342 4 7	10,899 8 1	5,703 16 5	52.38	662 12 0	6.07	2,239
" 31, 1898	11,436 18 9	11,404 16 1	6,101 17 0	53.50	716 16 3	6.27	2,066
" 30, 1899	13,052 10 11	13,130 5 5	7,070 3 9	53.84	579 4 11	4.41	2,125
" 29, 1900	14,485 14 9	14,756 13 6	8,820 8 0	59.77	131 0 10	0.88	2,290
" 28, 1901	9,668 3 8	9,618 14 1	5,976 15 1	62.61	233 5 7	2.63	946
|| June 28, 1902	3,662 13 5	3,723 7 8	2,306 13 7	61.98	602 16 7	16.17	731
Totals	109,946 1 10	110,313 6 5	63,875 11 7	57.90	6,077 19 6	5.51	....

* Quarter. † Sixty weeks. ‡ Fifty-three weeks. § Underclothing Department disjoined and established as a separate factory. || Half year. ¶ Loss.

PRODUCTIVE DEPARTMENTS.—YEARLY STATEMENT.
ARTISAN CLOTHING FACTORY.

Year ending	Transferred.	Production.	Expenses on Production.	Rate per cent.	Net Profit on Production.	Rate per cent.	Stocks.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£
December 26, 1891.....	2,561 19 4	2,638 13 1	1,855 3 2	70-31	88 18 10	3-37	186
* " 31, 1892.....	2,692 0 10	2,630 4 5	1,850 12 7	70-34	135 14 3	5-13	100
" 30, 1893.....	2,958 17 8	3,039 7 1	2,002 4 10	65-87	41 17 4	1-38	476
" 29, 1894.....	3,493 7 4	3,434 18 3	2,109 17 8	61-44	113 13 2	3-29	410
" 28, 1895.....	3,513 6 5	3,541 2 4	2,523 13 11	71-25	246 10 2	6-94	251
" 26, 1896.....	3,844 8 9	3,861 14 5	2,668 7 5	69-10	399 9 0	10-33	203
" 25, 1897.....	4,082 13 9	4,138 6 1	2,954 17 2	71-41	294 17 1	7-10	338
* " 31, 1898.....	4,590 17 5	4,535 14 0	3,152 19 4	69-52	479 17 0	10-58	175
" 30, 1899.....	5,174 5 1	5,118 2 10	3,511 4 9	68-60	601 14 9	11-93	150
" 29, 1900.....	6,189 10 7	6,199 1 5	4,282 6 4	69-07	683 0 6	11-01	424
" 28, 1901.....	5,710 18 11	5,675 2 3	4,316 14 9	75-99	218 2 10	3-90	213
† June 28, 1902.....	3,288 6 9	3,288 6 9	2,381 16 2	72-41	267 16 1	8-15	222
Totals.....	48,100 12 10	48,100 12 11	33,609 18 1	69-87	3,571 11 0	7-42	..

* Fifty-three weeks. † Half year.

PRODUCTIVE DEPARTMENTS.—YEARLY STATEMENT.
MANTLE FACTORY.

Year ending	Transferred.	Production.	Expenses on Production.	Rate per cent.	Net Profit on Production.	Rate per cent.	Net Loss.	Rate per cent.	Stocks.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£
December 26, 1891	2,324 11 2	2,358 6 7	1,604 9 10	68·02	....	....	139 0 4	5·89	350
" 31, 1892	2,717 1 10	2,707 4 1	1,702 4 3	62·87	....	....	10 11 6	0·36	275
" 30, 1893	2,348 10 10	2,354 14 1	1,586 8 6	67·37	....	....	156 1 0	6·62	382
" 29, 1894	2,711 10 10	2,701 10 1	1,436 10 5	55·38	20 14 6	0·74	....	....	178
" 28, 1895	2,953 7 7	2,953 7 7	1,643 2 6	55·64	218 6 0	7·38	....	....	82
" 26, 1896	3,007 9 9	3,009 9 9	1,747 6 5	58·05	155 6 2	5·15	....	....	168
" 25, 1897	3,139 12 2	3,151 7 11	1,990 11 8	63·15	74 13 9	2·35	....	....	143
" 31, 1898	4,092 19 1	4,100 14 10	2,483 10 1	60·56	338 10 10	8·24	....	....	134
" 30, 1899	4,866 7 5	4,844 15 11	3,089 5 4	63·77	327 9 1	6·75	....	....	175
" 29, 1900	5,039 19 4	5,039 19 4	3,401 6 2	67·48	103 13 10	2·04	....	....	183
" 28, 1901	5,213 12 1	5,232 12 3	3,521 12 6	67·27	88 4 2	1·67	....	....	192
+June 28, 1902	2,793 0 5	2,796 6 5	1,703 4 9	60·90	391 0 0	13·98	....	....	251
Totals	41,208 2 6	41,250 8 10	25,969 12 5	62·95	1717 18 4	....	305 12 10	....	..
					305 12 10	....		
					1412 5 6	3·42			

* Fifty-three weeks. † Half year.

PRODUCTIVE DEPARTMENTS.—YEARLY STATEMENT.

BOOT FACTORY.

Year ending	Transferred.	Production.	Expenses on Production.	Rate per cent.	Net Profit on Production.	Rate per cent.	Stocks.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£
October 31, 1885	13,804 12 2	13,804 12 2	4,512 8 10	32 68	193 9 5	1 39	3,435
* December 25, 1886	33,816 6 8	33,816 6 8	10,125 5 11	29 94	1,114 5 0	3 29	4,020
† " 31, 1887	33,857 0 4	33,834 16 10	11,038 11 4	32 92	1,138 3 10	3 36	5,406
" 29, 1888	38,173 13 1	39,367 13 8	13,563 6 6	34 45	1,759 17 0	4 47	11,869
" 28, 1889	49,630 3 6	54,086 1 7	18,922 6 4	34 98	2,551 2 11	4 71	15,890
" 27, 1890	57,408 2 11	59,125 6 6	21,845 4 3	36 94	3,612 1 9	6 11	17,349
" 26, 1891	71,127 5 1	73,035 11 6	26,026 9 6	35 63	3,632 0 9	4 97	18,292
" 31, 1892	82,752 5 9	85,524 18 1	31,316 1 2	36 61	4,859 17 3	5 68	18,220
" 30, 1893	98,706 6 0	99,017 13 6	37,032 18 5	37 40	7,431 7 5	7 50	20,696
" 29, 1894	102,723 9 4	110,687 13 11	41,000 15 4	37 04	7,431 2 5	6 71	27,177
" 28, 1895	122,444 13 9	132,128 17 5	46,828 13 9	35 44	9,379 19 3	7 09	35,328
" 26, 1896	108,382 13 11	107,364 16 8	41,751 12 2	38 88	6,474 7 2	6 03	34,019
" 25, 1897	157,572 8 3	160,444 2 4	58,592 0 6	36 51	7,804 5 4	4 86	38,889
" 31, 1898	161,685 4 5	162,799 6 7	61,690 18 2	37 89	7,735 18 1	4 75	41,010
" 30, 1899	190,046 19 11	188,178 19 6	68,403 3 5	36 35	7,874 9 7	4 18	47,836
" 29, 1900	224,432 7 6	230,040 7 11	75,787 1 4	32 94	7,304 11 3	3 17	60,417
" 28, 1901	245,576 19 1	243,720 15 2	78,846 9 2	32 43	10,314 13 7	4 25	50,380
† June 28, 1902	115,741 7 5	119,461 7 5	38,886 17 11	32 55	3,747 8 6	3 13	52,686
Totals	1,907,881 19 1	1,946,439 7 5	686,170 4 0	35 25	94,359 0 6	4 84	....

* Sixty weeks.

† Fifty-three weeks.

‡ Half year.

PRODUCTIVE DEPARTMENTS.—YEARLY STATEMENT.
CABINET WORKS.

Year ending	Transferred.	Production.	Expenses on Production.	Rate per cent.	Net Profit on Production.	Rate per cent.	Stocks.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£
October 31, 1885.....	1,288 9 10	1,288 9 10	725 9 0	56.28	20 10 3	1.55	364
*December 25, 1886.....	2,231 13 11	2,231 13 11	1,204 11 9	53.96	99 12 3	4.43	425
† " 31, 1887.....	2,488 16 7	2,557 7 0	1,379 9 1	53.93	67 11 0	2.62	1,069
" 29, 1888.....	4,089 19 0	4,323 13 4	2,310 2 4	53.43	820 12 1	0.46	2,152
" 28, 1889.....	7,654 8 1	7,771 19 6	4,022 5 0	51.75	183 18 6	2.35	2,466
" 27, 1890.....	13,338 15 1	13,428 9 11	7,116 6 6	52.99	899 5 1	6.63	4,975
" 26, 1891.....	14,679 7 9	15,146 13 9	7,996 15 7	52.79	174 14 0	1.14	6,124
† " 31, 1892.....	16,518 5 9	17,386 17 1	9,271 17 9	53.32	940 9 0	5.40	6,808
" 30, 1893.....	16,884 2 5	17,654 2 5	9,975 2 10	56.50	1,111 16 9	6.29	8,696
" 29, 1894.....	18,600 13 11	19,097 15 10	10,937 0 9	57.27	668 2 8	3.49	9,233
" 28, 1895.....	21,590 4 0	17,903 2 2	11,247 9 3	62.82	1,004 3 2	5.60	8,552
" 26, 1896.....	24,972 10 1	25,798 3 9	13,158 18 8	51.00	1,795 8 2	6.95	10,384
† " 25, 1897.....	27,618 0 1	25,915 13 9	15,165 1 7	58.51	1,578 14 7	6.08	11,726
" 31, 1898.....	33,377 10 3	33,083 13 9	17,387 9 3	52.55	1,474 17 3	4.45	12,520
" 30, 1899.....	37,442 16 6	38,781 15 8	20,348 2 7	52.46	819 11 4	2.11	15,660
" 29, 1900.....	45,529 6 4	47,103 14 9	25,284 5 4	53.67	1,842 4 10	3.91	23,780
" 28, 1911.....	49,462 18 6	49,322 13 1	25,735 6 9	52.20	2,959 5 4	5.97	23,441
† June 28, 1902.....	20,865 5 7	21,726 7 10	11,408 13 0	52.50	1,164 12 1	5.35	24,248
Totals	358,633 3 8	360,522 7 4	194,674 7 0	54.00	16,784 4 2	4.65	....

* Sixty weeks.

† Fifty-three weeks.

‡ Half year.

§ Loss.

**PRODUCTIVE DEPARTMENTS.—YEARLY STATEMENT.
HOSIERY FACTORY.**

Year ending	Transferred.	Production.	Expenses on Production.	Rate per cent.	Net Profit on Production.	Rate per cent.	Stocks.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£
December 30, 1893	5,511 14 8	5,407 7 9	1,928 1 6	35-26	48 5 6	0-87	1,054
" 29, 1894	5,126 8 2	5,165 3 11	1,891 9 11	36-61	72 5 2	1-39	960
" 28, 1895	6,966 5 4	6,760 6 11	2,191 10 0	32-41	461 7 11	6-82	745
" 26, 1896	7,779 14 10	8,777 13 9	2,678 4 3	30-51	819 12 8	9-33	1,880
" 25, 1897	9,990 18 4	9,548 12 3	3,331 7 0	34-88	491 3 7	5-14	1,526
* 31, 1898	9,903 8 10	10,533 7 5	3,499 6 4	33-22	384 4 7	3-64	2,190
" 30, 1899	11,311 14 11	10,801 2 7	3,810 11 1	36-98	638 11 6	6-19	2,789
" 29, 1900	14,752 19 1	17,237 16 5	5,438 3 9	31-55	402 17 4	2-33	4,048
" 28, 1901	17,058 4 5	17,066 12 5	5,721 3 1	33-56	565 19 4	3-39	4,430
+ June 28, 1902	8,233 15 1	9,233 15 3	3,148 10 7	33-76	503 4 3	5-39	5,371
Totals.....	96,635 3 8	100,181 18 8	33,638 7 6	33-57	4,387 11 10	4-37	....

* Fifty-three weeks. † Half year.

PRODUCTIVE DEPARTMENTS.—YEARLY STATEMENT.
BRUSH FACTORY.

Year ending	Transferred.	Production.	Expenses on Production.	Rate per cent.	Net Profit on Production.	Rate per cent.	Stocks.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£
December 27, 1890..	3,127 3 11	3,805 17 10	1,429 8 0	37·54	266 9 0	6·99	1,302
" 26, 1891..	3,797 19 8	4,094 0 7	1,710 12 7	41·77	257 4 0	6·27	2,758
" 31, 1892..	4,491 12 2	4,430 14 3	1,921 15 8	43·36	196 3 11	4·42	2,991
" 30, 1893..	4,231 1 1	3,942 13 3	1,767 16 7	44·82	190 13 2	4·82	2,971
" 29, 1894..	4,859 11 11	4,771 18 6	1,867 19 2	39·14	354 17 10	7·43	3,277
" 28, 1895..	5,367 13 1	5,199 3 2	1,963 8 11	37·75	670 7 9	12·88	3,847
" 26, 1896..	5,894 19 6	5,895 13 10	2,148 13 2	36·44	332 14 3	5·63	4,067
" 25, 1897..	6,304 17 10	6,760 2 11	2,538 5 11	37·54	539 15 8	7·97	5,056
" 31, 1898..	6,462 15 4	6,128 3 4	2,597 0 5	42·37	103 8 6	1·68	5,227
" 30, 1899..	7,758 5 10	7,378 5 0	2,845 16 3	38·56	1040 7 11	14·09	5,109
" 29, 1900..	7,223 0 0	7,191 18 4	3,111 3 3	43·25	896 5 5	12·45	6,055
" 28, 1901..	7,750 9 7	7,006 15 9	2,922 8 2	41·96	942 3 3	13·24	5,416
† June 28, 1902..	4,388 11 3	4,146 2 5	1,656 4 1	39·94	461 12 5	11·11	4,461
Totals	71,658 1 2	70,751 9 2	28,480 12 1	40·25	6,252 3 1	8·83	....

* Fifty-three weeks.

† Half year.

PRODUCTIVE DEPARTMENTS.—YEARLY STATEMENT.
PRINTING WORKSHOP.

Year ending	Transferred.		Production.		Expenses on Production.		Rate per cent.	Net Profit on Production.		Rate per cent.	Stocks.
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.		£	s. d.		
*December 31, 1887..	649	14 2	653	15 5	347	14 7	53·14	41	19 10	6·43	£ 175
" 29, 1888..	3,114	17 4	3,121	12 6	1,480	17 4	47·42	286	2 5	9·16	228
" 28, 1889..	3,855	7 5	3,985	11 11	2,126	7 7	53·35	262	0 6	6·57	602
" 27, 1890..	7,242	0 4	7,178	12 8	3,297	2 11	45·93	491	18 8	6·84	832
" 26, 1891..	9,018	4 7	9,159	6 11	3,856	17 5	42·10	718	3 8	7·83	1,341
† 31, 1892..	12,643	8 3	12,733	18 4	5,385	6 0	42·29	887	2 4	6·96	2,058
" 30, 1893..	14,973	14 11	14,812	0 11	6,013	19 1	40·59	1,547	16 9	10·44	1,584
" 29, 1894..	15,492	11 6	15,541	11 5	5,959	16 2	38·34	2,158	5 7	13·88	1,688
" 28, 1895..	18,069	0 7	18,256	18 6	7,049	14 9	38·61	2,389	3 4	13·08	2,174
" 26, 1896..	22,087	1 0	22,026	9 7	8,035	13 5	36·48	3,035	15 10	13·77	2,715
" 25, 1897..	24,402	13 10	24,664	1 7	9,460	13 11	38·35	3,391	12 9	13·75	3,573
† 31, 1898..	28,302	0 9	27,985	1 9	10,291	11 8	36·77	4,904	12 11	17·52	2,312
" 30, 1899..	29,123	18 11	29,229	6 3	10,945	7 2	37·44	4,308	6 7	14·73	2,757
" 29, 1900..	31,172	0 0	30,978	11 6	12,059	0 6	38·92	3,699	7 0	11·94	4,607
" 28, 1901..	31,708	18 7	32,477	15 2	12,701	3 9	39·11	2,807	2 5	8·65	4,488
† June 28, 1902..	18,603	1 6	18,465	12 2	7,208	5 0	39·03	2,036	14 1	11·02	5,026
Totals	270,448	13 8	271,270	6 7	106,219	11 3	39·15	32,966	4 8	12·15	....

* Quarter.

† Fifty-three weeks.

‡ Half year.

PRODUCTIVE DEPARTMENTS.—YEARLY STATEMENT.
PRESERVE WORKS.

Year ending	Transferred.	Production.	Expenses on Production.	Rate per cent.	Net Profit on Production.	Rate per cent.	Stocks.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£
* December 27, 1890..	11,200 5 8	12,816 4 7	1,036 0 6	8.08	681 6 4	5.31	3,091
" 26, 1891..	29,367 11 10	36,111 1 4	3,000 12 5	8.30	1,739 8 2	4.81	9,042
" 31, 1892..	42,499 16 3	50,623 5 6	5,051 19 9	9.98	2,806 7 6	5.54	21,380
" 30, 1893..	52,086 10 8	48,726 7 8	6,583 8 10	13.51	2,219 18 2	4.55	20,553
" 29, 1894..	56,762 8 5	61,883 11 4	8,016 17 8	12.95	4,154 10 11	6.71	17,925
" 28, 1895..	56,096 7 0	60,414 16 5	8,100 5 7	13.40	3,838 18 4	6.35	22,205
" 26, 1896..	60,271 3 1	63,045 6 6	8,276 6 8	13.12	4,194 3 5	6.65	22,204
" 25, 1897..	73,490 0 7	70,086 12 0	8,347 9 9	11.90	8,514 13 9	12.14	16,517
† 31, 1898..	71,922 0 0	77,976 10 9	10,027 4 10	12.86	7,758 16 11	9.94	22,655
" 30, 1899..	68,468 18 10	64,933 16 10	9,941 4 6	15.30	5,527 5 10	8.51	20,818
" 29, 1900..	63,298 15 8	62,221 9 0	10,106 5 1	16.24	4,678 7 0	7.51	20,808
" 28, 1901..	62,837 14 7	68,863 15 10	10,752 5 1	16.26	4,097 5 3	6.46	35,196
* June 28, 1902..	37,645 1 1	26,493 19 8	5,727 18 2	21.62	1,931 8 6	7.29	23,702
Totals.....	685,946 13 8	704,196 17 5	94,967 18 10	13.48	52,142 10 1	7.44	....

* Half year.

† Fifty-three weeks.

PRODUCTIVE DEPARTMENTS.—YEARLY STATEMENT.
CONFECTIONERY WORKS.

Year ending	Transferred.	Production.	Expenses on Production.	Rate per cent.	Net Profit on Production.	Rate per cent.	Stocks.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.		£. s. d.		£.
*December 26, 1891	3,166 2 9	3,278 7 3	413 0 10	12.59	95 10 10	2.89	439
† " 31, 1892	5,479 13 6	6,065 8 5	1,283 4 2	21.15	†449 10 0	7.40	1,234
" 30, 1893	10,894 12 6	10,976 18 9	2,901 14 4	26.43	†437 9 5	3.98	1,619
" 29, 1894	14,043 14 7	14,798 12 5	3,065 15 11	20.71	718 7 0	4.85	1,495
" 28, 1895	12,829 14 3	12,786 3 1	3,069 19 4	24.01	541 3 8	4.23	1,216
" 26, 1896	14,193 5 5	13,894 19 5	3,054 17 2	21.98	527 13 10	3.79	824
" 25, 1897	14,845 17 5	14,939 1 9	3,192 3 1	21.36	1,345 10 4	9.00	1,192
† " 31, 1898	14,243 19 10	14,196 3 5	3,577 4 6	25.19	367 1 10	2.58	1,060
" 30, 1899	15,825 16 3	15,821 13 9	3,546 17 0	22.41	1,095 10 8	6.92	1,309
" 29, 1900	17,442 16 7	17,822 7 7	3,714 16 11	20.84	919 15 5	5.15	1,607
" 28, 1901	17,864 1 11	17,742 5 0	3,809 16 0	21.48	476 1 5	2.66	1,932
*June 28, 1902	8,658 12 9	8,503 7 1	1,979 12 5	23.27	482 12 2	5.66	2,107
Totals.....	149,488 7 9	150,825 7 11	33,609 1 8	22.28	5,682 7 9	3.76	....

* Half year. † Fifty-three weeks. ‡ Loss.

PRODUCTIVE DEPARTMENTS.—YEARLY STATEMENT.
TOBACCO FACTORY.

Year ending	Transferred.	Production.	Expenses on Production.	Rate per cent.	Net Profit on Production.	Rate per cent.	Stocks.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£
* December 26, 1891.....	15,510 4 8	21,326 17 2	1,704 19 6	7-99	651 11 11	3-05	8,958
† " 31, 1892.....	59,333 4 2	58,916 9 4	4,766 15 11	8-08	2,438 11 7	4-13	13,461
" 30, 1893.....	67,402 6 4	67,828 12 7	5,215 8 2	7-68	2,643 4 2	3-89	15,580
" 29, 1894.....	74,007 19 5	74,889 12 6	5,294 11 2	7-06	1,599 12 6	2-12	17,381
" 28, 1895.....	96,621 3 4	95,990 0 5	6,170 18 10	6-42	3,710 10 4	3-86	16,498
" 26, 1896.....	115,612 13 5	117,867 2 9	7,096 1 0	6-02	6,559 15 8	5-56	25,478
" 25, 1897.....	124,928 19 10	125,598 6 0	7,863 3 8	6-26	7,441 1 5	5-92	37,912
† " 31, 1898.....	126,976 9 5	126,248 5 6	8,720 14 3	6-90	7,924 17 1	6-27	36,287
" 30, 1899.....	126,483 11 7	127,600 4 9	8,615 11 4	6-74	10,141 7 6	7-94	33,761
" 29, 1900.....	145,271 4 5	144,258 8 4	9,048 11 10	6-27	9,805 6 4	6-79	40,986
" 28, 1901.....	147,767 2 11	150,135 13 10	9,911 5 7	6-60	6,835 14 8	4-55	41,335
* June 28, 1902.....	76,936 8 8	76,662 18 8	4,909 12 8	6-40	2,432 0 11	3-17	35,716
Totals.....	1,176,851 8 2	1,187,322 11 10	79,317 13 11	6-68	62,183 14 1	5-23	....

* Half year.

† Fifty-three weeks.

PRODUCTIVE DEPARTMENTS.—YEARLY STATEMENT.
CHANCELOT FLOUR MILLS.

Year ending	Sales and Transfers.		Production.		Expenses on Production.		Rate per cent.	Net Profit on Production.		Rate per cent.	Net Loss on Production.		Rate per cent.	Stocks.
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.		£	s. d.		£	s. d.		£
*Dec. 29, 1894 ..	23,102	14 7	38,609	14 5	4,592	10 6	11-89	....	..	..	1,348	17 6	3-49	51,096
" 28, 1895 ..	232,578	8 3	226,242	13 5	21,209	15 10	9-37	....	..	..	2,000	18 8	0-88	75,399
" 26, 1896 ..	297,675	19 9	305,071	0 2	25,952	17 2	8-50	6,894	16 2	2-26	....	..	..	50,438
" 25, 1897 ..	413,514	9 7	410,342	14 6	26,967	9 4	6-57	5,705	6 2	1-39	....	..	..	53,551
† " 31, 1898 ..	407,764	5 3	415,185	14 2	27,148	9 5	6-53	5,422	15 11	1-30	....	..	..	49,385
" 30, 1899 ..	380,707	4 1	329,484	16 0	25,406	17 5	7-71	4,557	19 2	1-38	....	..	..	62,017
" 29, 1900 ..	344,105	19 6	347,678	1 10	27,282	10 11	7-84	3,079	2 7	0-88	....	..	..	78,130
" 28, 1901 ..	401,267	5 1	395,450	7 2	28,119	18 0	7-13	6,298	11 4	1-59	....	..	..	26,127
*June 28, 1902 ..	187,616	12 4	229,145	13 9	13,777	5 3	6-01	2,713	0 11	1-18	....	..	..	40,539
Totals	2,638,332	18 5	2,697,210	15 5	200,457	13 10	7 43	34,671	12 3	..	3,349	16 2	..	....
								3,349	16 2	..				
								31,321	16 1	1-16				

* Half year.

† Fifty-three weeks.

PRODUCTIVE DEPARTMENTS.—YEARLY STATEMENT.
ETTRICK TWEED MILLS.

Year ending	Transferred.	Production.	Expenses on Production.	Rate per cent.	Net Profit on Production.	Rate per cent.	Net Loss on Production.	Rate per cent.	Stocks.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£
*Dec. 26, 1896 ..	18,805 12 11	18,170 17 4	6,403 1 8	35·24	153 6 0	0·84	....	..	12,258
" 25, 1897 ..	30,119 3 3	29,982 19 3	10,455 18 11	34·87	443 15 4	1·48	....	..	15,292
† " 31, 1898 ..	34,804 3 0	40,166 14 7	10,480 9 3	26·09	804 16 2	2·00	....	..	12,475
" 30, 1899 ..	32,850 11 10	33,645 8 9	11,188 12 11	33·25	....	..	301 5 5	0·90	18,272
" 29, 1900 ..	33,579 13 4	34,034 6 0	11,628 19 9	34·16	1,004 8 9	2·95	....	..	18,406
" 28, 1901 ..	34,106 16 1	33,151 4 2	11,259 14 8	35·26	711 13 9	2·33	....	..	16,988
‡June 28, 1902 ..	16,997 5 1	18,182 1 4	6,129 18 4	33·71	646 9 4	3·55	....	..	22,641
Totals	201,263 5 6	207,333 11 5	67,546 15 6	32·58	3,764 9 4	..	301 5 5	..	....
					301 5 5	..			
					3,463 3 11	1·07			

* Thirty-five weeks.

† Fifty-three weeks.

‡ Half year.

PRODUCTIVE DEPARTMENTS.—HALF-YEARLY STATEMENT.
UNDERCLOTHING FACTORY.

Six Months ending	Transfers.	Production.	Expenses on Production.	Rate per cent.	Net Profit on Production.	Rate per cent.	Stocks.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£
December 28th, 1901	3,857 0 2	3,863 3 9	1,900 3 7	49-18	318 13 11	8-23	1,083
June 28th, 1902	4,177 9 4	4,174 13 8	2,061 3 9	49-37	321 9 6	7-69	605
Totals	8,034 9 6	8,037 17 5	3,961 7 4	49-28	640 3 5	7-96	....

Employés.

NUMBER OF EMPLOYÉS, SEPTEMBER 27TH, 1902.

DISTRIBUTIVE DEPARTMENTS.		Collective Totals.
General Office	Glasgow	180
Grocery	"	156
Stationery	"	11
Potato.....	"	14
Cattle Buying	"	1
Coal	"	1
Drapery, Mantle, and Millinery Workrooms.....	"	376
Boot	"	79
Furniture	"	121
Carting and Fodder	"	161
Cleaners	"	12
Dining-room.....	"	14
"	Shieldhall	16
		— 1,142
Leith		97
Kilmarnock		22
Dundee		3
Enniskillen and Creameries		76
Edinburgh—Chambers Street		24
Greenock—Sugar Forwarding		1
		— 223

PRODUCTIVE DEPARTMENTS.

Boot Factory, Currying, &c.	Shieldhall	1,130
" " Parkview	Glasgow	346
Clothing Factory (Ready-made)	Shieldhall	338
" " (Bespoke)	Glasgow	158
Shirt Factory.....	"	125
Underclothing Factory	"	103
Hosiery Factory	Shieldhall	154
Clothing " (Artisan).....	"	135
		— 2,489
Carried forward		3,854

NUMBER OF EMPLOYÉS, SEPTEMBER 27TH, 1902.

PRODUCTIVE DEPARTMENTS—continued.

Collective
Totals.

Brought forward		3,854
Mantle Factory	Glasgow	72
Waterproof Factory.....	"	63
Umbrella Factory	"	9
Saddlers' Shop	"	9
Cabinet Factory	Shieldhall	349
Brush Factory	"	40
Tinware	"	60
Mechanics' Department	"	46
Electrical Department	"	23
Cartwright Shop	Glasgow	27
Horse Shoeing	"	4
Printing Department	Shieldhall	273
Preserve Factory	"	155
Confection	"	64
Coffee Essence Factory	"	35
Pickle Factory	"	48
Drug Department	"	75
Tobacco Factory	"	140
Miscellaneous	"	10
Sausage Factory	Glasgow	22
Ham Curing	"	26
Aërated Water Factory	"	29
Chancelot Mills	Edinburgh	108
Junction	Leith	48
Ettrick	Selkirk	172
Dress Shirt Factory.....	Leith	193
Soap Works	Grangemouth	69
Farm—Carntyne	Glasgow	5
Creameries—Bladnoch and Whithorn	Wigtownshire	55
Fish Curing	Aberdeen	44
		— 2,273

BUILDING DEPARTMENT.

Tradesmen	196
Management	11
	— 207
Total.....	6,334

Bonus to Labour.

The payment of bonus, since its institution in 1870, has taken three different forms. Till 1884 employés received, on wages earned, double the rate per £ allocated as dividend on members' purchases. This arrangement was then replaced by one which set aside the double claim of the employé, and, recognising a difference between workers in the distributive and productive departments, established a differential rate. The distributive employés received the same rate of bonus as was the rate of dividend on members' purchases, and the rate of bonus to productive workers was determined by the net aggregate profit made in the manufacturing departments only. This arrangement continued till 1892, when the system of bonus payment was again revised. Hitherto the whole bonus allocated had been paid over; but the present system, which allows a uniform rate to both distributive and productive departments, requires that one-half of each worker's bonus be retained and put to his credit, forming a special fund, called the Bonus Loan Fund. This capital bears interest at the rate of 4 per cent per annum, and is not withdrawable until the expiry of three months after leaving the service of the Society, unless with the consent of the Committee.

EMPLOYÉ-SHAREHOLDERS.

Simultaneously with the introduction of the present scheme of bonus, arrangements were made to permit of employés becoming shareholders in the Society. The number of shares held by one individual may range from five to fifty of twenty shillings each, and the paid-up capital bears interest at the rate of 5 per cent per annum. By the rules of the Society, the shareholding employés are entitled to send one representative to the quarterly meeting, and one for every 150 employés who become shareholders. At the present time there are 343 shareholders, which permits of a representation of three at the business meetings of the Society.

The following statements show the amount of bonus paid each year since 1870, and the total amount thus paid to employes, also the Bonus Loan Fund and the Employé-Shareholders' Fund at 28th June, 1902:—

FIRST BONUS SCHEME.				Amount.		Average	
				£	s. d.	Rate per £.	s. d.
Quarter ending November 19, 1870.....				5	11 0	.....	0 8
Year	"	"	18, 1871.....	40	10 0	.....	0 10½
"	"	"	16, 1872.....	52	7 0	.....	0 9½
"	"	"	15, 1873.....	90	1 8	.....	0 9½
"	"	"	14, 1874.....	116	9 0	.....	0 8½
"	"	"	13, 1875.....	109	15 4	.....	0 8
"	"	"	4, 1876.....	108	13 4	.....	0 8
"	"	"	3, 1877.....	121	10 0	.....	0 8
"	"	"	2, 1878.....	147	17 0	.....	0 8
"	"	"	2, 1879.....	203	3 0	.....	0 9½
"	"	October	30, 1880.....	322	9 3	.....	1 1
"	"	November	5, 1881.....	368	3 8	.....	1 0
"	"	"	4, 1882.....	453	9 1	.....	0 11
"	"	"	3, 1883.....	542	3 0	.....	0 11½
"	"	"	1, 1884.....	484	2 6	.....	0 9½

SECOND BONUS SCHEME.							
Year ending		Distributive Amount.		Rate per £.	Productive Amount.		Rate per £.
		£	s. d.	s. d.	£	s. d.	s. d.
October	31, 1885	483	13 1	..... 0 6¾	—	....	—
December	25, 1886	873	0 6	..... 0 6½	—	....	—
"	31, 1877	603	0 2	..... 0 6¾	315	2 1	..... 0 4
"	29, 1888 .. .	683	12 1	..... 0 6¼	628	11 7	..... 0 7
"	28, 1889	833	16 10	..... 0 6½	1,016	14 10	..... 0 8½
"	27, 1890	1,139	6 10	..... 0 7	1,752	10 6	..... 0 11
"	26, 1891	1,208	9 3	..... 0 6¾	1,802	14 9	..... 0 9
"	31, 1892	1,813	8 3	..... 0 6½	2,320	11 4	..... 0 9

PRESENT BONUS SCHEME.

	£	s.	d.		Rate per s.	£. d.
Year ending December 30, 1893	3,775	15	0	.....	0	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
" " " 29, 1894	3,563	18	9	.....	0	6
" " " 28, 1895	4,634	14	0	.....	0	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
" " " 26, 1896	5,965	17	9	.....	0	7 $\frac{3}{4}$
" " " 25, 1897	7,431	8	8	.....	0	8
" " " 31, 1898	7,017	2	6	.....	0	7
" " " 30, 1899	8,943	12	0	.....	0	8
" " " 29, 1900	9,938	10	8	.....	0	8
" " " 28, 1901	10,502	8	8	.....	0	8
Half Year ending June 28, 1902	5,477	16	8	.....	0	8

Total amount paid as bonus to 28th June, 1902..... £85,892 1 7

Amount of Bonus Loan Fund at 28th June, 1902..... 19,746 4 0

Employé-Shareholders' Fund at 28th June, 1902—343 employés holding
7,341 shares, with £6,189 paid up.



Robert Owen as a Social Reformer.

BY W. S. MURPHY.



THE brotherhood of man is a sublime ideal and a physical fact. Though accepted and known by the majority of mankind, neither the fact nor the ideal has hitherto influenced greatly the voluntary intercourse of man with man. During the feudal age every inhabitant of Christendom implicitly believed in the common fatherhood of Adam, and with equal unanimity regarded slaughter of relatives as the only occupation worthy of honour. Even at the present hour, when the Christian law of love is universally accepted as the rule of human conduct, the frontiers of every nation bristle with pointed guns, armed sentries keep watch day and night, drilled armies constantly confront each other, warships of rival nations jealously patrol the seas, and self-interest is the blazoned motive of every individual life. So little do opinions and ideals crossing prevalent disposition and selfish interest affect human conduct.

Discrepancy between faith and practice, knowledge and action, ethical ideal and actual life, is as common as daylight, as constantly recurrent as the tides, yet through it all there runs a continual protest that now and again takes positive shape; then the godlike reappears upon the earth—the majestic passion of a great people uprisen to destroy in flaming wrath a corrupt tyranny, a perfect life lived in obedience to the law of love and devoted to teaching mankind its lofty rule, a noble enthusiasm for a purer faith in the Church, or the desire for a nobler form of social life among the people. The salvation of mankind depends upon their willingness and ability to recognise and obey the godlike. Nations suffer decline, revolution, trouble, commotion, only after they have again and again rejected the true for the false, the new right for the old injustice, turned from the quickening dawn to sluggish night. Nothing can be surer than that. Apart from his religious significance altogether, Jesus offered to the Jews the only practicable ideal for them, the only method by which they could save themselves from destruction; they refused, and, persisting in worldly ambition, have endured nineteen centuries of oppression. During the 16th century, when new thought was springing all

ROBERT OWEN AS A SOCIAL REFORMER.

over Europe, Spain searched out the very germs of mental life and consumed them with fire; now she sinks into decrepitude, and adventurous aliens exploit her resources. France suppressed the Reformation, drove from her hosts of free, industrious citizens, and expiated her crime in the Reign of Terror, the Napoleonic wars, the revolution of 1848, the *coup d'état* of 1851, the humiliations of 1870. In 1667 the British people rejected Oliver Cromwell and the Puritan ideal for Charles II. and licentious debauchery; for that they have had to endure Monmouth rebellions, Irish rebellions, Stuart rebellions, the revolution of 1688, the loss of America, and confusions of mind and life immeasurable. Again, at the beginning of the 19th century, Robert Owen called upon the British people by his word and example to organise industry upon a just basis, and they refused; in consequence, they are now in the grasp of the capitalist. The door of repentance is long kept open, the road to expiation is never closed to those who have the strength to seek it; but the longer repentance is delayed the truth is the more difficult to find, the agony of expiation becomes bitterer and more severe. Through long struggle we have regained the powers and privileges so thoughtlessly bartered in 1667 for a worthless king, and in these days we are coming to see the wisdom of Robert Owen. But to stand in the freedom wherewith he would have endowed us we must endure long agony and bitter strife.

Some may be disposed to consider it an impertinence to class Robert Owen with Oliver Cromwell. The mild philanthropist and the stern Puritan were wholly unlike in many ways; but the framer of the "New Model" was not a better organiser than the reformer of New Lanark, and both pursued their ends with the same inflexible determination. Each had his practical social ideal based upon what he believed to be fundamental truth. Cromwell's faith was more mystical, religious, deeper, if you will, than Owen's; but his temper and methods were less Christian. The two men were types of different centuries. The 17th century, with its religious persecutions and palpable injustices, naturally produced men of stern disposition, whose sole hope lay in the existence of an eternal divine Judge who would give victory in the end to the just cause. In that hope Cromwell fought, and when victor used his power to bring the realm under the government of his God, earnestly desiring the British people to become worshippers of justice, self-governed in righteousness. He utterly failed, and for one hundred and fifty years he was vilified and despised by the people he tried to save. His victories gave him no title to military renown; his just government and wise legislation gained him no reputation as a ruler; his keen diplomacy, feared by the subtlest politicians in Europe, gave him no rank as a Minister—according

ROBERT OWEN AS A SOCIAL REFORMER.

to the historians of England. Robert Owen was equally typical of the best life of the 18th century, and met with a similar fate. Born into an age when philosophic scepticism had shorn conduct of its sacred sanctions, when religion was either a fanaticism or a form, Owen founded his faith on the observed facts of life. The Church, in all sects and sections of it, offered no guidance to the people in the new circumstances rapidly forming around them; the State made no attempt to govern the new forces developing within the social body; therefore, Robert Owen conceived a social faith which would unite all men of all creeds, and a form of society in which men of every political party might find spheres of useful activity. His view of life may have been as partial as Oliver Cromwell's was; but his theory was coherent, his plans practicable, and his life blameless. Let those who would despise Robert Owen take note of his marvellous mastery over every practical problem he encountered; by pure force of intellect he excelled in every pursuit. Trained to the retail drapery trade, Robert Owen became by accident a cotton spinner, and within the space of two years was renowned as the greatest cotton spinner in the country; untrained to mechanics, he solved, after a few experiments, the problem of the twisting machine that had baffled the skill of professed inventors for years; sent from school at nine years old, he founded the infant school, and laid down lines of education toward which educationists are slowly struggling; unskilled in science, he was persecuted for anticipating the results of the investigations of Darwin and Huxley; without philosophic pretensions, he encountered the anathema of the Churches forestalling Buckle and Herbert Spencer; a private individual, he moulded State policy and added to the statute book the Factory Act of 1819; claiming no supernatural revelation, he was yet able to foresee the future effects of land monopoly and capitalist industry upon the position of the workers. Yet in the British roll-call of great industrial leaders, inventors, educationists, teachers, thinkers, statesmen, Robert Owen is not mentioned. Why? Because the enemies of social progress triumphed for the time.

Though a living power to-day, Robert Owen was born in the 18th century and shared in the disabilities of his fellows. Census returns, vital statistics, trade reports, market reports, and data of that kind were not then gathered, compiled, and printed for the information of the people. Past social conditions were only known to the average person through personal experience, local gossip, and common report. Every new event, therefore, was a marvel; every change came for the worse, and the present never appeared so dismal as when the "good old days" were recalled. With all his scientific deliberateness, Owen would have been superhuman

ROBERT OWEN AS A SOCIAL REFORMER.

had he been quite free from a mode of thought caused by circumstances he shared with his contemporaries. Addressing the Manchester public in 1837, he said:—

You live in the midst of a society altogether different from that in which your ancestors lived in this district one hundred years ago. At that period . . . there were no feelings of hatred between masters and servants, there were no poor wretches over-exhausted with labour in unhealthy atmospheres, doomed in bad times of periodical and frequent occurrence to live miserably or to die by slow starvation while surrounded by wasteful and extravagant luxury; there were light poor rates and all ashamed to apply for them; there were many holiday periods in the year, much health, and a considerable degree of rustic enjoyment for the working classes, who were then chiefly employed in agriculture, living in family with their employers and working daily with them, or living and working in a similar manner.

That this statement was historically true of Manchester district need not be questioned. Nor was Owen's motive in making the comparison that of the mere grumbler. In the same address he goes on to show that the forces which had produced the change for the worse would, if properly directed, bring about a state of unprecedented prosperity and happiness. Here we touch upon the point of misunderstanding between Owen and the men of his own generation. He supposed that the social change and causes of change he saw were fundamental and general, that the grievances and the causes of suffering were new, and, therefore, that the remedy was obvious and ardently desired. Owen was neither wholly mistaken nor absolutely right. Long before machinery and the factory came, and where they were wholly unknown, pauperism and misery among the working classes of Great Britain were on the increase. Says Karl Marx:—

From the last third of the 15th century the student of English history finds continually complaints, only interrupted at certain intervals, about the encroachment of capitalist farming in the country districts, and the progressive destruction of the peasantry. On the other hand, he finds this peasantry turning up again, although in diminished numbers, and under worse conditions.

The people were being gradually driven off the land and deprived of other means of subsistence than manufacturing industry. Early in the 18th century a writer describes the process:—"The great farmer is mounted up to the level of the gentleman, while the poor labourer is depressed almost to the earth." Dr. Richard Price, writing of the same period, says:—

Modern policy is indeed more favourable to the higher classes of people, and the consequence may in time prove that the whole kingdom will consist of only gentry and beggars, grandees and slaves.

It was not of a factory worker Burns said:—

See yonder poor, o'erlaboured wight,
So abject, mean, and vile,
He begs a brother of the earth
To give him leave to toil;

ROBERT OWEN AS A SOCIAL REFORMER.

And see his lordly fellow-worm
 The poor petition spurn,
 Unmindful though a weeping wife
 And helpless offspring mourn.

During the 18th century British society was ripening for change. So far from living in idyllic happiness, the people were being slowly goaded into revolt, and but for the growth of the manufacturing industries a revolution more bloody than the French Revolution of 1793 would most certainly have ensued. Social development is continuous; to the close student the long chain of cause and effect appears unbroken throughout human history; the seemingly sudden catastrophe or uprising represents the sum of forces tending in the same direction gathered and concentrated by opposition or repression into a unity that acts in whole instead of in detail. The sea waves continually dash upon the precipitous shore, and in furious moods lift the gravel to smite the unyielding, impassive rock; chipping away its base bit by bit. Up on the top of the cliff the sun sees a little vein of quartz in the dull mass, and warmly smiles upon its brightness. Under the heat the quartz cracks, and when the sun has gone the rain descends into the little crevice, wearing it deeper and wider; then comes the frost to expand the water in ice and open the crack still further. Thus sun, rain, and ice gradually loosen the rock above, while below the sea sullenly labours at the base; and one day a falling stone, a sudden gust of wind, a swelling wave from the wake of a passing vessel, gives the last touch, and the massive rock falls thundering into the sea, shaking the land and sending roaring surge far out into the ocean. The noise and commotion bring spectators to the spot, and they tell each other how suddenly and mysteriously that tremendous rock fell. Nature knows better; she had been working that *coup* for more than a thousand years.

Robert Owen's quarrel was with capitalism, and he hoped, with the co-operation of all right-thinking persons, to destroy the evil. To understand the magnitude of Owen's task, it is necessary to glance along the history of the power against which he declared war, for social forces gather more power from long continuance than from any other source. In 1349, the year of the great plague, the Statute of Labourers, framed to prevent the workers from enjoying the advantage a scarcity of labour conferred on them, substituted the bondage of law for feudal serfdom, and eclipsed the hope of freedom rising in the working classes amidst the decay of feudalism. King, baron, and landowner made common cause with merchant, manufacturer, and farmer against the labourer. For the first time in English history the common

man was defined as the property of the capitalist. Conscious of their wrongs, the peasants rose in protest. John Ball, their greatest spokesman, cried :—

Good people, things will never go well in England so long as goods be not in common, and so long as there be villeins and gentlemen. By what right are they whom we call lords greater than we? On what grounds have they deserved it? Why do they hold us in serfage? If we all came of the same father and mother, Adam and Eve, how can they say or prove that they are better than we, if it be not that they make us gain for them by our toil what they spend in pride? They are clothed in velvet, and warm in their furs and their ermines, while we are covered with rags. They have wine and spices and fair bread, and we have oatcake and straw, and water to drink. They have leisure and fine houses; we have pain and labour, the rain and the wind in the fields. And yet it is of us and of our toil that these men hold their state.

Thus urged by the recital of their wrongs and goaded by further exactions, the people took up arms. Defeated by treachery and false treaties, they were flung into deeper degradation than before. "Villeins ye were," replied the young ruffian, Richard II., when the peasants reminded him of his pledges, "and villeins you are. In bondage you shall abide—not your old bondage, but a worse." The history of the British labouring class is one long record of oppression, robbery, and wrong, broken occasionally by a short interval of comparative ease and prosperity. It was not of the Greek gods Tennyson was thinking when he wrote :

But they smile, they find a music centred in a doleful song,
Steaming up a lamentation and an ancient tale of wrong,
Like a tale of little meaning, tho' the words are strong,
Chanted from an ill-used race of men that cleave the soil,
Sow the seed, and reap the harvest with enduring toil,
Storing yearly little dues of wheat, and wine, and oil,
Till they perish.

Nearly two hundred years after the peasants' revolt Sir Thomas More saw in the system of society around him "nothing but a conspiracy of the rich to rob the poor," so that the workers, without whom "no commonwealth were able to continue and endure for one year, should get so hard and poor a living, and live so wretched and miserable a life, that the state and condition of the labouring beasts may seem much better and wealthier." Under Henry VII., Henry VIII., Edward VI., Elizabeth, James I., George II., and George III. the Statute of Labourers was re-enacted and rendered more stringent, tightening always the bonds that the growth of the labouring class and the multiplication of employments tended to loosen. In the 15th century the common land, formerly regarded, even in the most savage times, as the sacred heritage of the whole people, began to be usurped by the landowners, and because the commons afforded a last refuge for the wretched people from the exactions of capital all the moneyed classes eagerly seconded the robbery. By kingly tyranny,

ROBERT OWEN AS A SOCIAL REFORMER.

royal corruption, and condoned fraud the land was gradually alienated from the people, till, at the restoration of Charles II., land was decisively legalised as private property, and under William III. the robbery of common lands was made systematic in form of Enclosures Acts which were added to and amended under the Georges. We have said the process was gradual, but the robbery always kept pace with the growing value of the land.

Writing about the middle of the 18th century, Dr. Richard Price said:—

Upon the whole the circumstances of the lower ranks of men are altered in almost every respect for the worse. From little occupiers of land they are reduced to the state of day-labourers and hirelings, and at the same time their subsistence in that state has become more difficult.

The records of the same time tell one story:—

In several parishes of Hertfordshire twenty-four farms, comprising from 50 to 150 acres each, have been melted into three farms. . . . In Northamptonshire and Leicestershire the enclosure of common lands has taken place on a very large scale, and most of the new lordships resulting from the enclosures have been turned into pasturage. The ruins of former dwelling-houses, barns, stables, and cottages alone remain. . . . A hundred houses and families in some open villages have dwindled to eight or ten. . . . It is no uncommon thing for four or five wealthy graziers to engross a large enclosed lordship which was before in the hands of twenty to thirty farmers and as many smaller tenants and proprietors. All these are thereby thrown out of their livings, with their families, and many other families who were chiefly employed and supported by them.

From healthy independence to miserable dependence, then to be further down-pressed, the people were driven from pillar to post, beaten out and held down—surely deliverance would come, if not from wise statesmanship, then from the fiery outbreak of a million desperate hearts.

The growing tension of the British social state was relieved, but in a fashion totally unforeseen. Driven off the land, the agriculturist and his labourers had in old times settled on some waste patch of ground, and there they found life not altogether insupportable by engaging in industrial production, scouring, combing, spinning, and weaving into cloths the wool of the sheep farmers who had driven them out, or by mutual exchange of labour and culture of gardens toilfully wrested from the poor soil founded self-supporting little communities. Alternatively, the wanderers sought shelter in some little borough, protected by charter and customary rights, and there swelled the ranks of apprentices to crafts and servitors of guilds, thus increasing the wealth of the burghers and freemen. Slowly through the centuries English industrial life was built up, now and again stimulated suddenly by external causes, such as the upbreak of the monasteries by Henry VIII., the Enclosures Act of William III., the alternations

ROBERT OWEN AS A SOCIAL REFORMER.

of peace and war. To detail all the forms which industry took in beginnings and course of developments would take us too far from our subject. Probably the form most general at first was that of the single craftsman or worker undertaking a particular trade or process of manufacture. The latter is the more interesting, because it leads directly to the line of British industrial development. The cloth-maker has settled; he procures the wool, and, with the help of his wife, scours and spins it into warp and weft; he weaves the cloth, and sells it or exchanges it. As the family grows up, each member of the household takes a share in the labour. This was the ideal state of which Robert Owen spoke, but at no time and in no place did it long subsist; it was merely a stage in an irresistibly developing process. Scouring, spinning, and weaving soon separated into trades; the wool merchant, the yarn merchant, and the cloth merchant quickly made themselves indispensable; then the scourer became an employé of the wool merchant; the yarn merchant instituted the spinning factory; the cloth merchant formed the weaving factory. Capital made the factory.

In no industry was the process of development so rapid as in cotton manufacture. The first mention of the cotton trade occurs in "The Treasure of Traffic," published in 1641. The writer says:—

The town of Manchester, in Lancashire, must also be herein remarked, and that worthily . . . for they buy cotton wool in London that comes first from Cyprus and Smyrna, and at home work the same and perfect it into fustians, vermilions, dimities, and other such stuff, and then return it to London, where the same is vended and sold, and not seldom sent to foreign parts.

During the century following the cotton industry rapidly increased, and the oppressed labourers in the south flocked to Lancashire as to a new country. Bolton, Blackburn, Oldham, Burnley, Wigan, and other Lancashire towns grew apace. At first cotton manufacture was a domestic industry, but not for long. Toynbee says:—

In Lancashire we can trace step by step the growth of the capitalist employer. At first we see, as in Yorkshire, the weaver furnishing himself with warp and weft, which he worked up in his own house and brought himself to market. By degrees he found it difficult to get yarn from the spinners, so the merchants at Manchester gave him out linen warp and raw cotton, and the weaver became dependent upon them. Finally, the merchant would get together thirty or forty looms in a town.

The factory was established.

Still, the subjection of labour to capital was not complete. "Since handicraft skill is the foundation of manufacture," says Karl Marx, "and since the mechanism of manufacture as a whole possesses no framework apart from the labourers themselves, capital is compelled constantly to wrestle with the insubordination

ROBERT OWEN AS A SOCIAL REFORMER.

of the workman." The situation thus created was full of impediments and strange anomalies. Girt by Statutes of Labourers and Combination Laws, the workers were manacled; but the capitalist could not compel them to obey him, and to free them was too generous. While both capitalists and labourers were seeking a solution, and almost on the brink of compromise, they heard a voice, terrible to the one and joyous to the other. The inventor had come.

In 1730 John Wyatt invented the roller spinning machine; but he was too early; the manufacturers could not see the use of it. When Kay, of Bury, invented the fly shuttle in 1738, however, the yarn spinners could not produce fast enough for the weavers. Lewis Paul helped a little by producing the rotary carding machine; and Hargreaves, the Blackburn weaver, devised the spinning jenny. This was what was wanted; but, as of a cornucopia suddenly opened, the manufacturers soon were flooded with inventions. In 1768 Arkwright produced the throstle spinner; and eleven years later Crompton combined the ideas of Hargreaves, Wyatt, and Arkwright in the spinning mule. Arkwright applied his gigantic brain to the whole factory, and soon had every detail of the process done by machinery driven by water power. "Order was wanting in the factory based on division of labour," cried Andrew Ure, "and Arkwright created order." In other words, he supplied capital with the weapons with which it conquered labour.

Freed from irksome restraint, the manufacturers became delirious with greed. John Fielden, a Lancashire man, says:—

In the counties of Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and more particularly in Lancashire, the newly-invented machinery was used in large factories built on the sides of streams capable of turning the water-wheel. Thousands of hands were suddenly required in these places, remote from towns; and Lancashire, in particular, being till then comparatively thinly populated and barren, a population was all she now wanted. The small and nimble fingers of little children being by far the most in request, the custom instantly sprang up of procuring *apprentices* from the different parish workhouses of London, Birmingham, and elsewhere. Many, many thousands of these little hapless creatures were sent down into the north, being from the age of seven to the age of thirteen or fourteen years old. The custom was for the master to clothe his apprentices, and to feed and lodge them in an "apprentice house" near the factory; overseers were appointed to see to the work, whose interest it was to work the children to the utmost, because their pay was in proportion to the work that they could exact. Cruelty was, of course, the consequence. . . . In many of the manufacturing districts, but particularly, I am afraid, in the guilty county to which I belong, cruelties the most heartrending were practised upon the unoffending and friendless creatures who were thus consigned to the charge of master manufacturers; they were harassed to the brink of death by excess of labour . . . were flogged, fettered, and tortured in the most exquisite refinement of cruelty . . . they were in many cases starved to the bone while flogged to their work and . . . even in some instances . . . were driven to commit suicide. . . . The beautiful and romantic valleys of Derbyshire,

ROBERT OWEN AS A SOCIAL REFORMER.

Nottinghamshire, and Lancashire, secluded from the public eye, became the dismal solitudes of torture and of many a murder. The profits of manufacturers were enormous, but this only whetted the appetite that it should have satisfied, and, therefore, the manufacturers had recourse to an expedient that seemed to secure to them these profits without any possibility of limit; they began the practice of what is termed "night working," that is, having tired one set of hands by working them throughout the day, they had another set ready to go on working throughout the night, the day set getting into the beds that the night set had just quitted, and in their turn again the night set getting into the beds that the day set quitted in the morning. It is a common tradition in Lancashire that the beds never got cold.

Such is only a fragmentary glimpse of the horrors of the factory system. Like a poison injected into the blood, the lust for gain spread all through the British industrial body; the methods of the cotton factory were introduced into other industries. The rising discontent of the people was hushed in the roar of the machinery that called them into another bondage. Society was dislocated in all its joints; the pulsing arteries and hidden veins through which life had run were broken, clogged, deformed; and in consequence all the diseases that can afflict the social body, irrational ignorance, immorality, crime, and pauperism, sprang into loathsome vigour. All this had to be remedied—all this, the product of centuries, had to be grappled with at once. The wealthy classes paid little heed to the new form of suffering inflicted on the people, for they had long grown familiar with their outeries; the capitalist class who were rising on the tide of new wealth were not only blinded by self-interest, but also saw nothing very grievous in sufferings they themselves had borne unscathed; the working people had become inured to age-long oppression, counted it part of their lot, sank to the level of their fate, and even the best of them only looked for deliverance by violent revolution, having not the remotest idea of organisation. The man, or body of men, who would seek to remedy such a state of things attempted a colossal task. Perhaps it is fortunate that reformers seldom know the strength of the evils they endeavour to overthrow.

Robert Owen was born in Newtown, Montgomeryshire, on May 14th, 1771. He was the sixth child of his parents, who belonged to what is vaguely termed the lower middle class. His mother was a farmer's daughter, named Williams, and his father had a small saddlery business which he combined with the management of the local post office. From this it will be seen that Robert Owen had no personal experience of squalid poverty in his childhood. As an equipment for a helper of the poor experience of poverty is almost indispensable. Sent to school at three years of age, Owen quickly showed precocity. At seven he became a monitor in the school and known in the village as a voracious reader. The clergyman and the schoolmaster lent books

ROBERT OWEN AS A SOCIAL REFORMER.

to the postmaster's clever boy, and before he was nine years old he had read "Robinson Crusoe," "Philip Quarles," "Pilgrim's Progress," and, *mirabile dictu*, "Harvey's Meditations among the Tombs," Young's "Night Thoughts," and Richardson's novels. The child that could read "Pamela" and "Clarissa Harlowe" was either willing to wade through pages of stuff he could not understand or had an intuitive insight little less than marvellous. Perhaps a little of both alternatives may safely be predicted of the Newtown schoolboy. When Owen was nine years old the village schoolmaster recommended that he should be taken from school and put to a trade or sent to an academy. His parents could not afford him a higher education; but, as he was rather small for his age, they were reluctant to apprentice him to a trade. As a compromise, Owen was engaged for six months with a friendly tradesman, the intention being to send him to London, there to begin his working life under the care of his eldest brother, when ten years old. At the time appointed Robert went to London, and entered on a situation procured by his brother. Within a few weeks, however, the independent youth engaged himself with Mr. James Mc.Guffog, a Scotchman, who had a good drapery business in Stamford, Lincolnshire. Here for three years Robert Owen comported himself with characteristic discretion, diligence, and ability. It is said that Mary Mc.Guffog, a girl about Owen's age, had already romantic notions of the diligent apprentice; but, blind to the beckonings of fate, the youth at the termination of his apprenticeship sought and obtained a situation with Messrs. Flint and Palmer, drapers, London Bridge. In that place the young draper first tasted the bitterness of commercial servitude. The average working day for assistants in that fashionable establishment was eighteen hours. His health began to give way, and, fearing a breakdown, he sought another situation and received and accepted an offer from Mr. Satterfield, a wholesale and retail draper in St. Ann's Square, Manchester. There he remained till he was eighteen years of age, when an offer came to him that changed the whole current of his life. A young wire-worker named Jones supplied the Satterfield establishment with bonnet frames, and, as Owen was buyer in that department, he and Jones became friendly. Jones had the idea that, if he could get a partner with a little money, he could make a business in the manufacture of the spinning frames then newly invented, and asked Owen to join him. The partnership was formed and business commenced forthwith. Within a year the two partners discovered mutual incompatibility, and Owen left the concern, receiving as his share some spinning frames and auxiliary machinery. With these he started business as a spinner of yarns, and in his first year made a profit of £300.

ROBERT OWEN AS A SOCIAL REFORMER.

About this time, however, Mr. Lee, the manager of Drinkwater's mill, one of the largest in Manchester, resigned to take up a partnership in a new firm, and Robert Owen applied for and obtained his place. The step was audacious; a lad of twenty, without previous experience, undertook the management of one of the finest mills in the country and control of 500 workers. Within six months Owen had begun to enhance the reputation of the mill; in two years Owen's fine counts were known all over the cotton trade. By an amicable arrangement, highly creditable to the young manager at least, Owen left Mr. Drinkwater's employment in 1795, and became a partner in the Chorlton Twist Company. This firm had business connections in Glasgow, and one day, travelling to Scotland with a friend on pleasure bent, Owen turned aside with him to visit the Falls of Clyde. As they passed New Lanark mills on their way to the falls, Owen said: "Of all places I have seen I should prefer this in which to try an experiment I have long contemplated, and have wished to have an opportunity to put in practice," though scarcely hoping that he would ever see the place again. On reaching Glasgow, Owen met a Manchester lady named Spiers, and with her was Miss Dale, daughter of David Dale, proprietor of New Lanark. Owen was introduced to Miss Dale. Here was a coincidence potent to stir romantic feelings. The angel of the young manufacturer's life had come, and with her came dreams of blessing for mankind. As yet, however, all was vague and confused; one false step and his hopes were ruined. The lady became more than friendly, but there were other obstacles, for David Dale's daughter was high above Owen in the eyes of the world. In fact, the relations of the lovers were almost clandestine. How to bring the facts before David Dale without prejudice was a problem. Hearing that New Lanark was soon to be in the market, Owen resolved to seek an interview with Mr. Dale, first as prospective purchaser, then as wooer. He was received, but his reception was chilling in the extreme. Robert Owen, however, had gained his point. He laid the business before his partners and obtained permission to purchase New Lanark. Armed thus, the lover and negotiator returned to Glasgow, succeeded in purchasing New Lanark, and obtained a less positive rejection of his suit. With this small success Owen was content for the time, so indomitable was he, and ultimately by persistent quiet wooing obtained the hand of Miss Dale in marriage. They settled in New Lanark in 1800, and Robert Owen there began that series of experiments in social regeneration and construction which laid the foundations of his fame.

Among the many falsehoods against Robert Owen that time has refuted one still obtains currency in the encyclopædias that

ROBERT OWEN AS A SOCIAL REFORMER.

misinform the people. He is said to have been a visionary, inspired chiefly by egotism and personal vanity. Nothing could be further from the truth. Owen was driven by the slow process of experience into the course he took. In his life there is not the slightest touch of personal passion; no sudden conversion, no imagined vision, no superior assumption. The misery he saw around him stirred Owen to inquiry into social philosophy and history. In the course of his reading he came across "The College of Industry," a book written by a Quaker named John Bellers, published in 1696. This work entered deeply into his mind; it seemed to him the gospel needed by the time, and in his enthusiasm he had it reprinted and distributed at his own expense. Owen, when in Manchester, joined the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, from which originated the agitation that issued in the Factory Act of 1802. The results of the Society's investigations brought out the following facts:—The herding together of children in insanitary apartments tended to produce disease and spread contagion; night labour destroyed the lives of the children; factory children were wholly uneducated; these evils were not only dangerous to the whole community, but were also unnecessary to the profitable conduct of the cotton industry. John Bellers' "College of Industry" and the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society's Report give the keynote to the whole of Robert Owen's subsequent career. He was one of those rare men who, when they know the truth, endeavour to put it into practice.

New Lanark was built in 1784 by Mr. David Dale. It was designed as a cotton spinning and weaving factory, driven by water power from the rapids below the Falls of Clyde. A village was formed beside the mill to accommodate the workers, but the inhabitants of the district would neither engage in the mill nor reside in the village. In consequence, the proprietor resorted to the workhouses for child labour, and received as adult workers all who would come in response to advertisements, irrespective of character or qualification. A population so gathered must contain many undesirable elements; in fact, despite Mr. Dale's benevolent and religious efforts, New Lanark was a by-word in the locality. Robert Owen truthfully and forcibly described the notorious character of the people when he entered into possession thus:—

It may with truth be said that at this period they possessed almost all the vices and very few of the virtues of a social community. Theft and the receipt of stolen goods was their trade; idleness and drunkenness their habit; falsehood and deception their garb; dissension, civil and religious, their daily practice; and they were united only in a jealous and systematic opposition to their employers.

According to ordinary notions of government, this population needed a strong dose of coercion. When Owen entered into

ROBERT OWEN AS A SOCIAL REFORMER.

possession he was met with a hostility so offensive as might well have roused arrogance in the breast of most men. Instead, at the first opportunity, after a careful survey of the whole ground, Owen summoned a meeting of the mill managers and leading workers and addressed them in terms that astounded them. He announced his intention of devoting his life to the good of the workers in New Lanark, and besought their friendly co-operation. More surprising still, this strange capitalist immediately began to take a direct personal interest in the conduct and welfare of every individual worker. He removed temptation to theft by introducing a system of checks, leniently but firmly punished the crime, and assiduously taught the virtue and advantage of honesty. Drunkenness was similarly dealt with; drink shops were removed from the village, and sobriety continually inculcated. Immoral conduct was fearfully prevalent, but by the same undeviating justice and wise counsel the evil greatly abated. By his systematic, rigorous, yet reformatory rule Robert Owen gradually converted a disorderly village into an exemplary social community, and that without once invoking the aid of the criminal law. Nor was Owen content with merely moral improvement. He made the dwellings of the people sanitary and healthy, rescued them from debt and the rapacity of the shopkeepers by establishing a store in the village from which they could procure all the necessities of life at moderate cost, instituted a sick fund, and in numerous other details improved the life of the village.

These were but the preliminaries of Owen's social scheme. Having demonstrated the truth of the first proposition in his social philosophy he went on to the second. Owen held, first, that—

Any character, from the best to the worst, from the most ignorant to the most enlightened, may be given to any community, even to the world at large, by applying certain means which are to a great extent at the command and under the control, or easily made so, of those who possess the government of nations.

About the absolute truth of that proposition we may have doubts; but that Robert Owen demonstrated it to be an important principle of government we have already shown. His second proposition was—

That children can be trained to acquire any language, sentiment, and belief, or any bodily habits and manners, not contrary to human nature, even to make them to a great extent either imbecile or energetic characters.

To carry into practical effect this second proposition the New Lanark philosopher-governor devised his famous "Institution for the Formation of Character." Here he encountered the opposition of his partners in the ownership of New Lanark, and for a little while the work was interrupted by the necessity for securing

ROBERT OWEN AS A SOCIAL REFORMER.

capital with which to buy out the dissentients, the formation of a new company, and like details. These matters disposed of, the reformer quietly returned to his task. Owen's conception of education is worthy of note. With him the formation of character is the sole object of education. A school system that merely turns out children able to read, write, and sum does not properly educate; it only affords the opportunity of self-education which very few are able or willing to carry into effect. This fact is being slowly driven into the British mind one hundred years after Owen began his work. But the great educationist would be unfairly represented if we did not go further. He laid down a system of education which embraced the training of youth socially, morally, intellectually, and technically. In practice Owen proceeded tentatively, and began with the ordinary day school for children between five and ten, with evening classes for those older, all free of expense. The success of this school assured, he proceeded to build a splendid institution in which to carry out his whole scheme of education. Here again the greed of his partners took fright, though they had derived very good profits from their investment. Taking no care to accumulate a private fortune, Owen had again to look for capitalists to buy out his partners. Again the business was bought, and again the philanthropist returned to his people, having, as it seemed, secured enlightened partners in his enterprise. The new institution was a fine building, square, of two lofty storeys, with broad entrance and vestibule, and a spacious playground in front, with shelter for the children in rainy weather. On the ground floor were the infants' room and lower school; on the upper floor the more advanced scholars were taught, and the whole of the children exercised in military drill, gymnastics, and dancing at certain hours of the day. No expense was spared. Objects and paintings illustrating natural history, geology, geography, and history were lavishly procured. The girls were taught sewing and cookery, the boys painting, carving, and the use of tools. This institution became the admiration of the civilised world. Strangers came from America and the Indies; Duke Nicholas (afterwards Czar of Russia), Baron Just (of Saxony), Count Munster, the Duke of Kent (grandfather of the King), Henry Brougham, and numerous other notables visited New Lanark, to leave it with deep feelings of wonder. Czar Nicholas offered Owen a province in Russia to govern as he pleased; the Duke of Kent gave Owen unqualified friendship; Baron Just sent a gold medal from his Sovereign, the King of Saxony, as a mark of approval; Lord Brougham many years afterwards testified to the excellence of New Lanark schools. The cotton spinner far surpassed all the educational authorities of his age in the accuracy and depth of his

ROBERT OWEN AS A SOCIAL REFORMER.

theories, and after a hundred years the collective wisdom of the most enlightened nation on the earth limps slowly towards the practical ideal he realised.

Theorist and reformer as he was, Robert Owen possessed the largest sympathy for all forward movements designed for the good of mankind. He early helped Fulton, the improver of the steamboat, and even in his own sphere of labour he recognised none as rivals but all as co-workers, allies, and helpers. To further Lancaster's system of English education he gave £1,000, and made a donation of £500 to Bell's system, conceived though it was in bitter animosity to dissenters. Oberlin and Pestalozzi he honoured highly, praising their work as though he himself had done nothing.

For twelve years Robert Owen worked quietly at New Lanark; but, as he had said at the first, it was merely an experiment designed to test theories of wider and more important application. The sufferings of the children and the degradation of the people in the English manufacturing districts lay heavy on his heart all those years; yet he patiently bided his time, calmly, deliberately, and with inflexible determination preparing for the campaign against the colossal wrong. In 1812 he issued a pamphlet addressed to his fellow-manufacturers calling their attention to the urgent need for education of the young and the profitableness of caring for their workpeople; but it elicited no response. On January 24th, 1815, Robert Owen attended a meeting in the Tontine Hotel, Glasgow, called in the interests of the cotton trade to protest against the tariff levied on imported raw cotton. As the most important manufacturer in the country, Mr. Owen was requested to move the resolution. In his speech he exposed the errors of protection with lucid clearness amid continued applause; but he went further, and added on a second resolution urging Parliament to take into consideration the condition of children working in factories, this part of his speech being received in silence. The Lord Provost of Glasgow, who was in the chair, put the first resolution to the meeting, and it passed with acclamation. The second resolution found no support, and Owen left the meeting. In a letter to the Lord Provost, published in the *Glasgow Courier*, January 31st, 1815, Owen repeated his speech. The terms of the resolution rejected were as follows:—

That it is expedient to prevent children from being employed in cotton or other mills until they are twelve years old. That the hours of work in mills of machinery—including one hour and a half for meals—shall not exceed twelve per day; that, after a period to be fixed, no child shall be received into a mill of machinery until he shall have been taught to read, to write a legible hand, and to understand the first four rules of arithmetic, and the girls in addition to be taught to sew their common articles of clothing.

ROBERT OWEN AS A SOCIAL REFORMER.

By his action at the Tontine meeting Owen displayed the indiscretion of the reformer who knows his cause hopeless in the present and confides in the future. Scottish manufacturers knew too well that Owen had proved his theories to be sound. In 1812, when they allowed their workers to scatter and their machinery to rust because the British-American War cut off the cotton supply, Owen kept his workpeople together and paid them wages for cleaning, oiling, and repairing the machinery. In consequence, after peace was declared and raw cotton came pouring in, Owen simply swept the market. Moreover, New Lanark produce was continuously in demand and always rising in quality and value. Still, those practical men distrusted theory; they were making profits on their own lines, and what Owen could make profitable might not be profitable to them. The great cotton spinner was too shrewd a man to be totally ignorant of this fact. We look upon his resolution at the Tontine meeting only as the first move in a planned campaign, and find ample justification in what followed. Owen went to London, consulted with the leaders of both parties in both Houses of Parliament, defined his proposals in a Bill which he entrusted to Sir Robert Peel, and at the end of four years saw a very small part of his wishes embodied in the Factory Act of 1819. Disappointing though the result was to Robert Owen, we now see the true magnitude of his achievement. It was nothing less than a revolution of the whole attitude of Parliament toward the labouring classes. For the first time in British history an Act of Parliament was passed to guard the interests of the working people. Up till that time, with the apparent, though unreal, exception of the Factory Act of 1802, the power of Government was directed to the oppression, repression, and enslavement of the wage-earners. Robert Owen laid the foundation of industrial legislation in this country, and though through long progress we have surpassed his actual proposals as a practical legislator his declared aims are yet unrealised.

The year 1815 marked the beginning of a new period in Robert Owen's career. Hitherto he had been content to work out his theories apart from the rest of the world, to practise benevolence which all might admire and none feel compelled to imitate; now, however, he awakened wonder, astonishment, hostility, and contempt in the minds of his fellow capitalists. What was it he sought? Was it wealth? He had that in abundance, despite his philanthropy. Was it fame? His name was praised throughout Europe, and he was flattered by kings and princes. The men of the world sought in their own hearts for an explanation of his conduct, and could find none. To them his wealth seemed ample and his fame enviable. Success, they said, had turned Owen's

ROBERT OWEN AS A SOCIAL REFORMER.

brain; he was mad. This is the first tribute the world pays the practical reformer, and the second tribute is the hunt for his life or his honour. In Owen's case the first was quickly followed by the second. It is currently reported in encyclopædias, and held as newspaper opinion, that Robert Owen arrogantly challenged the world and all its religions. The contrary is the fact. Robert Owen was quietly going about his business of rescuing children from ignorance, slavery, and death, when the exploiters of little children's lives called religious bigotry to their aid. The Parliamentary friends of the manufacturers, in bitterness of opposition to the Factory Act, sent for Mr. Menzies, parish minister of Lanark, to impugn Owen's religion and character; but the rev. gentleman, though unfriendly to the philanthropist's opinions, was too honourable to deny his admiration for his personal conduct. The plot failed of its immediate object, but the religious controversy was begun. If Robert Owen was unaware of the deep enmity between his social theory and society as it then existed, his opponents knew, and unwittingly compelled him to take the wider field. The theatre of his activity ever after was to be the world. New Lanark's function was accomplished; it had developed the reformer's social theory, and provided the foundation for his life work. Though he continued to reside there till 1825, always adding to New Lanark institutions, the chief interests of his life were elsewhere. The rest of Owen's experience at New Lanark must, therefore, be briefly told. First, the Lanark Presbytery, taking the hint from London, sought to interfere with the religious instruction given in New Lanark schools; then a bigoted and self-conceited Quaker gentleman, named William Allen—one of Owen's London partners—fearing for the eternal welfare of New Lanark children, and knowing that Owen's philanthropy left him no surplus capital, took a worldly advantage of his wealth and forced Owen to sell out. By way of commentary on the worldly wisdom and tender religiousness of the Quaker's action we record the facts that New Lanark soon sank to half its value as a manufacturing concern, and within a generation tyranny ran rampant over sin and misery in what before had been the fair birthplace of social ideals.

Called to London to promote his Factory Bill, Robert Owen found himself in a new sphere of activity—in a world of governing men swayed and ruled by opinions he knew to be false and dangerous. He saw the Corn Law passed, and uttered the prophecy: "It is deeply to be regretted that this Bill has passed into law; and I am persuaded its promoters will ere long discover the absolute necessity for its repeal to prevent the misery which must ensue to the great mass of the people." He was right in

ROBERT OWEN AS A SOCIAL REFORMER.

every particular, except that he credited the landed aristocracy with a rational humanity akin to his own. Misery ensued, the Corn Law was repealed; but it was in the teeth of determined opposition from its promoters. British legislators and leaders of public opinion openly professed the belief that wealth was the chief object of national policy. With his experience, Owen was simply amazed that rational men could entertain such a notion. During these days public opinion has veered round to Robert Owen's side, and credits John Ruskin, to whom reverence is due, with what was Owen's original conception. "The true business of human life," said Owen, "is to improve the character of each individual, and to surround him with whatever can contribute to his real well-being and happiness." For the time, however, his protests were in vain. He spoke to ears deafened with the jangle of a political economy that flattered the worst tendencies of the age. Pauperism and the number of the unemployed were increasing alarmingly in the years 1815-16-17. None knew how to cope with this tremendous evil; the sole resort was doles and ever more doles. At this juncture Owen stood forth the only man able to take a statesmanlike view of the subject. He proposed, first, to nationalise the poor. How far-seeing and wise this proposal was the "Old-Age Pensions" agitation of the present day abundantly testifies. Second, he offered to constitute the poor and unemployed into self-supporting communities based upon agriculture and built up by manufacture if the Government would simply give him the power. Nothing could have been more rational, and even an experimental colony would at least have been useful if not successful. But pauperism and the unemployed were no grievances to the farmers, who were enabled through supplementary parish relief to obtain labour cheap, or to the manufacturers, to whom the unemployed were a source of strength. Against the adamant of self-interest Robert Owen spent his strength in vain.

Though so constantly concerned for the welfare of the people and the good of the State, Robert Owen was not a democratic politician; all forms of government were to him means for protecting, guiding, and promoting the happiness of the people; if an autocrat could train his subjects to noble conduct and a republic left them free to wallow in the gratification of low desires, he would unhesitatingly have preferred the former to the latter. His early public utterances, indeed, led many to believe that he was a worshipper of the established governing power. Taken as a whole, Owen's theory implied that all institutions, laws, and governments were the outcome of the circumstances preceding and surrounding them, and, as no one was more keenly alive to the

ROBERT OWEN AS A SOCIAL REFORMER.

importance of every human life within it to the State, he naturally regarded the people as the most important factor in the formation of government. But Owen never allowed his theory to conflict with facts. He emphasised the power of government to form the character of the people, and the ability of employers to make their workers happy or miserable, because he saw bad laws making criminals of the people, and capitalists using their power to oppress and destroy the workers. Judging by himself and by rational standards of conduct, he supposed that if any man or class of men could be convicted of error and shown that the right way was both their interest and duty they would abandon their former course. Humble and faithful as he ever was, Owen did not accuse his opponents of wanton and deliberate wrong even though they refused to accept and act upon his irresistible arguments. He believed that the fault lay with himself, with his inability to convince. Therefore, in the year 1817, he assumed the function of public teacher, hoping by that means to create a body of opinion so general as to permeate the thought of the world. He engaged the great hall of the London Tavern and invited all and sundry to meet him there. His speeches were given to the newspapers and scattered broadcast all over the country at his expense. Robert Owen was now the social propagandist, and his activity rose to feverish intensity. In 1818 he addressed a memorial "To the Governments of Europe and America on behalf of the Working Classes," and the year following issued an address to the working people of this country. The latter is specially noteworthy. Said Robert Owen to the British working people:—

You have been filled with all uncharitableness, and have in consequence cherished feelings of anger towards your fellow-men who have been placed in opposition to your interests. These feelings of anger must be withdrawn before any being who has your real interests at heart can place power in your hands. You must be made to know yourselves, by which means alone you can discover what other men are. You will then distinctly perceive that no rational ground for anger exists, even against those who, by the order of the present system, have been made your greatest oppressors and your most bitter enemies.

Thus in language of friendliness and calm reason the loving humanist continued his address, and finally besought the help of his readers toward the formation of a new social order in which oppression and wrong would be impossible. Nothing could better illustrate Owen's superiority to the errors of his time than this address; but his sweet reasonableness and perfect charity seemed only presumptuous arrogance and cold-hearted egoism to a populace maddened with suffering and governing and propertied classes distraught with the fear of revolution. Neither oppressed nor oppressor paid heed to the calm voice of reason, but passion-

ROBERT OWEN AS A SOCIAL REFORMER.

driven rushed on to a long course of strife, to Peterloo Massacre, to Chartist agitations, to futile movements and repressions equally futile, till the present hour, when the fruit of passionate struggle appears as a phantom political franchise powerless to avert the economic slavery of the people. Along one line alone has social progress been achieved, and that is the direction toward which Robert Owen calmly and confidently pointed.

The appeal to the working classes marked the beginning of the most important part of the great reformer's life-work. Up till that time Owen would as soon have invited infants to a banquet as asked workmen to co-operate with him in his schemes. Brother to all men, he yet distinguished the wise from the foolish, and feared that the toilers were too immature in social capacity, too young in thought, to act independently or as a class. Their response to his appeal and the numerous attempts working people made to give practical effect to his ideas opened Owen's eyes. In London, Leeds, Manchester, and Govan Co-operative Associations were springing up inspired and stimulated by his teaching. Like Robinson Crusoe, who found corn growing up from seeds he had carelessly sown, Robert Owen was surprised, delighted, and filled with new hope. Fully accepting the social gospel issued from New Lanark, those workmen, disabled by lack of capital from carrying out their ideals in whole, attempted to socialise the distribution of goods as the first step to the social community. Neither the master nor his disciples, however, realised the necessity for consolidating and organising the social distribution of goods; they only regarded it as a minor means to an end. As an experiment in organised effort, as an instrument for the gathering of capital, the Co-operative Store was useful; but the notion of working toward the end desired through successful shopkeeping had not then occurred to anyone.

Experience had yet much to teach this wisest of social reformers. In June, 1822, under royal auspices, the association formed for the amelioration of the condition of the working classes, named the British and Foreign Philanthropic Society, issued an appeal for subscriptions with which to found a settlement on Owen's plan. The response was wholly inadequate; £100,000 was required, and from the wealth, rank, and royalty of England only £45,000 was offered, while Owen himself subscribed £10,000. It would be unjust to say that the great philanthropist erred in attributing to the aristocracy and the capitalists power to change the conditions of the people; but he had to learn that they were wholly unwilling. Very slowly and reluctantly, Robert Owen was driven from faith in the governing classes to faith in the governed people.

ROBERT OWEN AS A SOCIAL REFORMER.

Ireland, the distressful, was in direst straits in 1823, and the ardent philanthropist eagerly responded to her cry. He held meetings in London, in Dublin, and elsewhere, unweariedly explaining his plans for the amelioration of Ireland's sad state. Though supported by many Irish leaders and noblemen, his scheme met with little practical encouragement. The Government was appealed to, and a loan of £5,000,000 asked to establish at once as many model villages as the population of Ireland demanded. The request was dismissed as preposterous. We have not space to detail Robert Owen's plan for the relief of Ireland, but the undernoted extract from the *Sun*, August 11th, 1823, will serve to indicate the rational quality of his scheme:—

We subjoin . . . the "Memorial of the Committee of the Hibernian Society to the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the state of Ireland," signed by the chairman, Lord Cloncurry, and by the two secretaries, General Browne and Edward Groves, Esq., strongly recommending the adoption of Mr. Owen's plan in Ireland as a general measure for the relief of the distress in that country, and suggesting the Parliamentary application, by way of loan, of the sum of five millions for the immediate establishment of a sufficient number of the new villages. . . . The memorial states that, in Ireland, where there are no large manufacturing establishments, no injury could be done to capitalists by enabling the population to manufacture in the new villages for themselves. By way of remarking upon this statement, we think it necessary to observe that no injury would result to capitalists or to manufacturers even by the establishment of new villages in the manufacturing districts of England. It can never be too often repeated that one of the direct effects of Mr. Owen's arrangements is that of giving an illimitable extension to the markets, by enabling the population to consume equivalents for all that they can produce; and, therefore, that the employment of all the capital, of all the skill, and of all the productive power now possessed by the country would continue to be required under the new arrangements, with the additional certainty of their employment being profitable and advantageous to all parties.

Owen's efforts on behalf of Ireland were not wholly fruitless; but the Irish campaign was only a minor incident in his long career. In 1824 he purchased the land and village owned by the Rappists in Indiana, U.S.A., and set about forming a social community there. The religious education controversy at New Lanark, however, called him back, and he was compelled to leave the organisation of New Harmony in other hands. Nothing could have been more unfortunate. The average American hopes to make a fortune, and settlement in New Harmony entailed the resignation of that hope. None, therefore, save the faddist, the crank, the convicted criminal, and the wastrel could be induced to join the colony. Had it been possible to deal with the people of New Harmony as the people of New Lanark had been dealt with, all might have gone well; but the founder of the colony had neither the time nor the distrust to supervise its working, and the people would not have submitted to his dictation, while they

ROBERT OWEN AS A SOCIAL REFORMER.

were utterly unworthy of trust. Despite the unpromising outlook, this sanguine, indomitable man, after winding up his affairs at New Lanark, returned to Indiana and settled his family there. New Harmony, however, became an admitted failure. Numerous apologies have been offered on behalf of Owen in regard to New Harmony; but for once it must be conceded that the wisest social organiser of his time made a great blunder. He imagined that a collection of human beings utterly devoid of social sense, in a country only beginning to develop social institutions, could become self-governed without training. Holyoake says that Owen failed at New Harmony because he trusted too much in human nature; but a trust so unbounded deserves another name. Only one thing can be said in excuse, and that is, the founder of New Harmony was then plunging into a world-wide campaign, and the magnificence of the enterprise explains his inability to attend to small details and excuses consequent blunders and failures.

During the following years he flitted to and fro across the Atlantic, lecturing in the United States, visiting Mexico, and carrying amicable messages between the Governments of the United States and Great Britain, yet all the while keeping in touch with the social movement rising in this country.

For the seed sown was beginning to sprout and grow. In 1828 there were nearly 130 Co-operative Societies in the United Kingdom, though the greater number of these were engaged in retail trading only. With his habitual rapidity of thought and deep economic insight, Owen perceived in these co-operative trading concerns a principle of exchange which might, if carried to successful practice, do away, not only with the middleman, but also the capitalist employer, money, and all the media of exchange that stand between producer and producer, consumer and consumer. He had been for a long time convinced that labour-time was the only just measure of value, and here again the derided dreamer showed a practical grip of economics far surer and deeper than the teachers of those who scorned him. In his report to the County of Lanark, dated May, 1820, Robert Owen developed a plan of labour exchange whereby the poor and the unemployed might be kept from idleness and destitution, but the report was disregarded. In 1830, on his return to London, the indefatigable lover of the people unfolded a scheme for establishing a Labour Exchange Bazaar. The time now seemed ripe. Pauperism was largely on the increase; the unemployed swarmed all over the country; the general body of the people writhed in such distress that even the Government became alarmed. Within eighteen months the Labour Exchange Bazaar was set on foot. Premises were taken in Gray's Inn Road, London, and business

ROBERT OWEN AS A SOCIAL REFORMER.

started forthwith. Though all this haste seemed perilous to the clear mind of the projector, he allowed his enthusiastic associates to rush forward. Lloyd Jones gives a clear, though apologetic, account of the famous project:—

The Labour Exchange project interfered with nothing that formed part of the existing system. Its proposal was to establish a centre of exchange in which every worker who produced anything of exchangeable value might dispose of it and receive its value in time notes. The material that had to be purchased was paid for in these notes at market value, and the time spent in its manufacture calculated at the rate of 6d. per hour. Suppose the article to be a pair of shoes, the value of the material 3s. 6d., and the time occupied in making them seven hours. In material, leather, &c., and labour, this would bring the value up to 7s., which would be paid in the currency of the Exchange in fourteen sixpenny notes. With these the maker of the shoes might purchase in the Exchange material for the continuing of his work and food for his family. While he was engaged in making boots or shoes, other people were employed in producing the things needed by him, in depositing them as he had done, and taking home for their use the shoes he had made. There need be no limit to the operations carried on in such an establishment, nor need there be any idleness among the people connected with it, so long as there is a want that can be supplied by mutual interchange.

The details of the Labour Exchange Bazaar were arranged with Owen's brilliant business skill. The Bazaar charged 8½ per cent. for expenses on all transactions; expert buyers valued the goods brought in; a sharp check was kept upon the tendency to sell goods bought elsewhere and palm them off as produced by hand. Given time and capital, the Labour Exchange would have succeeded. But, unfortunately, the promoters trusted in the zeal of the landlord of the Exchange, and accepted the premises from him rent free and without signed agreement. Like Judas, the landlord was overcome by greed. He saw the Bazaar suddenly prosperous, and, eager for gain, put in a claim of £1,700 a year for rent and taxes. Owen and his associates had to clear out; they struggled on in different premises for about a year, but lack of capital, treachery, and disloyalty brought the project to an end in 1834.

Foolish and ill-informed persons laughed at the Labour Exchange Bazaar as an economic absurdity, and for nearly seventy years they kept up the joke. But the doctrines of Karl Marx on the one hand and John Ruskin on the other, with their hosts of intelligent followers, have come to turn the jest. Labour-time is the only scientific basis of value; labour for labour is the only just exchange. So say the authorities of to-day and to-morrow. Moreover, Robert Owen did not propose to reduce all exchange to barter, or all production to hand labour. He was far from professing that the commercial and industrial system of the 19th century could be superseded by the Labour Exchange Bazaar and domestic industry. Even before failure was precipitated by treachery, Owen, in one of his addresses, described the Exchange

ROBERT OWEN AS A SOCIAL REFORMER.

as "a bridge over which the people might pass into a more secure condition of life," and who can now dare say that his words were not modest, wise, and just?

Still undeterred by losses and failure, the heroic reformer, now sixty-three years old, continued his efforts on behalf of the poor, the unemployed, and the worker. For two years he laboured chiefly in London, promoting schemes for social improvement, laying plans before Government and the wealthy for the establishment of labour colonies, and unweariedly reiterating the truth which was not believed.

By those falsehoods which pass for history Owen has constantly been represented as a lone dreamer, carrying about his pack of fantasies like a mad pedlar, and turned from every door. Till the very last hour of his life the Welsh saddler's son was regarded as a personage, a great man, by hundreds of influential persons and thousands of people. Aristocrats of the highest rank and men of European repute as scientists and political thinkers were always willing to take the chair at his meetings; trusted leaders of the people sought his countenance and counsel. Most important of all, the Co-operative Societies, which, in 1829, were 130 in number, had increased to 250 in 1831, and every Society was a centre of Owenism, or, more properly, Socialism. The Co-operative Societies of that time were not conducted on the dividend on purchase system now so popular. They were organised chiefly for propagandist and social purposes, and the profit earned was chiefly devoted to missionary enterprise. Congresses were held, an organ of the movement, named *The New Moral World*, established, and a missionary service organised, two of the missionaries being George Jacob Holyoake and Lloyd Jones. In 1836 Robert Owen visited Manchester and delivered a series of lectures there to crowded audiences, arousing such enthusiasm in Lancashire and Yorkshire that further propagandism was resolved on. Early in 1837 Owen undertook a lecturing tour, visiting all the principal manufacturing towns from London to Glasgow. The annual Co-operative Congress was held at Salford in May, 1837, and it not only merits special mention as the largest and most enthusiastic Congress held up till that time, but is also worthy of note as the starting-point of a new form of Co-operative activity. A Central Board was formed, *The New Moral World* was transferred to Manchester, and two missionaries were appointed to spread the principles of the movement. Now began a period of strenuous Co-operative agitation. The opponents of the new movement were aroused and alarmed. Clergymen, manufacturers, and all the reactionary powers of society came forth to oppose this new social crusade against social evils. Owen and his followers knew no discretion

ROBERT OWEN AS A SOCIAL REFORMER.

when a wrong was to be attacked. They advocated shorter hours of labour, a secular system of popular education, trades unionism, the repeal of the Corn Laws; they denounced capitalist greed, commercial corruption, the degrading Poor Laws, taxes on knowledge, as they named the paper stamp tax, and the unsocial system of capitalist society. Recognised as the leader and always in the front, the brunt of the battle fell on Robert Owen. Falsehood, slander, misrepresentation of every kind was heaped upon him. A foolish Bishop of Exeter accused the most peaceable, merciful, and charitable man then living of bloody-mindedness; a still more foolish Marquis of Normanby asserted in the House of Lords that Owen had contrived to possess himself of the money David Dale left for religious purposes and used it for ends subversive of religion; the press, growing every year more capitalistic in sympathy, teemed with lies bred by fear and hate. Not content with these weapons, the opponents of social reform stirred up the ignorant mob to violence wherever Owen or his associates appeared. At Newcastle, Stoke, Burslem, and Bristol the gentle lover of the people was assailed by fierce crowds stirred to passionate frenzy by appeals to their bigotry and ignorant prejudice. Upon that unhappy time we do not care to dwell, for the issues involved are too complicated to be justly adjudged here. The populace of England are never wholly unfair, and very seldom completely in the wrong. When men like Richard Carlile misunderstood and opposed Owen the ignorant masses may well be excused if they felt some things precious he did not properly respect. But nothing can excuse violence toward a public teacher however mistaken he may be, and our history presents no spectacle more heroic than this man bordering on seventy calmly preaching his gospel of human brotherhood to a mob of yelling foes.

In the midst of the strife and struggle Robert Owen was calm and unruffled; he was quietly working as the "Social Father" of the Congress to promote social unity the while he engaged in an agitation sufficiently distressing to unnerve most courageous men. An inner organisation, named the "Social Community Friendly Society," had been all those years enrolling members who desired to see established a model village for industrial and educational purposes, and the Co-operative Congress of 1840 saw the first result of that work in a report laid before it announcing the lease of an estate at East Tytherley, Hampshire, for community purposes. After much discussion, instant action was resolved upon. The funds were inadequate, the estate was poor, much expense would have to be incurred before suitable buildings could be erected. Owen held back; he threatened to resign all connection with the affair; he counselled delay; but at last was

ROBERT OWEN AS A SOCIAL REFORMER.

persuaded to accept nomination as governor of the community for a year. Thus was Queenwood, the last of the social communities, founded. Ill-devised, poorly equipped, and settled upon an estate the reverse of fertile, such is the vital force of the social principle that Queenwood community survived till 1844, and might have continued to exist had the enthusiasm of its members and those supporting them kept burning. But the vigour of the Co-operative movement of that period had spent itself. Hope had departed and desire came in its place; they were weary of sowing, and looked for the harvest. When this temper enters any movement the end is not far off, for dissensions, bickerings, and recriminations begin, and the torn body quickly decays. Queenwood community was wound up, and one by one the supporting societies died out or sank into mere shopkeeping associations, more or less capitalistic in form.

Co-operation, however, was not dead. Those who hailed the dissolution of the Queenwood community as the end of the Co-operative movement were wholly wrong. Away up in the north, at Rochdale, near the scene of Robert Owen's early labours, even then a society had been started to carry out the principles of Co-operation on a new plan. The constitution of the Rochdale Society bears the impress of Robert Owen, and its avowed objects were his. By selling goods at market rates to its members and devising an equitable method of distributing the profit the Rochdale weavers solved the problem of distributive Co-operation—for the time; but the ideal sprang from the fertile brain of Robert Owen, and but for his self-sacrifice that mighty organisation known as the Co-operative movement, with its hundreds of millions of trade, its millions of members, its educational and social institutions, and all the light, hope, gladness, fellowship, and material comfort it has brought into the lives of working people, never could have been born.

For nearly thirteen years Robert Owen took little part in public affairs; but the formation of the Social Science Association in 1857 revived his old enthusiasm, and, though eighty-six years old, he attended its first meeting and read a paper entitled "The Human Race Governed without Punishment." The year following Owen again attended the Social Science Association meeting, which was then held in Liverpool, and attempted to read an address he had prepared. Lord Brougham supported him on the platform; but the effort was too much for the aged reformer's strength. He sank back exhausted, and was borne from the platform unconscious. Rallying sufficiently to be moved, he was taken at his own request to his native town, Newtown, Montgomeryshire, and there on November 17th, 1858, the apostle of social unity breathed his last.

ROBERT OWEN AS A SOCIAL REFORMER.

When Robert Owen retired from public activity he was deemed a failure, and when he died the world vaguely remembered him as a futile visionary. In life a man's aims are the measure of his success, and, no matter how great his achievements, if they fall short of his declared aims he is disappointed and the opposing powers and the children of this world laugh. Owen had done enough to win gratitude and applause from all men. No one can deny that he was a great industrial captain, an organiser of industry, and the importance of such men is everywhere being more and more recognised. He originated the infant school, and gave a valuable lead to technical education. He framed the Factory Act of 1819, and first enunciated the doctrine, now universally admitted and slowly coming into practice, that the well-being of the worker contributes to the success of industry. These are substantial facts about which there can be no controversy, and contributions less important to the world's progress have won men lasting fame. Why has Owen fallen into disrepute; why has he hitherto been excluded from the category of great men? With every desire to be impartial, we cannot resist the conclusion that the obloquy heaped on Owen's name was the work of capitalist hate and religious bigotry. He strove to rescue the people from the dominion of capital and the slavery of superstition. We have seen the colossal magnitude of the task. Strengthened by contemporary ignorance and greed, impelled by irresistible social forces developed through the centuries, capitalism was a power no man, however godlike, could hope to resist or control. Owen attempted the impossible and failed, and this is his highest title to honour. At a time when the right of capital to exploit labour for profit was unquestioned he asserted the right of labour to the fruit of its own activity, and denounced capitalist appropriation of the profit on industry as a wrong and unjust conditions of labour as the parent of misery. When the antagonism between capital and labour was in course of development he proposed compromise, unity of interest, co-operation. When the organic character of society was only a high philosophic speculation Robert Owen taught it as a practical doctrine and based his social scheme upon the principle. Was this man not a gigantic pioneer on the path of progress? He was the prophet of social development; he foresaw all we now see and further; he taught the working people to rely on themselves, to seek in mutual co-operation freedom from the greed and oppression of the wealthy and ruling classes. By the slow course of social development Robert Owen has been justified. In our future progress as we climb the height on which rest the cities of social harmony we shall meet him at the summit, and his spirit will flit before us to beckon us again forward and away up to where all the nations of the earth will live together as one family.

Education in England and Wales in 1902.

BY DR. MACNAMARA, M.P.,
Member of the London School Board.



WHEN the cry is "General Post!" everything and everybody is "at sixes and sevens." So it is just now with Education in England and Wales. If the Education Bill—over seven of the twenty clauses of which we have just been spending ten Parliamentary weeks—passes into law, a great revolution will take place. If it doesn't, things will remain as they are for a short time. I say short time advisedly, for issues have been raised by the discussions in the House and the country on the present Bill which will call for prompt treatment whether the next Administration be Tory or Liberal. For instance, practically everybody in the country has been astonished to find that the majority of the working-class children of England and Wales depend for their education to an appreciable extent upon voluntary contributions. And practically everybody except a few selfish obscurantists is agreed that this dangerous anachronism cannot be perpetuated. The education of to-morrow's citizens is too vital a communal obligation to be left to the hand of Charity. Then everybody has been surprised to learn that many hundreds of the Denominational Schools are entirely, and many thousands almost entirely, supported day by day exclusively out of public funds, remaining at the same time in the hands of private and non-representative managers. If the British people generally had possessed the shadow of an interest in education they would have known these and many other things long ago; and, knowing them, would have swept such anomalies away.

But the fact is, and I set it down with sorrow, up to date the British people have shown little or no interest in education. In the past they have won their way to superiority by *physical* pre-eminence. But physical pre-eminence will not suffice for the fights of the future. The magician skill of the chemist, the electrician, and the like is rapidly changing the governing force of the universe. Less and less will mere brawn satisfy; more

EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES IN 1902.

and more will brain be essential. This is what John Bull is too slow to note. If he doesn't wake up to the fact in double-quick time he is bound, as Brother Jonathan puts it, to be "left."

Compare British happy-go-lucky indifference to education with the picture of German zeal for education drawn for us by Mr. Sadler in the second volume of "Special Reports" issued by the Board of Education:—

To a degree almost incredible to us parents in the humbler orders of German society are familiar with the aims, with the privileges, and even with the programmes of the various grades of schools. Travellers find that small shopkeepers, workmen in factories, waiters in hotels, are alive, not merely in a general way to the advantages of education, but to the meaning and conditions of the different grades of schools which public authority provides. And, in this atmosphere of national sympathy with educational aims, men of the highest learning and position in all walks of life are incessantly working for the improvement of the schools, investigating their results, canvassing their curricula, defending or urging their claims.

Now, whatever be the fate of the great Education Bill of 1902 it will have achieved one enormous result, which is bound in the near future to bear fruits the magnitude of which cannot be measured. *It will have stimulated the interest of the people in their educational system.* And, as I say, of the value and importance of this fact I could not write too strongly.

THE GREAT EDUCATION BILL OF 1902—THE PROBLEM OF
LOCAL ADMINISTRATION.

But now let me turn to this much-discussed Education Bill, examining, as I go, its probable effects upon the education of the country. The first purpose of the Bill is, as its authors aver, to set up in each County and County Borough a general and paramount authority for education. That, let me say, is a most urgent and desirable reform. Let me examine the existing facts. In the first place, dotted all over the country, and in existence for the last fifty years or more, are the groups of managers of the Elementary "Voluntary" Schools. Altogether there are now no fewer than 14,359 of these bodies in existence. Nominally they consist in each case of not less than three persons; but in reality they are composed as a rule of one working member only—the parson of the parish. These managing bodies are in no sense responsible to the localities, though here or there the representatives of the parents of the children attending the school have been very wisely co-opted. The only responsibility is to the Central State Executive—the Board of Education—and this responsibility takes the form of observance of certain rules and regulations in return for the receipt of Government aid.

EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES IN 1902.

Then, still engaged upon elementary education—this time in the Board Schools—we find that since the Act of 1870 there have grown up public local authorities, elected *ad hoc*, for purposes of education. These are the School Boards. To-day these publicly-elected bodies cover 55 of the 63 County Boroughs (Preston, St. Helens, Bury, Chester, Wigan, Lincoln, Stockport, and Bournemouth have no School Boards, their elementary education being entirely confined to the Voluntary Schools); they cover about half the non-county and urban district municipalities; and they cover about half the rural areas of the country. Altogether to-day there are 2,544 School Boards.

So much for elementary education, "Board" and "Voluntary." But the matter does not end here. Fifteen years ago the Tory Government of that time laid before Parliament a temperance measure. Part of the purpose of that measure was the extinction of certain public-house licences. To compensate these the sum of something like three-quarters of a million was put into the Budget. The money was voted, but the Temperance Bill afterwards fell through. What became of the money? If it was not at once diverted it would drift into the Sinking Fund. About this time we were very much enamoured of the wonderful things the Germans were doing in the way of promoting Technical Education; so, Liberals joining with Tories, it was decided to send the money down to the localities nominally in relief of local taxation, but with a very plain hint that if it were to be continued year by year the best thing to do with it was to apply it for purposes of technical education. Certainly. But to what local authority could it be sent? The School Boards were the only public local authorities for education. But they only covered about two-thirds of the country, and where they did exist they were not always everything that could be desired. The Government, however, had just passed the Local Government Act of 1888. Why not, therefore, send it to the newly-created County and County Borough Councils? This was done; and from that day forward these universally existent municipal bodies became more and more engrossed in the work of technical and modern secondary education.

THE NEED FOR ONE AUTHORITY.

This, then, is the hotch-potch of local government on education which confronts us to-day. It has many defects, the most obvious of which is the waste of money upon the unnecessary duplication of official and administrative machinery. But there are others. There is the regrettable friction that so constantly arises between the several local authorities respecting conflicting territories. Your

great School Board considers that science and art work in the Evening Schools belongs to its province. The City Council through its Technical Instruction Committee thinks so, too. Hence local irritation and an ultimate appeal to Mr. Cockerton and the Law Courts! But from the point of view of the working man's child the most disastrous result of this multiplication of independent local authorities has yet to be mentioned. At present, each grade of school being under separate and independent management, there is no community of purpose, no co-ordination of educational aim, and, therefore, no coupling up and linking together of the schools. To-day we talk eloquently of an educational ladder up which the "lad of parts," but of humble extraction, may climb, if he has the capacity and the industry, until he reaches the topmost rung. This educational ladder business is largely a delusion and a snare. For it to be real and complete the Elementary School must stand on the broad foundation. Rising from it, and in direct and organic connection with it, must come the Higher Elementary School, and then as a further telescopic development must come the Technical and Secondary School, and so on. All the grades of school must be linked together, their curricula must be shaped so as to have regard the one to the other; and the whole scheme of organisation must have as its genius the necessity to provide free passage from one institution to the other. Obviously, these desirable ends can never be secured, even in the most halting fashion, so long as each class of school is under an independent body of management.

I am, therefore, all for "One Authority," as, indeed, everybody else is now-a-day. But the really acute question is this: *What* authority? The Government Bill goes to the County and County Borough Councils and confers upon each of them the function of "Local Education Authority." It thus sweeps away the directly-elected *ad hoc* authority—the School Board. It is round this scheme that the first great battle has waged; and that battle isn't by any means over yet. Nobody is at all keen about continuing the small village School Boards; and most of us agree that in the counties the County Councils are probably the best authorities to exercise a general rating and administrative control. But the case of the great boroughs is different. There the *ad hoc* educational bodies have done a magnificent work, and the Municipal Councils have already enough on their hands. The plea of the educational progressives is that the *ad hoc* educational authority should be continued, at any rate in the larger urban areas. So far the Government has turned a deaf ear to that plea. But I am not sure that the last word on the matter has yet been said.

EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES IN 1902.

BUT NOT FOR 1,183!

The Government, as I have explained, goes to each County Council and each County Borough Council for its local authority. But as a result of the demand of the smaller urban areas for independence it says that in each county every Municipal Borough of over 10,000 people and every Urban District of over 20,000 shall be autonomous as to rating and administration for purposes of elementary education. At the very outset, therefore, the principle of "One Authority" by which co-ordination is to be secured is seriously vitiated. But that isn't all. Under the Technical Instruction Acts the small urban areas have had, by the grace of the county authorities, certain sums bestowed upon them from the "Whisky Money," and have had the right to rate themselves up to a penny in the pound for technical education. The scheme of the Government, as modified in Committee, is to let *all* urban areas of whatever size continue these concurrent powers of rating in the future. Thus by rapid stages our principle of "One Authority" disastrously disappears until we arrive at the following as the number of local authorities possible under the Bill:—

Local Authorities Autonomous for Elementary Education and Autonomous for Higher Education without any limit of rating.	The County Boroughs.	67
Local Authorities Autonomous for Elementary Education and Autonomous for Higher Education up to a rate of 2d. in the £.	The Administrative Counties.	62
Local Authorities Autonomous for Elementary Education and Autonomous for Higher Education up to 1d. in the £. (Also liable to be rated for Higher Education—without Autonomy—by the County Council up to 2d. in the £.)	The Municipal Boroughs with over 10,000 population.	140
Local Authorities Autonomous for Elementary Education and Autonomous for Higher Education up to 1d. in the £. (To be rated also by County up to 2d.)	Urban Districts with population of over 20,000.	61
Local Authorities Non-Autonomous for Elementary Education, but Autonomous for Higher Education up to a limit of 1d. in the £. (Ratable also up to 2d. more by the County Council.)	The Municipal Boroughs of under 10,000 population.	108
Local Authorities Non-Autonomous for Elementary Education, but Autonomous for Higher Education up to 1d. in the £. (Ratable also up to 2d. more by the County Council.)	Urban Districts up to a 20,000 population.	745

Grand Total..... 1,183

EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES IN 1902.

My reader may fairly ask whether this isn't a "One Authority" remedy worse than the existing disease. The question is a very proper one; and all I can hope is that on Report stage we may be able to straighten things out a bit.

LOCAL CONTROL: SHAM AND REAL.

Leaving now the general question of the desirableness or otherwise of abolishing the School Boards and of handing the local control of education to the Municipal Councils, let me come to the details of the later policy as set forth in the Government Bill. Assuming that the policy of "municipalisation" is a good one, most progressives will agree that in the 1902 Education Bill the policy has been disastrously vitiated. In the first place, the County and County Borough Councils are to do nothing themselves except raise money by rate or on loan. *They are at once to delegate all their powers to an Education Committee.* The Committee must consist, as to a majority of its members, of persons selected by the Municipal Council. Thus, supposing the Leeds City Council resolve upon an Education Committee of thirty persons, the Council would at once name sixteen; when the sixteen got together they would select fourteen more; thus the thirty. *But not one of these need necessarily be a member of the Leeds City Council.* Now, this is not good business at all. In the municipalisation schemes of the Government Bills of 1896 and 1901 it was provided that the majority of the Education Committee in each case *must* be members of the present Council. And surely Liberal and Tory may agree each to assist the other in the task of bringing the Government back to its wiser schemes of 1896 and 1901.

But this is not all. Not only is the Education Committee deliberately framed on the lines of one remove from the direct control of the ratepayer who finds the money; when we get to the actual management of the schools themselves we find ourselves another remove away from the influence of popular pressure. The Education Committee cannot, of course, *manage* any school. That must be left to the "local managers." And where do the public come in there? Each school or group of schools is to have six managers, and of these the public is to send two! No wonder Parliament spent six sittings over the brief clause, Clause 7, which for the time being settled this extraordinary scheme. For look at the finances of the question—and it is the finances of the question which ought to settle the matter. In the Denominational School of the future eleven-twelfths of the annual maintenance charge will be met from public sources, central and local. (I leave one-twelfth as the measure of the voluntary help which in future will

EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES IN 1902.

go to the upkeep of the buildings.) *In return, then, for finding eleven-twelfths of the money the public is to have four-twelfths (i.e., two managers out of six) of the management!* Of course, the thing cannot last. Rate aid means rate control, and in endeavouring to evade rate control Mr. Balfour is a pathetically belated Mrs. Partington. For myself I have no anxiety about the matter. It may be wrong at the outset, but it will rapidly right itself.

THE "PROVIDED-THE-BUILDINGS" ARGUMENT.

Before I leave this point, however, I must deal with the reply made by the denominationalists. They say in effect, "Oh, yes, the public will now find nearly all the maintenance charge; but look at the millions we, the Church, spent on the buildings." This claim needs examination. From 1839 to 1882, 5,676 Church of England Schools were built at a total cost of £5,811,904. 10s. 8d. Of this amount the State found £1,515,385. 9s. 8½d. and the Church found £4,296,519. 0s. 11½d. Since 1882 the number of Church Schools has gone up to 11,734 and the accommodation has risen from 1,062,418 to 2,811,956 places. The operations roughly have been doubled. Put the new cost at eight millions (there have been no "Building Grants" since 1882) and you get a total outlay by the Church of £12,000,000 or thereabouts. But, to clear our minds of cant, it has in reality been a first-class investment. No smaller an amount than £63,700,750 in the shape of Government Grants have passed through these Church Schools; and the dispensation of nearly 64 millions of money has meant power and patronage for the parsons (I leave the Church School as the "seed-bed" of the Church out of the question). Besides, on account of that later £8,000,000 of outlay large rents year by year have been charged to the State for the use of the buildings—rents that have ranged from £5 up to £300 and even £400 a year. Further, in some recent cases part of that wonderful £8,000,000 has meant a purely business investment—as at Eastbourne, where, in order to evade a School Board rate, we have the Church people and others building a school and drawing 4 per cent. on their outlay from the income of the school, the late Lord President of the Council not being above figuring as one of the number! Therefore, when I hear all this talk about the Church's outlay on buildings as a ground for giving the Church four out of the six managers in each case, I sententiously chuckle—not to put too fine a point upon it, as Mr. Snagsby would say.

THE FINANCING OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

But now, leaving the general problem of local control and the more detailed question of the management of the schools, let me

EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES IN 1902.

come to the second of the two great issues raised in this very revolutionary Education Bill. This brings me to the other of the two great controversial points in the Bill—the *proposed future of the financing of primary education in Elementary Schools, Denominational and Undenominational*. Let me again rehearse the existing facts very briefly. At the present time there are 5½ millions of working-class children in attendance at the Elementary Schools of England and Wales. Roughly, three millions of these are attending the Voluntary Schools (in future to be known as Denominational Schools) and two and a half millions the Board Schools (in future to be known as Public Authority Schools). The main differences in these two classes of schools at present are:—

1. In the form of the local management.
2. In the nature and amount of the local financial support accorded.
3. In the character of the religious instruction given.

With number one I have already dealt; with number three I will deal hereafter. Meanwhile, as to number two, which raises the question of the financing of the schools. The financial support accorded to both Board and Voluntary Schools is of two kinds—central and local. The central support consists of grants from the Exchequer paid upon the report of H.M. Inspectors of Schools, and, generally speaking, is receivable by the Voluntary Schools on the same terms as the Board Schools. Additional, however, to the Government Grants hitherto payable under the Education Code to both Board and Voluntary Schools alike, special Treasury Grants have been provided for under the Voluntary Schools Act and the Necessitous School Boards Act of 1897. In all the “Special Aid” dispensed under these Acts has amounted to about £800,000 a year. In the future these Acts will be repealed; but the £800,000 a year provided by them will be still allocated to education, and a further sum of £900,000 a year has been provided. These two together—in all £1,760,000 a year—will be paid at the rate of 4s. a child all round, *plus* a sum per child ranging from a penny a year up to 5s. a year, according to the poverty of the locality. But these new grants do not raise any new fundamental principle, except, of course, the principle of throwing more of the cost on the Exchequer and less on the locality, and do not very appreciably affect the total maintenance charge, because even when increased by the new grant the Central Exchequer aid will not be nearly sufficient to conduct a school with anything like efficiency. It must, therefore, be supplemented with money raised locally. In the case of schools

EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES IN 1902.

known in the past as Board Schools, this supplementary income has been provided from the rates, and in School Board districts this local contribution is compulsory upon all ratepayers. The schools hitherto known as Voluntary Schools, and now to be known as Denominational Schools, have had no such compulsory local income to turn to. *They have had to supplement their central aid from the offerings of benevolent and charitable persons.* The School Boards last year found it necessary to supplement their central aid by a sum equal to £1. 8s. 2d. per child of the children in attendance in the schools. The conductors of the Voluntary Schools were only able to secure a local supplement to their central aid in the form of a voluntary subscription equal to 6s. 8d. per child. It is this serious difference in the local income of the schools which must in some way or other be removed before the problem can be considered to be finally settled.

THE VOLUNTARY SCHOOL PREFERRED—BECAUSE IT IS CHEAP.

Taking the country as a whole, it will be found that the School Board system with its concomitant of a compulsory local contribution *covers roughly two-thirds of the area.* Roughly speaking, this two-thirds of the area raises under the compulsory local rate about four and a half millions of money annually. Many of the inhabitants of this two-thirds are also contributors, over and above the sum they pay in rates, to the Voluntary Schools; and the total amount of voluntary contributions *over the whole area of the country* is roughly three-quarters of a million of money. Thus, putting the facts in rough-and-ready fashion, and dividing the country into three equal parts, we get the following incidence in the local support of schools:—

	One-third of Area.	One-third of Area.	One-third of Area.
	£	£	£
Compulsory Rate	2,250,000	2,250,000	.....
Voluntary Subscriptions	250,000	250,000	250,000
Total Local Support	2,500,000	2,500,000	250,000

The question for educational reformers to consider—a question raised acutely in the Education Bill—is whether the last third of the country as shown in the foregoing table should get off with one-tenth the measure of annual local support provided by each of the other two-thirds. It should be noted, too, that, whereas in the last third probably the majority of the inhabitants escape a

EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES IN 1902.

local contribution altogether, *in the former two-thirds all are compelled to contribute once, and many subscribe twice.* That in the last third, where there is no compulsory rate, many escape altogether may be gathered from the fact that there are over a thousand school districts with no local subscriptions at all, the schools being thus compelled to subsist on Central Exchequer Grants.

How the children and teachers in the Voluntary Schools have fared under this abominable system of enabling selfish people to evade their communal obligations by perpetuating a voluntary system—to which most of them do *not* contribute—is best seen from the following figures from the Education Blue Book for 1901-2:—

CLASS OF SCHOOL.	Total Cost of Maintenance per Pupil.	LOCAL SUPPORT.	CENTRAL SUPPORT.
		Voluntary Contributions per Pupil.	Government Grants received per Pupil.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Church Schools	2 6 7½	0 6 10	1 15 5½
Wesleyan Schools	2 6 4½	0 3 3½	1 15 11½
Roman Catholic Schools	2 4 2½	0 6 5½	1 14 6½
British Schools	2 10 5	0 7 6½	1 15 5½
Total Voluntary Schools	2 6 8½	0 6 8	1 15 5
Total Board Schools.....	3 0 2	1 8 2 [Rates.]	1 11 0½

The local support to which the Denominational School, then, has had to look in the past in supplement of the Exchequer Grants it receives has taken the form of charitable contributions. What a grotesque anachronism to permit any portion of the cost of such a communal necessity as education to depend upon private benevolence! It is the attempt to break down this system—which in so many cases has simply meant that parsimony has been permitted to masquerade as piety—that commends the present Education Bill in some degree to me. You will remember that I said that eight of the County Boroughs have no School Boards—and, therefore, no local rate. See the result in cold finance in the cases of seven of them as compared with seven of the School Board cities or towns.

EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES IN 1902.

CITY OR TOWN.	Raised by Rate per Child in the Board Schools of the City or Town.	Contributed by Voluntary Contribu- tions per Child in the Voluntary Schools of the City or Town.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Hastings	2 3 6	0 11 9
Brighton	1 17 1	0 10 4
London	2 8 0	0 9 4
Croydon	1 12 0	0 9 1
Huddersfield	1 8 9	0 9 1
Bath	1 2 3	0 8 7
Oxford	1 3 0	0 8 5
Bournemouth	Nothing.	0 10 2
Chester	"	0 4 11
Lincoln	"	0 4 10
Preston	"	0 4 9
Bury	"	0 4 8
St. Helens	"	0 4 6
Stockport	"	0 2 0

Let it be observed that towns like the first seven given not only raise handsome sums out of their local rates, but beat others (like the last seven given) absolutely hollow in their contributions to the Voluntary Schools. Personally I have nothing but unmitigated contempt for the lack of public spirit in these last seven towns. They prate about preferring the Voluntary School to the Board School because in it they get *Denominational Religious Instruction*! This is, so far as the great bulk of the people in these towns are concerned, unmitigated humbug. Their preference is *not* for this or that form of religious instruction. It is for a system which enables them to get out of paying for either. And, whatever else may be said about the Education Bill (and it has very many faults, I at once agree), it certainly has this advantage, that it will make the Preston and Stockport and Bury and St. Helens people pay! To secure which I would sacrifice a good deal.

SOME RESULTS OF "VOLUNTARYISM."

It is, then, with me, a great thing to have definitely secured through the medium of a Government Bill the policy of abrogating

EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES IN 1902.

the attempt to maintain education by charity. And whether this Bill fails—as it may well do—or succeeds, we have once for all laid down this principle that *Public Elementary Education must be in future maintained as a public charge*. That I lay such stress upon this will not surprise anybody who knows our educational system from the inside. For see some of the direct results of endeavouring to maintain education in part by voluntary contributions. Take the salaries paid to the certificated teachers. Look at the following table from the Blue Book for 1901-2:—

CLASS OF SCHOOL.	CERTIFIED MASTERS.		CERTIFIED MISTRESSES.	
	Head.	Class.	Head.	Class.
	Average Salaries.	Average Salaries.	Average Salaries.	Average Salaries.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Church Schools connected with National Society or Church of England	128 6 3	85 16 1	83 4 1	60 2 9
Wesleyan Schools	182 3 8	91 12 2	94 16 5	62 10 7
Roman Catholic Schools	130 19 1	86 16 5	75 1 3	58 19 7
British and other Schools	154 5 10	101 8 3	89 2 7	65 6 7
Board Schools	173 11 0	111 8 5	124 3 6	85 3 3

N.B.—A number of teachers in each case are provided with house rent free.

Thus we see at once that the Church School master and mistress really bear Mr. Balfour's "intolerable strain."

Take again the quality of the teaching staff. At this point I may say that the Elementary Schools, Board and Voluntary, are manned by four classes of teachers. These are:—

1. Adults who have gone through all the grades of training, and are classed as fully certificated.
2. Teachers who have been apprenticed as pupil teachers, but have not completed the course for the teacher's certificate. These are styled ex-pupil teachers.
3. Young women over eighteen years of age—technically known as "Article 68's"—who have no professional qualification whatever, except that, in the opinion of the Inspector, they are presentable young persons, and can give evidence that they have been successfully vaccinated.
4. Juvenile apprentices to the art of teaching, known as pupil teachers.

EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES IN 1902.

Under any efficient system of education, neither the "Article 68" nor the pupil teacher would be looked upon as an efficient member of the school staff. But it is too common an experience to find the schools—especially Voluntary Schools in town and country and rural Board Schools—staffed almost entirely with these inefficient supernumeraries. Now let me give a little table showing the way the Board Schools and the Voluntary Schools are staffed, winding up with the staffing arrangements for the London School Board—a standard which might well be striven after in the provinces, urban and rural.

ENGLAND AND WALES.	Percentage engaged of			
	Certificated Adult Teachers.	Ex-Pupil Teachers.	Article 68's.	Juvenile Pupil Teachers.
In all Voluntary Schools.....	38	23	18	21
In all Board Schools	51	21	5	23
Under the London School Board..	81	4	0	15

This table is eloquent of the state of things in the Voluntary Schools. But it is really worse than it looks, because the case of the pupil teacher in the Voluntary School is far worse than that of his youthful colleague in the Board School. The Voluntary School pupil teacher is usually turned on from the very first as a full-blown "journeyman" teacher. In the Board Schools he is usually treated strictly as an apprentice, spending only half of each day in actual teaching and being occupied with learning the technique of the teaching art during the other half. This state of things is not only grossly unjust for the Voluntary School child, whose intellectual training is thus left to the blundering hand of the apprentice, but it is also shamefully unjust to the apprentice himself. They work him so hard as a substitute for an adult teacher (at a wage that ranges from eighteenpence to ten shillings a week) that at the end of his apprenticeship he fails the "Scholarship" test which is to admit him to a Training College so that he may ultimately become a trained certificated teacher, and is either turned ignominiously out of the profession altogether or perpetually committed to its lowest and worst-paid

EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES IN 1902.

ranks! (I am not necessarily blaming the school managers. It is only another direct result of the vicious voluntary contribution policy.)

Here is another vivid contrast of the results of local rate contribution (for the Board School) and local voluntary contribution (for the Voluntary School). I exclude from my calculation all ex-pupil teachers, "Article 68's," and pupil teachers. Comparing the number of children enrolled to the number of certificated teachers in each class of school I get the following:—

CLASS OF SCHOOL.	Children Enrolled.	Certificated Teachers Employed.	Number of Children to each Certificated Teacher.
All Voluntary Schools	3,043,006	29,294	103
All Board Schools	2,662,669	34,744	76

I could give many other examples of the disastrous results of this attempt to fob off the majority of the children of the country with a voluntary-contribution education; but these will suffice.

THE RELIGIOUS QUESTION.

I have left a word or two on the religious question until last. I would fain not enter upon it at all, because, after five-and-twenty years of the closest study of our educational system, I am pretty sure that nothing I or anybody else can say will soften the acrimony of the conflict in which we are once more plunged, or tend to the calling of a "Truce of God" upon this unhappy problem so that we may push on with this vital question of the training of our people. The present Education Bill has been before the country but a few months, and already there is little heard but the clamour of conflicting sects. So it was in 1870. Religion was mentioned many more times than education during the memorable discussions that year; and so, apparently, it has been during the present year of grace.

The Bill of 1870 originally left the form of religious instruction in the new rate-aided schools to be determined by the localities themselves. This scheme was the subject of sharp criticism on the occasion of the second reading, when Mr. George Dixon moved a declaratory amendment to the effect that no Bill could be considered which did not settle by statute the form of the religious instruction in the Board Schools that were to be.

EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES IN 1902.

On going into Committee the religious question was again the subject of long and heated debate, this time the proposition being advanced that no further State grant should be made to Denominational Schools: that the State should confine itself rigidly to secular education, and that religious instruction should be left to the volunteer efforts of the religious bodies themselves. This policy, I may add in passing, was very badly beaten. In the end, and after all sorts of proposals had been put forward and rejected, a compromise was arrived at. It provided that the religious instruction in the rate-aided schools should be strictly undenominational, not involving any formulary distinctive of any particular denomination. This stands as part of the famous Clause 14 of the Act of 1870, and is known as the "Cowper-Temple" Clause. Clause 7 of the Act, known as the "Conscience Clause," has ever since hung conspicuously on the walls of every State-aided Elementary School, Board or Voluntary. It announces to all whom it may concern that any parent may withdraw his child from the religious instruction of the school if he so wishes; and such withdrawal shall be made without any forfeit on the part of the scholar "of the other benefits of the school." It is a striking commentary upon either the indifference of the parents as to the precise form of religious instruction to be imparted to their children or the satisfactory nature of the settlement of 1870 that the "Conscience Clause" has proved practically a dead-letter. Both in the Denominational and the Board Schools withdrawals have been almost entirely unknown, a fact which has been contributed to very largely by the tact and discretion of the school teachers.

THE EXPERIENCES OF THIRTY YEARS.

This, then, is how religious instruction has been and is given to-day under the Act of 1870. In the Board Schools it is strictly Biblical. The whole school assembles at nine in the morning, and under the direction of the head teacher a hymn is sung and the Lord's Prayer is recited. Often a short general exhortation of the pupils by the head teacher follows. Then the classes are marched away to their respective rooms and the Scripture Lesson follows. It is conducted by the class teacher, and consists of a lesson on some of the historical parts of the Holy Word together with the committal to memory by the pupils of carefully selected portions of the Psalms, the Proverbs, the Gospels, and so on. The syllabus of Scripture teaching is usually a fine tribute to its compilers, and the lessons are almost invariably models of reverence and devotion. Can anything be more reassuring to the country than this picture of the whole of the children gathered together day by day for this admirable family worship? Inspired by a simple sense of justice

EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES IN 1902.

the highest dignitaries of the Church of England from her Archbishops downwards have felt constrained to chide those amongst her flocks who, through ignorance or fanaticism, have raved about "Godless Board Schools." This common religious teaching, founded on the Cowper-Temple compromise, is, of course, given subject to the "Conscience Clause" which I have already described.

In the average Church of England School the religious instruction is pretty much the religious instruction of the Board Schools, *and very little more*—whatever may be the protestations of parish clergy at Church meetings. Of course, in all cases the Apostles' Creed is added, and there is a lesson or so per week in the Church Catechism. But, unless the clergyman be very "High" and very active, Church teaching wears down in practice to something very little beyond the undenominationalism of the Board Schools. In many of the villages this is frankly admitted, and both Churchmen and Nonconformists agree that the thing shall be softened down to an acceptably common denominationalism. Why? Because then there will be no demand on the part of the Nonconformists for an undenominational school. If the religious instruction was aggressively Church of England the Nonconformists would promptly inflict a rate upon the locality. And neither Churchmen nor Nonconformists want this. Thus in practice a new compromise has grown up: the compromise whereby dissenting religionists may so compose their differences as to avoid the nuisance of a local rate for education. Of course, in the schools belonging to the Roman Catholic Church, and, as I have said, in those associated with "High" Anglican Churches, the religious instruction is much more definitely and specifically denominational. But here again the instruction is given subject to the protection of the "Conscience Clause."

EMPTY COMPLAINTS.

What have been the objections to this system? In the first place, it is complained that the undenominationalism—rate and State aided as it is—of the Board School is, in effect, the denominationalism of Nonconformity. Thus it is that Nonconformity gets all it wants without voluntary contribution. The Church of England, on the other hand, is represented as having to provide its denominationalism out of its own pocket after having, in School Board districts, paid its rates to the Board School. I need not say that the Nonconformists resent this way of putting the case. They view the School Board as the Common School providing a common basis of religious teaching, and urge that those who want more must expect to make a special payment over

EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES IN 1902.

and above their contribution to the rates and taxes which help to maintain the Common School. On the other hand, not only do Church people claim rate aid for the denominationalism at present taught in their Church Voluntary Schools, but they also go on to point out that many children of Church parents are in attendance at the undenominational Board Schools, and that, therefore, it is a fair thing to ask that "facilities" should be given for the instruction of the Church children attending the Board Schools "in the particular faith of their parents."

To those who work in the school day by day all this is very amusing, though no doubt it is inspired by motives which are entirely creditable, sincere, and honest. As a matter of fact 99 per cent. of the English working people want their children taught the Bible. But as to what particular denominational colour should be put upon the religious teaching they have no feeling whatever. Thus, notwithstanding, Parliament will continue to go raving mad over the problem!

THE SCHEME OF THE 1902 BILL.

How does the Government propose to deal with this terribly thorny problem in its present Bill? It proposes to leave the religious instruction absolutely as it is, both in Board Schools and in the Denominational Schools, perpetuating the Cowper-Temple Clause for the former and the Conscience Clause for both. We thus have at once raised the proposal to throw denominational education entirely upon the rates and taxes, leaving only to the denominationalists the task, as I have already said, of keeping the fabric in good repair. This determination to rate-aid the Denominational Schools has immediately created, and will create, no end of a pothole. In its blundering way the Government has endeavoured to meet the situation. It says that if the parents of thirty children do not like the form of religious instruction given in the school or schools available to them, they can go to the Local Authority's Education Committee and ask that a school may be built for them. If such a school be built for the Nonconforming thirty it will be a Local Authority School, and the religious instruction will be undenominational. I say "if such a school be built" advisedly. For this thirty-children-separate-school absurdity is edged round in a way that, whilst reducing its absurdity, also detracts from its genuineness as an honest offer. Here are the clauses which deal with the building of such a new school:—

9. Where the local education authority or any other persons propose to provide a new public elementary school, they shall give public notice of their intention to do so, and the managers of any existing school,

EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES IN 1902.

and the local education authority (where they are not themselves the persons proposing to provide the school), and any ten ratepayers in the area for which it is proposed to provide the school, may, within three months after the notice is given, appeal to the Board of Education on the ground that the proposed school is not required, or that a school provided by the local education authority, or not so provided as the case may be, is better suited to meet the wants of the district than the school proposed to be provided, and any school built in contravention of the decision of the Board of Education on such appeal shall be treated as unnecessary.

10. The Board of Education shall determine in case of dispute whether a school is necessary or not, and in so determining, and also in deciding on any appeal as to the provision of a new school, shall have regard to the interest of secular instruction, to the wishes of parents as to the education of their children, and to the economy of the rates, but a school actually in existence shall not be considered unnecessary in which the number of scholars in average attendance as computed by the Board of Education is not less than thirty.

How many attempts to build new schools will successfully run the gauntlet of these clauses I should like to know? Financially and educationally I am glad that they will be few, because I do not want money wasted on a lot of microscopic little schools that will not only be financially most extravagant, but from their minute proportions will be impossible of effective educational organisation.

This, then, briefly is the Government scheme for dealing with the religious question. It is indeed a clumsy device. It does not meet the demand of the Church of England for "Church teaching for Church children in the Bible Schools," and its proposals for meeting the grievance of the village Nonconformist is so patently insincere that it will only exacerbate those whom it was intended to deceive. Surely something fairer, something more practicable, could have been devised as "a way out" of this woful *impasse*!

SUGGESTED COMPROMISES.

Let me suggest a better compromise. If there really *are* any parents of children attending the Board Schools who object to the Bible teaching (I have worked in and about the Board School as pupil, pupil teacher, assistant teacher, head teacher, and School Board member for the last thirty years, and never met such a case) *let us give them facilities for having their children instructed by the representatives of their own denomination in Church, Chapel, Mission Hall, &c., for as many mornings a week as they please during the time that the general body of the scholars will be receiving the ordinary religious instruction of the school.* Let the school open for secular subjects at say ten, and let those

EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES IN 1902.

children then come in "without forfeiting the other benefits of the school." As to the Denominational Schools, these are, as I have shown, much more nearly undenominational than their conductors would probably be willing to admit. My suggestion is that they should be made frankly undenominational on, say, Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday, and that on Wednesday specific denominational teaching should be the order of the day, subject always, of course, to the Conscience Clause.

There is another possible compromise, and that is that Church and Nonconformity should agree on a common form of religious lesson, to be strictly Biblical, *plus* the Apostles' Creed and, say, the "duties" of the Church Catechism. A compromise of this sort ought to be agreeable to the great body of the Christian community, and, being subject to the Conscience Clause, would present no particular hardship to the conscientious objector. In Scotland a compromise of this sort involving a Bible-teaching syllabus, *plus* the Shorter Catechism, has been in force for many years. But the Scotch are too shrewd to allow fine distinctions of faith to rob their children of that first-class business asset—a good education. Some day the same will be true of England, and in that day the bickering theologian will have a bad time. When that day arrives may I be there to see!

HIGHER EDUCATION.

MAINTENANCE BY EXCHEQUER GRANTS.

Having devoted so very much space to the acute question of elementary education—upon the foundation of which, of course, the whole superstructure must necessarily depend—space fails me to do anything like adequate justice to the very important problem of higher education. Under the Education Bill of 1902 the Local Authority responsible for elementary would also have control of higher education. I have explained why this is educationally and administratively desirable. But it is when I come to the vital question of funds for the prosecution of this higher education that the prospect is less reassuring. In the first place, the Bill as amended provides that in the future *all* the "Whisky Money" shall be spent on education, and none of it applied to the relief of local rating. Already of a total annual grant of £925,000 no smaller a sum than £864,000 is so applied—mainly to purposes of technical instruction—the remaining £60,000 odd being still applied to relief of rating. This £60,000 will now be applied to higher education in the following districts and amounts, these being the districts still applying the sums named to the relief of rating.

EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES IN 1902.

	Further Amount to be Spent in Higher Education.		
	£	s.	d.
COUNTIES—			
London (County)	32,711	9	2
Isle of Ely	150	0	0
Hereford	3,380	3	0
Holland (Part of Lincoln)	991	4	3
Middlesex	9,553	5	0
Soke (Part of Peterborough)	408	0	6
Rutland	520	9	11
North Riding	2,110	14	11
COUNTY BOROUGH—			
Gateshead	681	5	8
Gloucester	1,532	11	2
Preston	1,078	9	10
Grimsby	328	8	4
Oxford	195	5	11
Croydon	1,909	16	11
Middlesbrough.....	484	10	7

As to Wales, I may mention that all the Counties and all the County Boroughs are already spending all their "Whisky Money" on education.

But, of course, a sum of less than £1,000,000 a year is a grotesquely small sum out of which to establish a sufficient and effective system of secondary education, especially when we remember that most of this money is already applied to technical instruction. Of course, the Board of Education will in addition offer subject and attendance grants under a code of regulations, as it does in the case of elementary education. But these are not likely to err in the direction of extravagance.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE RATES.

There remains, however, rate aid for higher education. Very much cannot be expected from this source. Rates are already high, and there is elementary education (denominational as well as undenominational in the future) to be provided partly by rate aid. At present the localities have the power to rate themselves up to 1d. in the £ for technical education. In England two County Councils only (out of 49), 24 County Boroughs (out of 67), 99

EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES IN 1902.

Municipal Boroughs (out of 248), and 195 Urban Districts (out of 806) are availing themselves of this power by rating themselves 1d. or under (mostly under) in the £. The total amount so raised last year was £107,000.

As to the English Counties only two, as I have said, are rating themselves. The two are Surrey (which raised the small sum of £110) and Staffordshire. (Here no rate was levied directly, but the County Council only gives subventions from its "Whisky Money" to localities which rate themselves. The effect was that 27 Urban Districts in Staffordshire raised in all, by way of rate, £4,750.)

Turning now to the English County Boroughs I get the following spending *nothing* from the rates:—Reading, Birkenhead, Chester, Devonport, Exeter, Plymouth, Gateshead, South Shields, Sunderland, Bristol, Gloucester, Canterbury, Barrow-in-Furness, Bootle, Oldham, Preston, St. Helens, Wigan, Grimsby, Lincoln, London, Yarmouth, Norwich, Northampton, Newcastle, Oxford, Portsmouth, Southampton, Hanley, Wolverhampton, Croydon, Brighton, Hastings, Middlesbrough, Huddersfield, Leeds, and York.

SPENDING A PENNY OR UNDER FROM THE RATES.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Derby	1,852	0	0	Bournemouth	245	6	5
West Ham	2,479	18	0	Walsall	129	3	2
Blackburn	2,008	12	8	West Bromwich	886	0	0
Bolton	2,600	0	0	Ipswich	868	15	0
Burnley	1,397	11	5	Birmingham	13,487	10	10
Bury	657	10	1	Coventry	1,004	6	4
Liverpool	8,946	3	0	Dudley	281	0	0
Manchester	8,187	18	11	Worcester	2,664	11	9
Rochdale	1,280	0	0	Hull	1,081	15	1
Salford	3,630	12	7	Bradford	5,175	0	0
Leicester	1,521	0	0	Halifax	1,668	0	0
*Nottingham	3,500	0	0	Sheffield	2,745	0	0
Bath	494	12	3				

* From proceeds of Gas undertakings; no rate actually levied.

In addition a number of the County Boroughs devote small amounts from their Public Libraries' penny to purposes of technical education.

Turning now to Wales I find that not only is all the Imperial aid spent on education, but nine Counties (out of 13), three County Boroughs (all), five Boroughs (out of 28), and nine Urban Districts (out of 74) are rating themselves for technical education. The amount thus raised locally reached in 1900-1 the sum of £44,791. 4s. 9d.

EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES IN 1902.

By way of showing more clearly the contrast between what is now being raised locally and what would be raised under a 2d. rate anticipated by the Education Bill, I append the following table:—

AREA.	Ratable Value.	At Present Raised by Local Rate.	Proceeds of 2d. Rate.
	£	£	£
English Administrative Counties (excluding London)	96,650,000	46,400	805,416
County of London	39,750,000	....	331,250
English County Boroughs	41,130,000	59,846	342,750
Welsh Administrative Counties	7,185,000	16,700	59,875
The Three Welsh County Boroughs	1,777,000	7,296	14,808

It is obvious that, with all the "Whisky Money," generous Government grants for secondary education, and the proceeds of a full 2d. rate, most districts could make a good start with higher education. But will they get the latter two of these three conditions?



Productive Co-operation :

Its Principles and Methods.

BY HENRY W. MACROSTY, B.A.



SUPPOSE that a person, hitherto totally unacquainted with the Co-operative movement, were to examine the large amount of productive industry carried on by the Co-operative Wholesale Societies, and to scrutinise the great variety of their products and the vast bulk of their trade, and after this survey suppose that he were confronted with the thesis, placed before the present writer by the Editors of this "Annual"—

"The Wholesale Societies being established in the interests of consumers, are they the best medium for carrying on Co-operative production?"—he would probably be amazed at the imagination which could put such a question. Yet he would be face to face with the bitterest controversy which has ever raged within the Co-operative ranks, with a dispute which not once nor twice has seemed to threaten disruption of the associated forces, with a quarrel which has not yet entirely died out, and on which it is even now difficult to write without appearing to do injustice to generous-hearted and single-minded men. On looking back into the history of Co-operation our investigator would find that at least since the Wholesale Societies put their hands to manufacture there have been two theories as to the organisations by which manufacture should be undertaken and as to the methods in which it should be conducted, theories which have been distinguished as "federal" and "individualist" respectively and may be temporarily described as looking mainly to the interests of the consumer in the one case and mainly to the interests of the producer in the other. He would find also that while the former, as conducted by the Wholesale Societies, had achieved the greater measure of success, the latter, or co-partnership system, had secured the support of those who claimed to be the inheritors of the great prophets of Co-operation and the adhesion of a younger band of advocates scarcely less intense in energy and devotion. And he would also find that it is claimed that the difference is not only economic but moral in character. The late Mr. Vansittart Neale, who was not only an ardent Co-operator but a hard-hitting controversialist,

PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION : ITS PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

once expressed his hope "that the great idea of a federation between worker and consumer for their mutual benefit is on the point of replacing that ill-starred scheme of exploiting the worker for the benefit of the consumer which has masqueraded under the name of the federal system."* Earl Grey at the Co-operative Festival of 1898 expressed himself with no less vigour. He said:—†

The present weakness of the Wholesale Co-operative movement was that it had degenerated too much into a hunt after dividends. As practised by the English Wholesale Society, Co-operation lacked the qualities which were necessary to stir the soul. He knew for a fact that they were alienating the sympathy of many who would otherwise be their well-wishers, because it was alleged against them, and it could not be sufficiently denied, that they had abandoned the faith of the founders of the movement, and were organising Co-operation on a basis of selfishness. The experience of ages showed that, to stir human nature to altruistic effort, a cause was required which appealed to man's nobler feelings and called for sacrifice. The missionary, the reformer, the trade unionist, all supplied instances of the subordination of self-interests to those of a higher cause. He looked in vain in the distributive movement for an equally inspiring cause which would lift men out of the narrow groove of selfishness, and impel them to labour for the common good; and yet the gospel of Co-operation, preached by the founders of the movement, was virtually a religion which appealed to the highest feelings of human nature, and caused men to submit cheerfully to heavy pecuniary losses and frequent disappointments in the certain faith that eventually their principles would triumph. If Co-operation was to become a living force in moving the character of the nation along an upward plane it must return to the spirit of its founders and show that it had a soul above a shopkeeper's.

The Labour Co-partnership system on behalf of which such lofty principles are invoked deserves a detailed examination. Historically we can trace its ancestry back to the period preceding the inception of the Stores, but the ideals of that early time are scarcely the ideals of to-day, and we shall probably not be far mistaken in attributing the acerbity with which the federal system is attacked in some quarters quite as much to the disappointment which attends the non-fulfilment of early ideals as to conscious or subconscious jealousy of the greater success of the rival system. Throughout all transformations of that ideal there is one common feature, the great importance laid upon production or manufacturing in contradistinction to distribution or "mere shopkeeping." Robert Owen sought the redemption of labour first by establishing colonies or "communities" of a self-sufficing character, in which each member was to be a worker and to share equally in the ownership of the means of production. Later on he and J. F. Bray each proposed to organise the trade unions into "industrial companies," each owning the means of production for its trade, a

* Preface to Report of Co-operative Congress, 1883, p. iv.

† *Daily Chronicle*, August 20th, 1898.

PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION : ITS PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

"Grand Lodge" in each industry controlling the several local branches. These crude suggestions had an enormous influence on the minds of working men suffering from the evils of uncontrolled capitalism. They coloured working-class thought for over half a century, and are not entirely dead even to-day. Conspicuous and repeated failure seemed for a long time scarcely to detract from their attractiveness. Most of the Rochdale Pioneers had come under the influence of Owen and his followers, and it is, therefore, not a matter for surprise that in the declaration of their objects and plans we find the following:—

That, as soon as practicable, this society shall proceed to arrange the powers of production, distribution, education, and government; or, in other words, to establish a self-governing home colony of united interests, or assist other societies in establishing such colonies.

The failure of modern Co-operators to live up to this pious declaration of faith is repeatedly made a matter of reproach to them, which is just about as sensible as if one were to reproach a grown man because under the stern teachings of experience he has had to give up the grandiose dreams of his boyhood. A brief flickering attempt was made by the Redemptionist Societies to revive the ideas of Owen, and then the Christian Socialists, who had studied in the school of Fourier, introduced a new idea, the self-governing workshop. In such an establishment the workers were to own all the capital, either contributing it themselves or borrowing it from outside friends and repaying it. Owning the capital, they were equally to supply the management, fair wages were to be paid, and the net profit was to be "equally divided between all the associates in proportion to the time they have severally worked." A central distributing agency was started for the interchange of goods. After four years' activity the promoters had to admit, in 1852, that their associations either failed owing to internal dissensions or, if successful, were converted into close corporations.

The working men were once again thrown back on their own resources. Much was hoped at one time from the "Oldham Co-ops.," or joint-stock companies largely owned by working men. They soon came to differ not at all from ordinary businesses, and need not concern us further except to note that the insight into business acquired through their operations was of great use to the leaders of the cotton operatives in their struggle with the capitalists. Workmen's associations for production still continued to be founded more or less on the principles of the self-governing workshop. Altogether up to 1880 about three hundred were established in a great variety of trades, and many of them received abundant support from the trade unions, the Co-operative Stores,

PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION : ITS PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

and the Wholesale Societies. This phase of the movement was a complete failure; internal quarrels, inopportune time of starting, general trade conditions, and above all bad management proved fatal to the vast majority of the societies. Large sums of working-class savings were irretrievably lost, and in 1883 only fifteen societies remained, besides corn mills.

In the following year a fresh impulse was given to "productive Co-operation" by the establishment of the Labour Association,* which had the support of such tried Co-operators as Vansittart Neale, Holyoake, and Ludlow. Thomas Burt, M.P., and F. Maddison represent a large section of trade union support given to the new movement; Sir W. Mather, M.P., and the Hon. T. A. Brassey speak on their behalf for the enlightened employers of labour; Professor Marshall and W. J. Bonar, LL.D., lend the approval of economists; among other patrons are Earl Grey, the Bishops of Durham and Ripon, the Right Honourable G. W. Balfour, M.P., Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice, and Mr. Ralph Neville, K.C.; while among its most active workers (among whom must not be forgotten that brilliant propagandist, the late Mr. Blandford) are Messrs. E. O. Greening, Aneurin Williams, and Henry Vivian. On examining into the aims and objects of this organisation we find a notable divergence from the views of Owen and the Christian Socialists. "The idea of a self-governing workshop, an independent, individualised group, self-owned, self-directed, and self-absorbed, has been as definitely abandoned as the earlier idea of a colony."† To describe the new idea the promoters of the Labour Association have chosen a new name, Labour Co-partnership, thereby avoiding much of the confusion of words and ideas which disfigured the old controversies, and for this at least we are deeply indebted to them. Mr. Vivian says:—‡

The essence of this co-partnership is (1) *That in virtue of their position as workers* the workers receive a share in the profits; it is not claimed that they receive the whole profit. (2) *That in virtue of their position as working shareholders* the workers should have a share in the management; it is not claimed that they should have the whole management. (3) That this arrangement be a matter of fixed rules, so that the privileges of the workers be as it were secured by the law, and not left to the caprice of individuals, to be given or withheld as a matter of favour. It is the practice in most of the co-partnership businesses for the profit allotted to the workers to be capitalised as shares up to an amount fixed by rule instead of its being paid out in cash.

Partly owing, no doubt, to the better education of the working classes, partly also as a result of long training in Co-operative

* Re-named in 1902 The Labour Co-partnership Association.

† "Labour Co-partnership," by H. D. Lloyd, p. 222 (Harper Brothers, 1899).

‡ "Co-operative Production"—The Labour Association, 1900.

PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION : ITS PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

Stores, trade unions, and friendly societies, and certainly in no small degree on account of the active propaganda and assistance of the co-partnership advocates, the number of societies fulfilling the above conditions rose from 15 in 1883 to 100 in 1901, according to "Labour Co-partnership," August, 1902. Their sales in the latter year amounted to £2,947,061, their capital to £1,480,883, net profits to £156,054, and dividend on wages £20,846. But in these figures are included those relating to the Scottish Wholesale Society, the United Baking Society, and the Agricultural and Horticultural Association, whose position is special. Nevertheless, an increase in trade from £160,761 in 1883 to £1,073,690 is no small achievement. The movement, however, was not without its difficulties. The Report of the Productive Committee to the Congress of 1892 dealt with dangers arising from the rapid multiplication of boot and shoe societies in Northamptonshire. "It was charged against them," says the Report,* "that in practice they were nothing but joint-stock companies with limited shareholding, employing large numbers of non-shareholders, while the profits of the businesses were divided almost entirely to the advantage of the shareholders." A conference was held at which representatives of most of the societies attended, and "it was elicited in the course of the discussion that the practice of at least some of the societies had not been exactly in accordance with their professed principles." A resolution was passed "That in the opinion of this conference the only way to promote true Co-operative production is by allowing anyone to become members of the societies, and by giving them a fair share of the profits. We further pledge ourselves to do our utmost to bring this about." Exactly how far this resolution has been carried out it is difficult to say, but out of twenty-one societies classed by Miss Potter† as "Associations of workers governing themselves, but employing non-members (practically small masters)," six have joined the Co-operative Productive Federation, and so have somewhat purged themselves of their offences; eleven of the others are dead. Out of thirteen societies classed by the same author as "Societies in which outside shareholders and Stores supply bulk of capital, but in which the employes are encouraged or compelled to take shares, but are, in nearly all instances, disqualified from acting on Committee of Management," six are members of the Productive Federation and three are dead. The Co-operative Productive Federation was started to aid productive

* Congress Report, p. 36.

† "The Co-operative Movement in Great Britain."—Swan, Sonnenschein, and Co., 1891.

PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION : ITS PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

societies by united action, to open up a market for the sale of their goods, to obtain capital for Co-operative production, and to prevent overlapping and competition. Its Year Book states :—

No society can join the Federation which does not, by its rules, practise profit sharing with its workers, under which, in the first place, a substantial and known share of the profit of a business belongs to the workers in it, not by right of any shares they may hold, or any other title, but simply by right of the labour they have contributed to make the profit; and in the second place, every worker is at liberty to invest his profit, or any other savings, in shares of the society or company, and so become a member entitled to vote on the affairs of the body which employs him.

At the end of 1900* fifty-two societies were members with capital of £356,576; trade, £664,515; and profit, £29,003; twenty-six paid a dividend on wages varying from 1½d. to 2s. in the £ of wages, and totalling up to £6,554. All but two of the societies in these two lists which are still alive appear in the Labour Co-partnership list. Their workers aggregated in 1899 2,734, and their employé members 1,169. The other two societies (boot) had 326 employés, of whom 67 were members.

Another subject of contention was the treatment of the consumer. On the whole the strict adherents to theory seem to be of the opinion that a dividend on purchases is not a necessary part of the labour co-partnership system. It does not appear in the statement of principles as given by Mr. Vivian, who elsewhere states that the interests of the consumers would be secured by the share of the profits which they drew through Co-operative Stores being shareholders. Mr. Vansittart Neale wrote :—†

The consumer must not feel himself in permanent antagonism to the producer. If the plan of removing this antagonism by a division of profits on his purchases must be given up as injurious to the permanent elevation of the worker by the results of his work, some way should be suggested for assuring the consumer that he is not to be sacrificed to those who derive from his purchases the means of their elevation. This way, we believe, is to be found in the important function that wholesale Co-operative trade should fill in inaugurating Co-operative production.

Mr. Holyoake decided in favour of a dividend on purchases, but solely as a means of attracting custom. In fact, labour co-partnership recognises two partners only, the worker and the capitalist; to safeguard his interests the consumer must become a capitalist, and any consideration which he gets in his own capacity is purely a matter of expediency.

The co-partnership societies claim to pay at least the recognised wages as a minimum. Mr. Robert Halstead has given† particulars

* "Co-operators' Year Book," 1902, p. 151. In 1902 there were 59 members.

† "The Principles, Objects, and Methods of the Labour Association," p. 10.

‡ "Variation of Wages in some Labour Co-partnership Workshops."—Labour Association, 1900.

PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION : ITS PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

of thirty-four societies (nine of which employed under 20 workers each, and twelve over 100 each) ; in fourteen the wages paid in 1899 averaged 7 per cent. above those paid by non-Co-operative employers, and in ten more 11 per cent. higher, while the others claimed to pay full trade union rates or over ; in twelve cases the hours also were from one to eight less per week ; and the dividend on wages varied from 2d. to 1s. 11d. in the £. In all the large societies the bulk of the members are trade unionists. Admitting the improvement in the financial position of the workers, their position with regard to share in the management is less clear, though in most cases it seems to be small and in some insignificant. It is not sufficient to realise Mr. Vansittart Neale's ideal of making all the workers capitalists if they are liable to be voted down by outsiders with different interests. Mr. Vivian says :—*

The constitutions vary without end. In some cases membership (a member is a shareholder) is almost confined to the workers in the trade. In other cases the workers in the trade will form a small proportion of the membership. The same applies to the ownership of the capital and the share in management. The Committee of Management in one case will consist entirely of workers for the business, and in another the workers may not be members of the Committee, although they may vote in the election of others. In one society the workers make the start and find the means, and here they hold nearly all the power. In another it is a private individual who is the founder, and here he naturally has great power for a time ; and in a third, Co-operative consumers' Stores come in and bear most of the burden. In the division of profit, too, there is variety. The Kettering Boot and Shoe Society gives, independent of provident, educational, and other funds, 40 per cent. of its profits to labour, whilst the London Leather Manufacturers give 63 per cent. Some businesses arrange to give consumers a share of the profits, others do not. The Hebden Bridge Fustian Society only gives share capital 5 per cent. interest ; the Kettering Clothing Society gives it 5 per cent., plus a share of net profit. The interest usually paid to share capital before net profits are divided is 5 per cent., but the Walsall Padlock Society gives share capital 7½ per cent. On the other hand, it gives no profits to the purchasers or consumers, probably because the market is not organised co-operatively. Some of the Labour Co-partnership businesses only sell goods to the Co-operative Store movement ; others sell partly to the Store movement and partly to the outside world, and some altogether to the outside.

Here are some other scattered facts :—The Hebden Bridge Fustian Society has 348 workers, of whom 314 are members, 338 Society shareholders, and 200 outsiders ; the workers contribute about £10,000 of the capital, the Stores over £11,000, and the other members about £11,000. The Leicester Hosiery Society has 788 members, of whom 357 are Stores, 207 worker members, and 224 outside shareholders ; the Stores appoint four directors directly. In the Higham Ferrers Boot Society the employé members (*i.e.*, all of the thirty-six workers who were over eighteen years of age)

* "Co-operative Production," p. 4.

PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION : ITS PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

held in 1899 316 shares out of 551 and £75 out of £155 loan. The Burnley Self-Help Society under its reconstituted form is governed by a Committee of two to represent the workers and old shareholders, two to represent the debenture holders, and two to represent the creditors, neither shareholders nor workers to receive cash payment of interest or profits till £11,700 of debts is paid off. In the Paisley Manufacturing Society 74 out of 320 employés were members in 1899; Walsall Padlock Makers, 76 out of 183; Eccles Manufacturing, 8 out of 89; Alcester Needle, 6 out of 25.

The Board of Trade "Report on Workmen's Co-operative Societies in the United Kingdom" for 1899 (Cd. 698, 1901) deals with 132 productive societies, including 14 Scottish bread-baking societies, all of which are organisations of consumers. The Report says:—

It appears that of the total individual membership of these associations in Great Britain 15 per cent. only consisted of employés, and that these employés held between them about 9 per cent. of the total share and loan capital of the associations. It should be remembered, however, that the influence of the employés in controlling the action of these associations cannot be measured by the proportion of capital held by them, as, owing to the general adoption of the principle of one man one vote, an employé with a single £1 share has usually the same voting power as the largest shareholder. On the other hand, the employés take a much greater share in actual management than is represented by the above proportions. Thus out of the total number of Committee-men engaged in managing the associations nearly 30 per cent. are employés. If we classify the sales of the associations according to the constitution of the Management Committees we find that of the total sales of the 132 associations, valued at £1,573,121, £696,436, or 44 per cent., was attributable to twenty associations, in which the whole or the majority of the members of Management Committees were representatives of retail distributive societies; £332,403, or 21 per cent., to sixty-six associations, in which the whole or the majority were individual members other than employés; £391,834, or 25 per cent., to twenty-nine associations, in which the whole or the majority were employés; and the remaining £152,448, or 10 per cent., to seventeen associations, in which no one of the classes named had a majority, or as to the constitution of the Committee of which no information is forthcoming. Out of the 132 associations fifty-four, with about 53 per cent. of the total sales, were known at the end of 1899 to have no employés on their Management Committees.

Looking more closely to labour co-partnerships we find that, excluding the United Baking Society on account of its special constitution, 74 societies recorded in "Labour Co-partnership" for August, 1902, were included in the above-mentioned Board of Trade Report. They employed 6,215 workers, of whom 2,973, or 47·8 per cent., were members, and there were also 11,383 other individuals and 2,865 societies among the members. The workers contributed 8·4 per cent. of the capital, societies 46·1 per cent., and other individual members 25·7 per cent., the remaining 19·8 per cent. being non-members' loans. The majority of the capital was contributed by employés in five cases, by societies in fourteen, and

PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION : ITS PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

by other individuals in twenty-three. Employés contributed no capital in two cases and societies none in ten cases. In twenty-three associations the whole or a majority of the members of Committees were employés, in twelve representatives of societies, and in thirty-two other individual members. In nineteen cases the employés had no representatives on the Committee, in thirty-five societies had none, and in five the other individual members had none. Altogether the employés had 38 per cent. of the management, societies 18 per cent., and other individual members 44 per cent.

To complete the view of co-partnership, 228 retail societies, with 24 per cent. of the total membership and 23 per cent. of the total trade, distributed to their employés in 1901 £33,850. Needless to say, the employés have no share in management.

"In Scotland," says Mr. Williams,* "the consumers' societies not only form an element, as they do in most English societies, but they are very decidedly the predominant partner." The United Baking Society of Glasgow is a federation of 118 Co-operative Stores, with a capital of £98,000, a trade of £350,000, and profit of £40,500, of which in 1901 £5,200 went to the workers. The profit shared to labour is paid over to a Bonus Investment Society to which the workmen belong, and each man receives credit for the share he is entitled to.

The total funds of the Bonus Investment Society are invested in the Bakery Society. The workers, therefore, meet amongst themselves as and where they choose and discuss their affairs, and take such decisions for social or provident or other purposes as seem good to them, while in regard to the general meetings of the Bakery Society the workers individually have no *locus standi*, but are collectively represented by delegates who go and speak in the name of the whole body of employés and of the total amount of capital held by them, according to the decision of the majority.†

This is the plan which Mr. Vivian recommends should be adopted by ordinary distributive Stores with respect to their employés, and which Mr. Aneurin Williams desires to see adopted by ordinary limited companies.

Looking at the societies from an ordinary business point of view they approximate to three common forms. Where they derive from a benevolent employer who retains an assured position for himself they are an extreme form of a common kind of philanthropy. Where the workers have most of the management in their own hand they are like limited liability companies with a large amount of borrowed capital for which they pay special terms; where the Stores shareholders, as in the United Bakery Society, control the management they resemble ordinary productive departments of

* "History and Present Position of Labour Co-partnership," p. 5.

† "The Better Way," p. 8. By Aneurin Williams.—Labour Association.

PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION: ITS PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

ordinary Stores. The parallels are not complete, but they are suggestive; and it is noteworthy that the last class is the most successful. To quote Mr. Aneurin Williams again:—*

Meanwhile we have to face the fact that while associations of consumers employing labour on co-partnership lines are growing big, and associations such as those of the Irish farmers are multiplying rapidly, associations of artisans such as constitute our English societies are not multiplying very fast, though on the whole they are steadily growing in importance.

It is a fair assumption that when societies do all or the bulk of their trade with Co-operative Stores and the latter take shares in order to secure their interests, then as the societies grow and require more capital the share of the Stores in control and management will increase and the "independent" productive societies will tend to become a special kind of productive department of federated Stores. What is the real nature of the "profit" in such cases will be considered later on. This development will be hastened by the circumstance that the Stores offer the safest market. Societies which sell mainly in the outside market like the Walsall Padlock Makers or the Sheffield Sheep Shear Society (which sells mainly to Australian farmers) are exposed to every storm which sweeps across the competitive market. The small societies of builders, for example, are mostly ground between the upper millstone of the large builders with their powerful capital and labour-saving appliances and the nether millstone of the small jerry-builder, who can quote cheaply owing to his illegitimate but gainful practices. Again, while those societies which are members of the Productive Federation are to some extent restrained from competing with one another the others—about equal in number—compete with one another and with the federated societies (and all, of course, with the Wholesale Societies) for the trade of the Stores and the open market. The Congress of 1899 directed inquiry to be made into competition between productive societies. A conference was held in the following year without any definite result, and the Committee on Co-operative Production reported their inability "to suggest any definite methods to be adopted either for the prevention or cure of overlapping amongst productive societies, because, from the experience gained in our discussion of the question during the past, we are confident that the productive societies themselves are not yet ripe for any action being taken in this direction." They, therefore, belong to that competitive form of society which it was Robert Owen's object to destroy, and will belong to it until they come completely under the control of the Stores.

* "History and Present Position of Labour Co-partnership," by Aneurin Williams.—Labour Association.

PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION : ITS PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

The most serious danger of the old self-governing workshop was that if successful it tended to become a close corporation owing to the workmen who had borne the heat and burden of the day refusing to share profits equally with new members. In the Stores that danger has been averted by the rule which keeps them open corporations, compelling them to admit on equal terms on the principle of one man one vote every person who presented himself for membership. The same rule obtains with most of the co-partnership societies, and every Co-operator will admit that those societies where it does not hold have no claim to the title of Co-operative. Here there is another deduction to be made from the somewhat heterogeneous collection of societies which are presented to us in the mass as the sole inheritors of the Co-operative principle.

It is to be hoped that it will be admitted that in the foregoing account no injustice has been done to Labour Co-partnership. There is no quarrel with it as a means of raising the condition of certain workpeople in the existing competitive organisation of society, but we hold that it does not afford the prospect of a reconstitution of society on a basis more favourable to all the individual citizens. The criticism so far made has been intended solely to establish this point, but more serious arguments derived from economic principles remain to be advanced. Before they are given it will be well, however, to consider in some detail the relation of labour co-partnership to the Wholesale movement. The organisation of the English Wholesale Society is based solely on the interests of the consumers. A Co-operative Store is managed by a Comitée elected by the consumer-members on the principle of one man one vote. In the "distributive" and the "productive" departments alike a workman receives no special recognition or privilege as a workman. He may receive a bonus on sales or a dividend on wages as a special inducement to good work, but he has no share in the management beyond what he may obtain as a consumer-member of the Store, and sometimes he is disqualified from serving on the Comitée. The Wholesale Society in turn is a federation of Co-operative Stores only, these taking up shares in proportion to the number of their members, voting for the Comitée in like proportion, and dividing the "profit" or surplus in proportion to the trade done. A worker in a Wholesale workshop has no voice in the management of that workshop except what he may possess as a member of a Co-operative Store belonging to the federation, nor does he receive any share of the "profits." The workers in the productive departments are always paid the trade union rate of wage, and in the sweated trades, such as shirtmaking, cabinet-making, &c., a higher than the

PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION : ITS PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

market rate even when this has involved loss, as at the Broughton Furniture Works. The hours average about forty-seven per week. The report of the Women's Co-operative Guild in 1897 showed that, while there was undoubted room for improvement, wages were higher and hours much shorter in the Store movement than in outside shops and occupations. Mr. W. Maxwell, in a paper read to the 1893 Congress, said of employment in the Stores:—

With managers and head shopmen there can be little or no fault found in the way they are remunerated; although, here and there, it is painful to think of men having the responsibility of conducting a cash business and receiving only 28s. and 30s. per week. . . . It is, however, when we come to consider the wages of the second counter hands that we cry out in amazement. Is it possible these are the employés of a movement that boasts of raising the people socially and materially? It is no uncommon case to find a man who has served an apprenticeship, possibly two or three years journeyman, working for from 20s. to 23s. per week.

Yet even these wages are not below market rates but above, and the conditions as to hours and holidays are immeasurably superior. The views of the employés themselves on profit sharing as a remedy are significant. The Secretary of the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employés writes:—*

Even were a majority of the members in favour of the principle—which is doubtful—it could not be carried into effect in the majority of cases until another task to which the A.U.C.E. has set itself in earnest has been accomplished, viz., the establishment of a recognised standard minimum rate of wages. . . . With years of persistent effort things are improving a little, but until some standard is generally adopted it will be impossible to say whether "bonus" is an actual addition to fair wages or merely a part of what ought to be the weekly wage, retained till the quarter end and then presented as a gift. In the meantime, employés will continue to look askance at a system which is in too many cases used as a lever to reduce wages in order that credit may be taken for the generosity of the society in granting "bonus."

This is unquestionably the correct course of action, and it is sincerely to be hoped that all reproach will soon be removed from the Stores. The employés, however, must in turn be reminded that, human nature being such as it is, there is little chance of their receiving wages higher than their employers earn in apparently more arduous occupations. The working class must move upwards in a body without any privileged sections whether in State, municipal, or Co-operative employ.

It goes without saying that the basis of the Wholesale Society has always been thoroughly repugnant to the believers in labour co-partnership, and many plans have been devised for its reform. Mr. Vansittart Neale thought that the distributive Stores should be grouped round natural centres of Wholesale Societies through which they should obtain all their supplies and with which they

* *Co-operative News*, June 14th, 1902, p. 722.

PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION : ITS PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

might invest their surplus capital; these Wholesale Societies should establish productive departments where required, providing the necessary capital and the guidance required to guard them in the days of infancy; when the works were fairly established they should be handed over to the workers to become independent societies united through the Wholesale Societies in a federation with the Stores and marketing their products through the Wholesale Societies. The transition was to be operated by the Wholesale Societies ceasing to distribute the profit on their productive departments among the distributive societies.

All these profits would be accumulated and converted into shares, to be allotted to the workers who were willing to take them up, and, if not taken up, would be kept in reserve. Thus they would gradually replace the capital originally advanced, and form a fund on which the rules of the society might throw the primary responsibility for losses, with a constantly increasing guarantee to the remainder of the original capital not replaced for the time being, till the stage was attained where the whole of this capital had been redeemed. Then the managers of the central body would have the pleasing duty of handing over a well-appointed and well-stocked factory, and a thriving business, to a body of workers trained under its fostering supervision to the efficient management of the work by which they were to live, and accustomed to all those better modes of life that the far-seeing benevolence of their Co-operative employers might have created around them—who had purchased the right to conduct this business, and control the conditions of their own lives thereafter, by having repaid, either from the profits of their own work, or, probably, in part, from independent savings of their own, the whole capital required to supply the means of carrying on that work successfully.*

This ingenious device for restoring the self-governing workshop has remained part of the doctrine of the Labour Association ever since the first year of that body's existence when the address was delivered and formally approved at Hebden Bridge, but it has remained as a pious aspiration and not as an active principle of daily practice.

To-day those who wish to reform the English Wholesale Society seek to get it to adopt the profit-sharing plan of the Scottish Wholesale Society or that of the United Baking Society. The Scottish Wholesale Society has had three different forms of bonus since 1870. Under the present plan, adopted in 1892, a uniform share of "profit" is paid to both distributive and productive workers, but only one-half is paid over in cash, the other half being placed to each worker's credit in a special fund called the Bonus Loan Fund, on which 3 per cent. interest is allowed. The accumulated bonus can only be withdrawn at the end of three months after leaving the service of the Society, unless with the consent of the Committee. At the same time employes were made

"The Principles, Objects, and Methods of the Labour Association," p. 12.
By E. Vansittart Neale.—Labour Association.

PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION : ITS PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

eligible for membership of the Society by applying for a minimum of five shares (and a maximum of fifty) on which one shilling per share must be paid, the balance being payable from bonus. The individual worker-shareholder can do nothing by himself, but as a body the employé-shareholders are entitled to send one representative to the quarterly meeting and one additional for every 150 employés taking up shares. In 1902 there were 343 employés holding 7,341 shares with £6,189 paid up, and entitled to send three representatives to the business meetings. As the total number of employés exceeds 5,200 the number who become shareholders is quite negligible. Little wonder that "Labour Co-partnership" in January, 1899, should describe the result as "not a little lamentable," and urge that shares should be substituted for the Bonus Loan Fund, such compulsory membership, however, to be restricted to adults who had been some time in the service of the society. But even were all the employés shareholders they would not aggregate forty votes, and since every society joining (at present there are about 320) has one vote in virtue of membership, one vote for the first £1,000 bought, and one vote for every succeeding complete £2,000, the employés' share in management must be always of the slenderest kind. The extent to which labour is made more dignified and honourable by such an arrangement is infinitesimal, and as for the additional reward of 6d. or 8d. in the pound of wages given as bonus it could be secured in other ways; the economic nature of the fund out of which it is paid must remain for discussion later. It may be remarked in passing that it is plainly unfair and misleading to include, as is often done, the figures of the Scottish Wholesale Society in statistics of "Productive Co-operation." As "Labour Co-partnership" says in the number already quoted :—

The S.C.W.S. is not a producers' society, such as the great majority of our societies are; it is not even a consumers' society formed expressly for some branch of production, as the minority of our Societies are. It stands alone as a great consumers' society, formed primarily for distribution, but having also taken up certain branches of production, and having admitted its workers to co-partnership under very special conditions.

Attempts to restrict the operations of the English Wholesale Society or to bring it into some kind of partnership with the independent productive societies have also been numerous, noteworthy discussions having taken place at the Congresses of 1891 and 1892. On the former occasion Mr. W. Harrison read an interesting paper, in which, assuming that the Wholesale Society would retain the bulk of the Stores' trade, he urged the productive societies "to turn their attention to the non-Co-operative field, the general and the export markets," and to establish a Co-operative Merchants' Society or federation of productive societies to undertake

PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION : ITS PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

the marketing of their goods. The registration of such a society, "The Associated Manufacturers Limited," was announced to the Congress of 1900, but information as to its progress is not forthcoming. And it may simply be said that if the societies had tried to confine themselves to the outside market few of them would have remained out of the Bankruptcy Court. Mr. J. Deans, in 1892, took up the same subject, and proposed—

(1) That the Wholesale Societies shall refrain from entering into the manufacture of articles that are being manufactured by any productive society which is acknowledged by the Co-operative Union to be conducted on what are really Co-operative principles, and they shall also agree to take their entire supply of such goods as these productive societies produce, provided that the societies that are their customers can be persuaded that in style, quality, and cost the goods thus produced are equal to what are offered by private firms. (2) That in the event of either of the Wholesale Societies agreeing to manufacture a class of goods already being manufactured by a productive society, they shall, before taking any action to manufacture the same class of work, make a generous offer to such productive society to purchase the plant of the concern at a valuation. (3) That in no case where the workers were entitled by rule, and hitherto had received a share of the surplus profits, should they be deprived through a change of proprietorship, brought about in this way, from still participating in such a share of the surplus profits. (4) That the productive societies on their part shall agree to withdraw their travellers from calling with their goods on, and shall take no part in the distribution of their goods to, the societies who are members of the Wholesale Societies.

Disputes were to be settled by arbitration of the Co-operative Union, and a federation was to be formed of the Wholesales and the productive societies "whose principal functions will be to devise and direct the efforts of members of the federation to overcome such obstacles as may prevent them from securing a share of the trade of home and foreign markets." These suggestions were accepted by neither side. Mr. E. O. Greening said "it was impossible to follow Mr. Deans' advice," and Mr. Holyoake declared that "if Co-operators permitted the formation of a Co-operative monopoly in which distribution was to control production there would be an end altogether to that greater part of Co-operation which represents the interests of labour. Not only did Mr. Deans propose that productive Co-operation should become a monopoly, but he proposed that some body should be formed in London or Manchester to control Co-operative production." Mr. W. Maxwell, the Chairman of the Scottish Wholesale Society, and therefore a believer in profit sharing, in supporting Mr. Deans, gave some useful testimony in support of the criticism several times made in this paper that the productive societies are part of a competitive system. He said:—

The Scottish Wholesale divided among its employés no less than 22 per cent. of the net profits. Who were their competitors? People who believed in profit sharing, Mr. Greening's friends of the "Eagle Brand," who came into

PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION : ITS PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

Scotland with maudlin sentiments about profit sharing in order to get the custom of the Stores. . . . The productive societies that had come down to them with their maudlin sentimentalities about profit sharing were ruining the principle of Co-operation.

The subject was referred back for the preparation of a scheme, but the English Wholesale Society would have nothing to do with the matter at all. The difficulties of union were shown a little later when, in 1896, the Paisley Manufacturing Society cancelled their contract with the Scottish Wholesale because the latter had purchased the Ettrick Works. The essential point was that the Wholesale, being a national society, could not entertain any claim to monopoly on the part of a local society; on the other hand, there have been no difficulties between the English and Scottish Wholesale Societies, and when the Scottish Wholesale Society in 1896 undertook oatmeal milling the quarterly meeting decided not to make biscuits, since the United Baking Society, itself a federal body, was doing a national trade in that article. The Bristol Congress of 1893 reaffirmed "the principle of co-partnership of labour as an essential of industrial Co-operation and as the best mode to adopt to create a greater interest by the employes of the movement in its work and advancement; and that we earnestly urge upon all federal bodies to adopt a measure that shall be generous towards their employes." This was openly aimed at the English Wholesale, but the heart was really out of the fighting. Mr. Acland's warning in 1891 that the fervour of criticism had defeated its own object was bearing fruit, new views on economics were coming to the front, and Miss Potter's book was being widely read. An attempt at further action in 1894 ended in a deadlock, no one being able to count the votes. Conciliation was the order of the day in 1895, and a Joint Committee was appointed to search for harmony. The representatives of the United Board, Scottish Wholesale, and the Productive Federation agreed upon recommendations which were a remarkable declension from the old fervent gospel. The effective parts are:—

That in connection with all Co-operative enterprises, whether distributive or productive, there should be set apart some portion of the profits as they arise for the purpose of making some provision for the workers over and above such remuneration as they would receive in ordinary competitive workshops. That such portion of the profits may be used for the benefit of the workers, either (1) by way of increasing their remuneration; (2) by enabling them to become shareholders; (3) by providing superannuation or pensions in old age, under such conditions as the society concerned may fix from time to time.

The English Wholesale representatives declared:—

We contend for a just and generous treatment of employes, and that the benefits from Co-operation should accrue to them through the medium of the Store in like manner as the mass of Co-operators receive it who are not directly

PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION : ITS PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

employed in the movement. The Co-operative Wholesale Society being the creation of the Stores and their own institution, it is obviously the proper means by which they should be supplied with their requirements, and the Wholesale Society, therefore, should manufacture the goods wanted by its own members.

Decision was again postponed till 1897, a happy policy, for Mr. Hardern could announce in 1900 that both parties were ready to cease firing and to rest content to prove their theories by practice.

We thus find ourselves with labour co-partnership and consumer-controlled production confronting each other as they did at the beginning of this paper, all efforts at reconciliation having broken down by their own weakness. In the course of our survey we have also found that the profit-sharing bond of union conceals wide differences of principle and practice. Some co-partnership societies are under fixed Committees or managers, others prohibit their workmen from serving on Committees, others do not adopt the rule of one man one vote; these in strict terms should not be called Co-operative associations at all. We also find considerable difficulty in conceding the title to those societies which refuse to regard the consumer as entitled to a share in profit. Some manufacture solely for the open market like any private firm; they in no wise reduce competition, and are really modified joint-stock companies. Others again produce mainly for the Co-operative market, competing therein in varying degrees, and controlled by Stores to a greater or less extent. They tend to come more and more under the control of Stores, as they draw their new capital from that source. And, finally, we find the Scottish Wholesale and the United Baking Societies to be pure federal consumer-controlled societies modified only to a trivial degree by profit sharing. It remains for us to consider the nature of the fund, called "profits" in both cases, out of which capital, consumer, or labour draw their additional reward, and it will appear that in the case of the federal societies it is different in nature from what it is in the case of the individual productive societies, and that important consequences flow therefrom.

A number of exploded ideas borrowed from the old political economists have been utilised to obscure the real matters at issue in the controversy. Foremost among these is the false antithesis of "production" and "distribution" in industry. There is no essential difference in the operations performed on a commodity from its origination as raw material until it is handed over to the final consumer ready for consumption. All the workers are concerned in making it more available for use, in adding successive increments of utility. If, for example, we follow a loaf of bread from the agricultural labourer who sows and reaps the wheat to

PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION : ITS PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

the carter who takes the grain to the mill, the miller who grinds it, the railway-men who transport it to the bakehouse, the baker who bakes it, and the counterman or vanman who delivers it to the housewife—we trace a series of operations all essential, all involving the expenditure of fresh labour. All these necessary functions might conceivably be performed, and in some stages of society may be performed, by one individual, and according to theory he would be constantly passing from productive to non-productive labour as he produced or did not produce any physical alteration in the commodity. Yet to move goods from a place where they are not available to a place where they are available is as productive of utility as the causing of some physical change. Political economy as we understand it grew up in a period when England was being transformed by a great outburst of manufacturing activity. "Production" was the great fact of the time, the necessity of freeing it from legal and traditional restrictions was the greatest political need of the day; it is hardly to be wondered at that the bookmen should have elevated it to an eminence in theory which was quite unwarranted. When we recognise the essential identity between "production" and "distribution" we are forced to draw the inevitable conclusion that there is no logical reason for any difference of treatment of workers whether they are employed in the Store, the workshop, or the Wholesale Society. If it is essential that the employé in a workshop should be entitled to a share in profits and management solely in virtue of the labour which he contributes, that is equally true for the salesman in a Store or a workman in a Wholesale "productive" department, and the distinctions which give the share of management to the individual worker in the workshop and to a society of associated employés in the Store and Wholesale Society appear purely fanciful.

A more serious error is that which makes the producer and not the consumer the dominant figure in industry. Here Co-operators have sinned in good company, for it is only the most modern school of economists which has given due weight to the importance of consumption. To produce and to keep on producing appeared to be the ideal of some older economists. J. S. Mill said :—*

All labour is, in the language of political economy, unproductive, which ends in immediate enjoyment, without any increase of the accumulated stock of permanent means of enjoyment. And all labour, according to our present definition, must be classed as unproductive which terminates in a permanent benefit, however important, provided that an increase of material products forms no part of that benefit. The labour of saving a friend's life is not productive, unless the friend is a productive labourer, and produces more than he consumes.

* "Political Economy."—Book I., chap iii., sec. 4.

PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION : ITS PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

Such a philosophy, with its rigid verbal definitions, was peculiarly pleasing to the manufacturers, who inculcated it with Gradgrind-like ferocity. For the workman and the master life was to be one unending labour devoted to the production of material wealth. A manufacturing class imbued with this spirit has an unquestionable advantage in the world of competition, and will enrich not only itself but the community of which it forms part. Mr. Jeans* finds this true in the United States to-day. "The typical American," he says, "appears to live only to work, and to work at something that will be a life-long career of usefulness to himself as an individual, and to the community as interested in mechanical improvements and economies," and one result is that "in the United States it is every man for himself, and the result is often bad for the individual." In Britain to-day, thanks largely to the teachings of Carlyle and Ruskin, we have come to see that consumption is the really important thing in life, that what matters most is not how much we produce but the use which we make of the things we have produced. Ethically, therefore, the consumer transcends the producer.

Economically the accentuation of the producer implies an open market in which there is a ready sale for all products at a remunerative price. Every citizen, being equally figured as a producer, will be equally situated in the market, and in selling his produce will receive a reward exactly proportioned to his exertions. Some such notion as this seems to underlie any theory which bases life on production, but it is far removed from the conditions of the actual market. Unrestricted production means unfailingly a discrepancy between supply and demand. It is to the interest of each individual producer to produce to the utmost extent of his capacity, if by skill or luck he can sell all his goods, heedless of the fate of his fellow-producers. When all the suppliers of a market act in this way a glut, dislocation of trade, and commercial collapse follow. A century of experience has taught business men, statesmen, and economists alike that such unregulated competition spells disaster. Industry must be regulated, and is regulated, either in the interests of producers or consumers, either for a class or for the community. When manufacturers combine, as Professor Ashley says, "to lessen and, if it may be, avert altogether the disastrous and harassing effects of cut-throat competition," we have the Trust; when consumers combine we have the Co-operative Store, the municipality, the central government. It is not without significance that some advocates of labour co-partnership show

* "American Industrial Conditions and Competition." Reports of British Iron Trade Association.—London, 1902.

PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION: ITS PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

themselves as jealous of State or municipal trading as of production by Stores, and that they oppose their form of organisation to the "Socialistic" character of the Wholesale Societies. The nature of the components of a Trust matters little. Whether the constituent members are firms or joint-stock companies is of no importance, and a federation of labour co-partnerships dividing, say, the boot trade between them would be of essentially the same character. All alike would be organisations of producers formed to restrict competition primarily in the interests of the producers. Any differences in their working would be due, apart from State control, to the moral character of the components, and that varies among co-partnerships as among individual employers. And experience shows us that to rely for reform on the "moralisation of the employer" is to trust in a doubtful and fluctuating guarantee.

There is another difference between organisations of consumers and organisations of producers, which we may describe as political, since the former are democratic, the latter oligarchical. This is an inevitable result of the modern stratification of society. To quote Mr. Tweddell's most admirable Congress Address of 1894:—

The consumers of any article are always in a large and ever-increasing majority; the producers of it in a small, ever-diminishing minority. One hundred and twenty-four men employed in Dunston Mill are able to produce 5,000 sacks of flour per week, enough to supply a population of 200,000 people; 1,600 workers, including men, women, girls, and boys, engaged at Leicester Shoe Works will supply 300,000 individuals with boots at the rate of four pairs each in the year.

Every day sees the disproportion between producers and consumers becoming greater. To-day about one hundred and eighty men in Dunston mill turn out 8,250 sacks of flour weekly, or about six sacks more per man. In Leicester some twenty-four or twenty-five hundred workers make about 460,000 pairs of boots and shoes a quarter. Look through the trade papers or the factory inspectors' reports, and the all-conquering march of machinery is evident to the dullest. The industrial revolution which killed handwork and forced men to congregate into factory towns has not yet spent itself. Just as the size of businesses has increased and their number decreased so, too, in proportion to output, has the number of workers diminished. Mr. Jeans, in the report already quoted, says that in the United States in 1890 the output of pig-iron averaged 275 tons per man employed at the blast furnaces; in 1900 it had risen to 354 tons, and at the Duquesne works of the Carnegie Steel Company to about 1,300 tons per man in 1901. This one example may serve to show what is done in the steel industry of America by the wholesale application of machinery and electricity. Right at the other end of the industrial scale our own factory inspectors note the introduction of power-driven machinery

PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION: ITS PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

into dressmaking and millinery. In the cotton industry excellent reports are heard of the increased output per worker from the Northrop loom. The general result of this development is to make it easier for producers to combine, and in all industrial countries they are combining. In America and Germany the organisation of industry has gone a great way, in Britain it is advancing with rapid steps, in newer lands like Russia and Japan it is springing up. Economically these combinations are supreme; they can buy out or crush out opposition, their only limit is the dread of civil war or the fear of the political power of the consumer. Suppose these Trusts swept away and their place taken by Owen's "industrial companies" of trade unions, the situation would be essentially the same. The community would be economically subject to a series of trade oligarchies, each liable to the temptation to exact an undue toll from the mass of the population. That this fear is not fanciful is shown by the fact that the workmen of the Midlands have shown no hesitation in uniting with the employers into "Birmingham alliances," whereby the masters were assured of whatever percentage of profit on cost they chose to fix themselves and the men's wages rose with prices. Several times the South Wales miners have advocated limitation of the output in order to keep up prices and wages. It is the tritest of truisms that no class can be entrusted with uncontrolled power; it is the merest folly to put on human nature more than it can bear. Trusts have misused their power until they were beaten back by fear of the people. Working men have misused their power until confronted by the strength of the community. Had Robert Owen's dream been realised the nation would have had to take measures for its own protection—it would, that is to say, have had to control industry and production in the interests of the consumers.

Nor is the case altered if we figure to ourselves the industrial world organised in a system of federated co-partnerships. We would not have even the pure spirit of labour in which bygone leaders trusted so implicitly, but labour unequally yoked with capital. In the co-partnerships which exist to-day we find that capital—moralised, it is true, in some cases, but still capital—has the predominant power. Co-partnership leaders acknowledge that their hope of winning ground in the wider spheres of manufacture depends on the benevolence or self-interest of capital, on the adoption of schemes like that of the South Metropolitan Gas Company, where, for a share of the profits and an illusory and microscopic share of control, labour is tamed and fettered. With both partners in production—labourer and capitalist united—we still have a minority opposed to the consumer majority, and all the great and growing mass of workers who do not produce commodities

PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION : ITS PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

but render services left outside any organisation. Again we depend for safety solely on the moral character of the producing societies, and again we are reminded of some un-Co-operative traits in co-partnerships, which exist though blamed by their leaders. Again we would find the community compelled to organise in its own interests, again the consumers would have to use their power as citizens to control industry. It may seem fanciful to look so far ahead, but we are considering plans for the reform of the whole industrial world, and must, therefore, pay regard to ultimate consequences. The Co-operative Store is the only true democracy, for, with its lists ever open to new members, its only limit is the whole population. Although every consumer is or should be a producer, his interests as consumer are of a far wider economic range than his interests as producer, and if in one capacity he can hold the community at his mercy in all others he is at the mercy of other producers. We can easily imagine a condition of things in which the characteristic of industrial society would be a wild fight between the different classes of producers for the right of exploitation, those in the most necessary trades having the advantage. Even if such a nightmare were not realised, it is repugnant to the political instinct of an educated man that he should be economically defenceless before an oligarchy of producers, however intelligent or benevolent. If it lessens the dignity and independence of a man to have no voice in the management of the business in which he is employed, it is at least as objectionable to be compelled to accept the prices fixed by producers for the necessities or luxuries of life. In the latter case far more than in the former the whole character of a man's life is determined by outside powers. This is the strongest objection to the Trust, and the Co-operative Store escapes from it at the beginning by founding itself on the broadest possible basis.

Robert Owen, in attacking society as he found it, hit straight at its central feature—profit. Declaring that profit could only exist when the demand for goods equalled or exceeded the supply, he sought to establish a state of society in which supply should exceed demand. Then it would no longer be possible for the strong to oppress the weak, profit and all its moral evils would cease to exist. "A profit on price for individual gain," he said, "brings into action all the lower passion of human nature." The Co-operative Store alone among modern institutions, except such trading or manufacture as is carried on by the State or municipality, has made any approach towards the realisation of Robert Owen's ideal. Profit exists only when the producer of a commodity sells it to an independent person at a price exceeding the cost of manufacture. If a person makes an article for himself for less

PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION : ITS PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

than he could have bought it in a shop he saves money, but he makes no profit. He may make a pair of shoes for ten shillings and enter them in his books at the market price of fifteen shillings, but that does not create a profit. He may lock the surplus away in a box for six months and then pay it out to himself, but still it is not profit. If he employs a man at the ordinary market wages to make the article which he then consumes he may save on the market price, but he will make no profit. Again, he may buy an article from the manufacturer and so save the profits of the middleman and the retailer, but he makes no profit for himself. If two, twenty, or two thousand men unite to do the same thing the truth of the analysis is not disturbed. All this to-day sounds the merest platitude, but the importance of its bearing on the Co-operative movement was not recognised until Miss Potter's brilliant book appeared and revolutionised economic thought in this respect. A number of men and women combine together and start a Co-operative Store, agreeing for reasons of convenience to sell their goods to one another at the ordinary shopkeepers' prices and to divide the surplus later in proportion to their purchases under the name of dividend. They save the retailer's profit and obtain their goods at what they would have cost the shopkeeper plus the expenses of distribution; they save the surplus, but they make no commercial profit. If a number of Stores combine together to establish a wholesale agency for purchasing directly from the manufacturer or producer they save all middle profits, but make no profit for themselves. The net result is the same as if they sold their goods at once at cost price, as, indeed, the English Wholesale Society did at first until it was compelled to desist through difficulties of accounting. If a Store establishes a productive department, or if a number of Stores do the same thing through their Wholesale Society, a further series of profits, the manufacturers', are saved, but economically the case is the same as if they made the goods themselves—there is no profit. We may go right back to the extraction of the raw materials, as a Store does with its vegetable garden or dairy farm or the Wholesale Societies with the tea plantations they have recently purchased, but no profit anywhere arises. Everywhere we get back to original cost, everywhere profit is saved, the ultimate distribution of dividends brings about the same result as if the goods had been sold in the bulk at their cost price.

To talk, as labour co-partnership advocates habitually do, as if profit sharing in the case of a Co-operative Store were the same thing as profit sharing in an ordinary business is a mischievous confusion of things essentially different. The Scottish Wholesale Society and the United Baking Society have no profits to distribute,

PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION : ITS PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

only a surplus produced by an arbitrarily determined price. What they give to their workers is wages, and wages only, one part being determined in a clumsy and illogical fashion. The folly of the talk about the profits of Co-operative business is well shown by those societies which raise their prices above the market rate in order to produce a larger dividend. Just so might our man who made the pair of boots for himself charge himself a price of fifty shillings and so claim to have made a profit of 400 per cent. Similarly with "productive" societies which are controlled by shareholding Co-operative Stores to whom they sell all their product—the workers get an artificially high wage, but there is no commercial profit. When we come to productive societies which dispose of all or part of their goods in the open market, like the Sheep Shear Society, we come to an entirely different class. Here there is no distribution of surplus or "profit" bringing the cost to the consumer back to the cost of production; we are dealing with an ordinary commercial business making profit out of its customers in the usual way. This is the essential, ineradicable difference between the Store and the co-partnership, which is only loosely hidden by the common feature that both are associations mainly of working men. Co-partnerships live by making profit; Co-operative Stores can never produce a profit. On the other hand, there is no essential difference between a co-partnership and any other profit-making concern. Indeed, if the working-class shareholders in the "Oldham Co-ops." chose to work in their own mills they would have a far greater control over their own labour than the workers in an ordinary co-partnership have.

The claim for a share in profits in a Co-operative Store is simply a claim that higher wages should be paid, a claim which in itself is always justified, since Co-operative Societies should lead, and generally have led, the industrial world in the treatment of labour. But if higher wages are paid they should be paid in the simplest and most straightforward way, unencumbered by faulty economics or false philosophy. The claim for a share in management touches the most delicate question of modern business—the proper management of the factory or workshop. Workmen have an unquestionable claim to an equal voice in the arrangement of wages, hours, and conditions of labour, and this they can obtain through collective agreements negotiated by their trade unions. The nature and methods of work, the selection of workmen for particular jobs, the introduction of machinery, and the sale of goods—these must always remain matters for the managing authorities. To give the workmen a voice in these questions would be to put all industry at the mercy of the vested interests of the shop. These problems remain the same in a Co-operative

PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION : ITS PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

workshop if, indeed, they are not greater, since there is in every grade and kind of employment a large number of people who think that they need not exert themselves so much for a collective employer—whether that be the State, a municipality, or a Co-operative Society—as for a private employer. So far as we can at present see the interests of industry will be best consulted by keeping the departments of labour and management quite separate. The position of the Co-operative employé closely resembles that of a State or municipal servant. A public servant, whether clerk or dockyard operative or municipal employé, has no voice in the management of his office or workshop, he must do what he is told; but, though he cannot sit in Parliament or on the Town Council, he has a vote, and therewith a voice in the selection of his masters, and through his representatives can make his grievances known. A Co-operative employé who is a member of a Store is similarly disqualified from serving on the Managing Committee, but he has a vote in the selection of that Committee, and can bring forward complaints or proposals at the half-yearly or quarterly meetings. Here is an element of control and independence not possessed by the employé of a private firm, which gives the Co-operative employé, if he is a Store member, a dignity possessed by no other worker. It is said that to make the reward of the worker partly dependent on profit brings him into contact with the broader questions of industry, and makes him see that profit is governed by other factors besides labour. Of this there is no special need, for the fluctuations of employment bring home to every intelligent workman the fact that there are other elements in industry and commerce besides his labour, and the growth of advanced political and economic thought shows that workers in their capacity as citizens appreciate that fact.

At the bottom whether we prefer the Co-operative or the co-partnership system of industry depends upon whether we are inclined towards collective or individualist control. It is at least a remarkable coincidence that, while a good many co-partnery advocates oppose their movement to the control of industry by the State or municipality, Co-operative leaders constantly use the language of Socialists in speaking of their hopes. Thus Mr. J. T. W. Mitchell, in his address to the Congress of 1892, said :—

My desire is that the profits of all trade, all industry, all distribution, all commerce, all importation, all banking and money dealing, should fall back again into the hands of the whole people. If Co-operators will manage their business in such a way as to concentrate all their trade in one channel I am certain that this can be accomplished.

Perhaps this is expecting from Co-operation a little more than it is able to perform, but the adherents of co-partnerships are never

PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION : ITS PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

weary of pointing out that the Co-operative State when realised would not differ from the Socialist State. In this they are right. Imagine all the inhabitants of Oldham members of the Co-operative Store, in whose shops all the retail trade of the town was carried on, and in whose productive departments all the manufacture was conducted. There is no essential difference between such a state of things and one in which all trade and manufacture was municipalised. In the one case all the citizens would as Store members elect a Store Committee as governing body; in the other these very same people would for the same purpose elect a Town Council—that is all.

It is of more importance to point out that the efficiency of Co-operation depends upon its meeting the defects of competition on collectivist principles. Competition as a principle of industrial organisation fails because of its incapacity to equate supply to demand. To-day there is but one market for commodities, and it is open to all the producers in the world. No one producer can form any reliable estimate of what the demand for his product is likely to be, and just as little can he forecast what his competitors are going to do to meet that demand. More or less blindly he must produce up to the limit of his capacity, hoping to place his goods on the market at a price which will enable him to dispose of them all. Whether the demand is adequately met, or whether his competitors are ruined, is of no concern to him, except, indeed, that it is to his interest that demand should always outstrip supply, for then he can get a higher scarcity-price. Trade under such circumstances has cycles of prosperity and adversity; when good profits are made fresh competitors spring up, the output increases, somewhere or other in the productive series there is before long over-production, and a glut of goods chokes up the avenues of distribution. Then comes a commercial crisis and trade depression until the unnecessary producers are squeezed out and trade once more revives. Co-partnerships, whether of ordinary firms admitting their employes to a share of profits and control or of associations of working men, cannot, so far as they sell to the open market, resist this trade tendency; on the contrary, every new co-partnership stimulates competition. When, on the other hand, production is carried on by a Co-operative Store or federation of Co-operative Stores, competition is excluded. Production is no longer speculative, but based on the accurate ascertainment of the demands of the customers of the Stores. Supply is equated to demand, for no advantage can arise from an inadequate supply. The Co-operative market is a part of the world market walled in and protected from the tide of competition; there can be neither depression nor glut nor over-production in it. These remarks apply only in their

PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION : ITS PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

fulness to a Store whose members are faithful to their principles and purchase only goods made in their own productive departments or by the Wholesale or other federal societies. When a Store deals largely in outside goods competition is readmitted with its evils, Co-operative development is hampered, and there is great need for Co-operative missionary effort among the members. But in so far as these remarks do apply the Co-operative Store is an anticipation of the Socialist State. Robert Owen sought to secure the blessings of Socialism for small, self-centred communities; the Labour Co-partnership advocates aim at greater advantages for select bodies of associated capitalists and workers. But the Co-operative Stores socialise those branches of production which concern them, and spread the advantage over all their members; instead of all Socialism for a few, or all Capitalism for a few, their motto is some Socialism for all.

One word must be said with regard to profit sharing as a means of securing a higher reward for the worker. Where it is used to detach workers from their trade union or as a substitute for a living wage it merits only condemnation, and time need not be wasted in discussing it. But even in its best forms it presents few attractions to the worker. The capitalist who introduces a profit-sharing scheme does not give his employes something for nothing, but rather intends to get something for nothing. The workers are expected to show greater interest, intelligence, and assiduity in their work, and very seldom do they get all the extra produce or all of what they save to their employer. Mr. Sedley Taylor, in his address on "Profit Sharing" to the Co-operative Congress of 1884, frankly said :—

We have here reached the foundation on which profit sharing, considered from a purely economic point of view, is based—the fact, namely, that it has at command potential energies capable of opening an entirely new source of profits, and so of independently creating its own fund. From this we see at once that an employer who introduces the system is under no necessity of lowering the rate of profits which he has previously been obtaining. He has only to arrange matters in such wise that the share allotted to his employes shall represent no more than the surplus brought in by their improved work.

Now for a certain expenditure of energy the worker gets a certain reward in wages; for a certain further expenditure of energy he is to get an additional reward in a share of profit, which must be less than he would get for that expenditure if he were paid in wages, else there would be no advantage to the employer. All over, therefore, he is paid at less than the trade union rate and is unwittingly a "blackleg." The instinct of the trade unions which led them to oppose profit sharing was fully justified. Of course, if the worker is a shareholder he will get back part of his loss, but only a small part. It is, further, plain that the share of profits is

PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION : ITS PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

a reward for labour, and therefore wages, deferred wages calculated in a special way; there is no "magic of property" in it for the worker, he is still a wage-paid labourer. What is worse is that he is called upon for the extra exertion without any guarantee that he will get the reward, for matters beyond his control—an unskilful manager or a crisis in some foreign market—may destroy the profits. According to Board of Trade figures 195 schemes whereby a definite prearranged share of profits has been allotted to workpeople in addition to wages have been started in Great Britain and the British Colonies between 1829 and June 30th, 1902. Of these 107 have ceased to exist, 72 are still in operation, and particulars cannot be obtained about 16. This particular movement cannot be regarded as a success. There are other means whereby the energies of workpeople can be fully elicited, and a high rate of ordinary wages is the basis of them all. After that is secured a bonus on output or a premium on speed may be given, so long as the average worker is not oppressed for the benefit of the speedy. When there is a strong trade union a scientifically ascertained piece wage with a high minimum is as good a form of remuneration as can be found.

So far we have dealt with the analysis of the economics and philosophy of Co-operation and Co-partnership, and shown that there is no foundation for the attacks on the Wholesale Societies or for the eulogies of co-partnership as an alternative scheme for the redemption of labour. It remains for us to consider the question briefly from the point of view of the distribution of material forces in the industrial world. The labour co-partnerships are all small; the largest of them is a tiny dot compared with large business firms. Their growth is slow, so slow that, as one of their supporters, the Hon. T. A. Brassey, says,* "for complicated industries, which have to compete with the whole world, I think we shall have to look for the development of co-partnership principles on other lines." These lines are laid down in Mr. Aneurin Williams's pamphlet "The Better Way," and are, briefly, that the large industrial undertakings should take their workpeople into partnership in something like the way adopted by the United Baking Society or the South Metropolitan Gas Company. Whatever merits such a proposal may have it offers no obstacle to the amalgamation of separate businesses into large combinations which is now proceeding on all sides and in all countries, and it may be noted that the profit-sharing schemes in force in the firms of W. D.

* "Can Labour Co-partnership Furnish a Satisfactory Solution of Industrial Problems?"—Labour Association, 1900.

PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION : ITS PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

and H. O. Wills Limited, and Franklyn, Davey, and Company, came to an end when these firms entered the Imperial Tobacco Company. The predominant power still remains with the capitalists. Two ways of dealing with the "Trusts" present themselves—the extension of State control and the development of Co-operation. For the former we must wait until public opinion is much further educated than is the case to-day; the latter is a force in actual operation. It must be remembered that under the term "Trust" or private monopoly we must include not only permanent amalgamations on a large scale but also temporary associations of manufacturers and retailers for the purpose of fixing and maintaining prices and large firms exercising a commanding influence in the market. With both of these Co-operative Stores and the Wholesale Societies have already tried conclusions. Local associations of bakers and grain millers are familiar institutions in all large towns, and their periodical meetings for the regulation of prices within their districts are habitually recorded in the newspapers. In every active Co-operative centre there is a vivid memory of a struggle between the Stores and the local bakers respecting the price of bread, and the Co-operative loaf sold at a reasonable price, below the bakers' rate, has been perhaps the most fertile missionary of the movement. Most of the Co-operative corn mills were started to provide relief from the extortions of the millers, and the fight between the Dunston Mill and the "flour ring," in which the popular institution won at immense cost, is one of the proudest recollections of the Co-operator. The Co-operative boycott and the fight against the butchers' associations in Scotland are memories of the immediate past.

The policy of the grocery trade to-day is to persuade the manufacturers to join with the retailers in fixing for all proprietary goods minimum retail prices which will give the retailer a profit of not less than 15 per cent. on sales, and in several instances they have been successful. That this practice is likely to spread may be seen by the following letter from Messrs. Cadbury, quoted in *The Grocer* of January 11th, 1902:—

When the time comes that the grocery fraternity will unite in fixing price limits that will leave a substantial margin of profit it will be to the mutual advantage of both the trade and ourselves, and we should gladly do our share to support such an action.

The struggle which has been begun at St. Helens by a union of 170 shopkeepers who have declared a boycott of the Co-operators at the suggestion of the local Grocers' Association shows how little sympathy that trade has with Co-operation. It is, therefore, not a matter for surprise that the manufacturers have been dragged in to their assistance. The Mazawattee Company has lately put a

PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION: ITS PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

new cocoa on the market, and the following letter, also from the number of *The Grocer* just quoted, shows the methods by which they seek to commend themselves to the grocers:—

Whilst I am exceedingly pleased that your association agrees with the circular which has been sent out *re* our not supplying our cocoa to Co-operative Societies in places where there are grocers' associations and where the members of these associations promise to keep our goods to the front and not to cut the prices below those distinctly marked on the tins, I regret being unable to go so far as to say we will not supply Co-operative Stores in any part of the kingdom.

I would add that we have given our word not to supply the Wholesale Co-operative Society, and also to stop the supplies of any local wholesale firm who may supply indirectly the Co-operative Stores about which we have pledged ourselves down to associations.

Co-operators can rest undisturbed by such tyrannical manœuvres. Whatever outsiders may suffer from a rise in the price of groceries, the member of a Store is as secure as he is in the case of bread. If supplies are cut off that is a matter of little consequence, for the Wholesale Societies manufacture cocoa and a variety of other groceries, and obtain tea and other articles from sources which the trade associations cannot reach. They can increase their output of these goods and undertake the production of others just in proportion as the demand from the Stores increases, and loyal Co-operators should offer them the best of inducements to do so—the compulsion of demand. Even should a large Trust, say the Imperial Tobacco Company, enter into the fray the Co-operator can enjoy the fragrant pipe none the less while the tobacco factories at Manchester and Shieldhall produce their excellent Co-operative mixture.

The strength of the Wholesale Societies lies in their immense and growing capital and their large and secure market. With the former they put themselves in the same line with modern giants of commerce; in the latter they possess an advantage shared by no other industrial institution. They can easily endure a loss which would ruin many a large firm, while no co-partnership could have survived the loss made by the Dunston Mill in its fight with the "ring." To-day the industrial battle is with the strong, and while the Trusts are gathering for the conquest of the commercial world we cannot wait for the slow growth of co-partnerships. The Batley Manufacturing Company and the Lancashire and Yorkshire Productive Society failed as "productive societies" to survive the stress of competition; they were taken over by the English Wholesale Society, and since then have been carried on with great success. It would be foolish to neglect the evidence of the growth of the Wholesale Societies, that the principles on which they have been conducted are sound, that success lies in manufacturing for an assured demand. That is the central feature of Wholesale

PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION : ITS PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

production, with which vagaries of profit sharing have nothing to do. The theoretical advantages of giving employes a share in profits and in management we have shown to be unfounded, and the share in management actually conceded to be infinitesimal. The Co-operative employé will find his elevation most surely by becoming a member of his Store and his trade union, and by the wise exercise of his powers as a citizen. The inherent defects of the small capitalist system are well exemplified by the building trade, which is often declared to be the most suitable ground for co-partnerships. The present house famine in Berlin is largely due to the fact that the small builders, who form the vast majority of the trade there, have proved themselves unable to bear the increased burden of the rise in the price of materials, in wages, and in interest.*

Co-operators, however ardent, cannot hope to include all production within their activities. The great bulk of the iron, steel, and chemical industries, for instance, are quite outside the lines of their development. Their first function is the distribution of the goods required for family consumption, their next the immediate processes of manufacture necessary for the preparation of such goods. The remoter processes of manufacture are only likely to be taken up under the stress of special circumstances. This is far short of Robert Owen's dreams, but the supply of food, clothing, and furniture is no small or unimportant part of the people's needs, and to extend the work of Co-operation to embrace all that production is a development we can scarcely dare to hope to see in our time. The Wholesale Societies have made an excellent beginning, but it is only a beginning compared with the work which lies before them. Every day sees a fresh portion of territory acquired, and with that extension come fresh problems. Already the labour has proved too much for the original Committee, and just as the democratic form of representative government through a Committee was naturally assumed by our democratic "State within a State," so to-day the democratic device of devolution of powers to District Committees is being adopted as pressure of business demands. Inside the federation of Stores is arising a federation of Committees, all subject in the long run to the great democracy of Store members. In the natural growth of this form of organisation we may see another proof of the soundness of the Wholesale movement. The success of Co-operation as of every form of business depends on management, and the growth of the Wholesale Societies will depend on their ability to equip themselves with a detailed form of administration capable of

* "Soziale Praxis," p. 1,139. July 31st, 1902.

PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION : ITS PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

coping with the new problems. There is no reason to be alarmed at the magnitude of the undertaking. The United States Steel Corporation manufactures a vast range of commodities, from barbed wire to iron bridges, and has a capital of £276,000,000, but it is controlled by 24 directors. This is made possible by an admirable system of devolution, by regular conferences of managers, and by excellent statistical and intelligence departments. The Calico Printers' Association, with £8,200,000 capital, will in future be governed by six directors with seven advisory committees of the leading branch officials to deal with the chief departments of the business—stores, selling, &c. ; to these an eighth of workmen might be added. From instances like these hints may be obtained as to the proper organisation of a large and diversified business. Success will turn on the proper application of three principles—concentration of responsibility, devolution of details upon subordinates, keeping the supreme managers free to deal with large problems only. In a word, we want commercial statesmen, not shopkeepers. One final point: if the Co-operative movement is to become really great in manufacturing, Co-operators must be prepared to pay for it. They have no right to exploit the Co-operative enthusiasm of individuals, as they often do at present. Heads of departments, directors, and leading officials need not be paid fortunes, but if they are not paid good salaries for highly-skilled and responsible work a sufficient number of the best brains will gravitate to private trade and Co-operation will have no chance of becoming a dominant force in industry. Brains deserve a living wage as much as labour; great brains command a scarcity wage as much as skill.



Social Movements and Reforms of the Nineteenth Century.

BY GEORGE H. WOOD, F.S.S.



THE opening of the nineteenth century saw, in Great Britain, an economic revolution in progress which shook old social arrangements to the roots, and in rude and sudden violence brought into being the modern proletariat. Distinct from, but the underlying cause of, all the subsequent changes in our social and economic conditions, the "Industrial Revolution" was the most important event that has ever happened in the nation's history, and in the misery and degradation of the wage-earning classes consequent upon a too sudden uprooting of habits and customs is to be found the spring from which flowed the greatest social movements and reforms of the century. These movements and reforms have been many and diverse in their immediate aims and methods, but underlying them all has been the broad idea of a fuller and better life for the wage-earning classes. In the following essay only a few of the movements will be noticed (an attempt to *mention all* the most important would resolve itself into a mere chronology), and even these few will not be traced with great detail. The central idea of the paper is to show how in all the social movements of the past the ultimate aim has been to raise the standard of life and well-being, and to remove injustice and the predominance of class feeling and class prejudice.

Yet nearly the earliest, and certainly one of the most important reforms of the century was not the result of any organised and widespread movement, but the work of two men who, if they had never done anything else for "industrial democracy," deserve to live for ever in our memories, and to receive our enduring gratitude. The two men were Francis Place and Joseph Hume, and the reform they won for the workers was the repeal of the Combination Laws.

The Combination Laws went back, so far as certain trades were concerned, to very early in the eighteenth century, but, though designed to do so, did not put down combinations. Many applied to masters as well as to men, but though the men were summoned and punished, and with the help of a judge-interpreted common

law "a master who had a quarrel with his journeymen" was enabled to "punish them with the most abominable tyranny,"* we find no record of the employers being punished for combining to enforce reductions of wages. Adam Smith says: "The masters are always, and everywhere, in a sort of tacit, but constant and uniform, combination not to raise wages above their actual rate," and, though this was probably only a shrewd guess on the part of the great founder of economic science, there is ample evidence of the existence† of combinations of masters which were allowed to remain unmolested while the combinations of workmen for the protection of their standard of life were put down rigorously. But the early Combination Laws were only partial in their operation, and in 1799 and 1800 laws were passed which forbade any combinations of workmen.

It is curious how some Acts which produced far-reaching consequences have been passed in haste and secrecy without the Legislature realising what the consequences would be. The Combination Laws afford two illustrations of this. They were passed hurriedly through Parliament, and there is no account of any debates on either the Act of 1799 or the supplementary and reaffirming Act of 1800, neither are they referred to in the Annual Register.‡ As we shall see, the repeal of these laws was also carried through in a somewhat similar manner.

The consequences of these Acts were disastrous to the workmen. At a time when the prices of bread and other necessities were rising rapidly, and the standard of life was being degraded, they were forbidden the one means whereby they might have arrested part of the fall. The Acts were stringently enforced, and there are numerous cases recorded of imprisonment for joining a union or taking part in a strike. "Justice," wrote Place, "was entirely out of the question. Working men could seldom obtain a hearing before a magistrate—never without impatience and insult—and never could they calculate on even an approximation to a rational conclusion."§ Yet this stringency failed to put down the unions, and many existed among the artisans of the metropolis and other towns.¶ In the Lancashire and Yorkshire textile districts these combinations were of a secret nature, with oaths of secrecy and

* Wallas' "Life of Place," p. 197.

† See S. J. Chapman's "An Historical Account of Masters' Associations in the Cotton Industry." Manchester, 1900.

‡ Stephen's "History of the Criminal Law," Vol. III., p. 208; Webb's "History of Trade Unionism," p. 63.

§ Place's MSS., quoted Wallas, p. 198.

¶ See the "Report of the Social Science Association on Trade Societies and Strikes." 1860.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND REFORMS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

long initiation ceremonies, but in the towns those of the artisans were more thorough and businesslike, and had more complete control over the conditions under which they worked.

Francis Place, when working as a breeches maker, had, at an early age, become connected with the London combination in his trade, and, as the secretary of the union and leader of a strike, was victimised by the employers. At various times he helped to form unions in different trades, and assisted, when he could, those who were victimised for their connection with them. But what brought more clearly before him the injustice of the laws was the case of the *Times* compositors in 1810. They were "prosecuted for the crime of belonging to a combination and taking part in a strike," and were sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from nine months to two years. The pronouncement of the judge, Sir John Silvester, was worthy the ferocity of Judge Jefferies, and one can hardly believe that it was made less than a hundred years ago in a British Court of Justice. It ran :—*

Prisoners, you have been convicted of a most wicked conspiracy to injure the most vital interests of those very employers who gave you bread, with intent to impede and injure them in their business; and, indeed, as far as in you lay, to effect their ruin. The frequency of such crimes among men in your class of life, and their mischievous and dangerous tendency to ruin the fortunes of those employers which a principle of gratitude and self-interest should induce you to support, demand of the law that a severe example should be made of those persons who shall be convicted of such daring and flagitious combinations, in defiance of public justice, and in violation of public order.

Place resolved that he would leave no effort unmade to obtain the repeal of the obnoxious laws, and his method was a marvel of patience, sagacity, and power of organisation and "wire-pulling." Never was so great a piece of political work carried through almost single-handed. While Cobbett and "Orator Hunt" were stirring the populace with their invectives against the governing classes, and their demands for parliamentary reform, Place quietly and steadily worked for the great end he had set himself to accomplish. He put himself in touch with the working people all over the country, and whenever there was a strike, or a prosecution for combining, he procured the particulars and preserved them for future use. After some years of study he had the thing at his finger ends, and then placing the material in the hands of Hume persuaded that member of Parliament to the advocacy of the repeal. In the meantime, instead of public meetings, resolutions, and petitions, Place utilised the press as far as possible for the conversion of public opinion. Every opportunity for drawing attention, by writing letters and articles, was seized. An important

* Wallas' "Life of Place," pp. 200-1.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND REFORMS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

convert was made in J. R. McCulloch (who received the material after Hume had read it), and he did good service by writing first some articles in the *Scotsman*, which he then edited, and later, when the time was ripe, an important article in the *Edinburgh Review*.

After much quiet work outside the House of Commons, the question of repealing the laws began to be discussed among the group of Parliamentary Radicals of whom Hume was the leader. The movement was somewhat precipitated by the action of Peter Moore, M.P. for Coventry, who introduced an elaborate Bill for repealing all the Combination Laws and substituting a complicated machinery for regulating piece-work and settling industrial disputes.* Baulked for the moment, for the Bill created much alarm, Hume did not know how to act, but he procured the appointment of a Select Committee in 1824, and proceeded to "pack" it. He was appointed Chairman, and Place, though not a member, was supplied by Hume's secretary with notes and minutes of evidence, prepared the workmen witnesses for examination, and suggested to Hume the questions which they were to be asked. Moore was placed upon the Committee with the intention of getting him outvoted, and this actually occurred. When the taking of evidence was completed, a series of resolutions was quietly passed, and three short Bills were introduced into Parliament. So quietly was the whole thing done that there was no discussion on the Bills, and few except their promoters knew what they were intended to do. Such few as did realise the situation, and were inclined to oppose the Bills, were talked over, and the three Acts—(a) 5 George IV., c. 95, an Act to repeal the laws relating to the combinations of workmen, and for other purposes mentioned therein; (b) 5 George IV., c. 96, an Act to consolidate and amend the laws relative to the arbitration of disputes between masters and workmen; (c) 5 George IV., c. 97, an Act to repeal the laws relative to artisans going abroad—were passed.†

The workmen, although they had rendered Place and Hume little assistance in obtaining the repeal of the laws, were not loth to take advantage of their liberty, and combinations sprang up all over the country. The year 1825 was marked by an inflation in the building and other trades,‡ and the workmen were able, by their combinations, to obtain in many cases considerable advances of wages. The employers became alarmed, especially the

* Webb's "History of Trade Unionism," p. 89.

† Wallas' "Life of Place," pp. 216-7.

‡ See the diagrams facing page 90 in A. L. Bowley's "Wages in the United Kingdom." Cambridge, 1900.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND REFORMS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

shipowners,* and tried to persuade Huskisson to bring about the re-enactment of the laws. Peel, too, was very keen against the men. Huskisson moved for, and obtained, the appointment of a Select Committee to consider the effect of the Act repealing the Combination Laws, in respect of the conduct of workmen and others, and "to report their opinion how far it may be necessary to amend or repeal the said Act.†

The intentions of the promoters of this Committee were that it should examine a few witnesses friendly to the re-enactment of the laws, and then report at once. But Hume, as Chairman of the previous Committee, could not be kept off this, and therein lay its promoters' undoing. The workmen had done little to obtain the right to combine, but, having found their liberty useful, were little inclined to lose it again. A fortunate holiday intervening between the sittings of the Committee gave Place time to marshal his forces, and the workmen were warned. In eager haste the delegates came to London, and stationed themselves at the doors of the Committee-rooms demanding to be heard, and to refute the evidence of the employers, which they had obtained through Place from Hume. After refusing for a time, the Committee were forced to examine some of the men, and, though the case for the repeal was not entirely won, the new Act (1825) differed little in the end from the previous one; and, although the punishments for intimidation were increased, combinations for the purpose of altering wages and hours of labour were declared legal.‡

Thus was won a great step towards working-class freedom. It was not so great a step as was first thought, for in one way and another the right of combination was opposed by the governing classes. The case of the Dorchester labourers (who were actually transported for administering illegal oaths because of some sentences in the initiation ceremony of the Union of which they were forming a branch) showed that tyranny and injustice to trade unionists was not yet a thing of the past, but even the moderate amount of legal privilege they enjoyed was a great boon to men who had been liable to imprisonment for merely leaving their work without notice. The right to collective bargaining was obtained, and this was the workers' "Magna Charta."

With the future history of the trade union movement we are not now concerned, but must take a retrospective glance at the rising of a movement which culminated in a reform more often mentioned by historians than the modest but far reaching one we have considered.

* There was a great seamen's strike in this year.

† Wallas' "Life of Place," p. 224.

‡ Wallas' "Life of Place," p. 226.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND REFORMS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

The Reform Bill was passed in 1832, but the Reform Movement began many years before. As a purely political measure, we should not need to trace the movement which procured it were it not for its intimate connection with the great social movement which succeeded it, namely, Chartism. Unless we understand the causes which led up to it the full meaning of Chartism does not appear, and instead of being, as it was, the last great effort of an oppressed people to obtain that for which they had been striving for many years, it appears as a mere hunger riot which died through its leaders being tempted off into side issues.

English Radicalism was born towards the end of the eighteenth century, the date being about the year 1780. In that year the Duke of Richmond introduced in the House of Lords a Bill to provide for adult suffrage and other reforms, and outside Parliament Cartwright and Horne Tooke were taking prominent parts in the work of the Society for Constitutional Information, of which the programme was as follows:—Annual Parliaments, Universal (Adult Male) Suffrage, Equal Voting Districts, Abolition of the Property Qualification for Membership of Parliament, Payment of Members of Parliament, Vote by Ballot.

When, fifty years after, the Working Men's Association drew up the programme which became the "People's Charter," the only new demand added to this list was that all elections should take place on one day.

The French Revolution caused this movement to come to a sudden end, for, although the British reformers hailed this event as the dawn of a new era in the world's history, war with the French came soon after, and any movement for reform became at first unpatriotic, and then, as the opponents grew in power, treasonable. A time of repression set in, and in 1795 the famous Pitt and Grenville Acts were passed. "By these Acts almost every possible form of agitation, or indeed of political action, was rendered illegal. At the same time Habeas Corpus was suspended, and many reformers were arrested and sent to prison without trial."* These dark days continued for upwards of twenty years, and it was not until the end of the wars on the Continent that reformers made any serious attempts to attain their desires.

Like most great social and reform movements the agitation revived during a time of depression. The misery of the people in 1816 was intense, and hunger riots were taking place on all hands. It was small wonder that at such a time the old yearnings for a share in the government should return, and the need for reform had increased, rather than decreased, since the end of the previous

* Wallas' "Life of Place," p. 25.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND REFORMS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

century. The state of representation was so bad that one wonders not that reform should have been demanded, but that it could have been so long delayed. Of the 658 members of which the House of Commons was then composed 487 were returned by nomination (300 of these being nominated by peers), and only 171 were returned independent of nomination.* The war had added hundreds of millions to the National Debt, bringing it up to 861 millions, and the interest to 32½ millions annually, or 30s. per head, and the disbanded soldiers were seeking for work in an already depressed and overcrowded labour market. Hampden Clubs were formed all over the country, especially in the Yorkshire and Lancashire districts, with the only result that more repressive measures than ever were introduced. The "Gagging Acts" were passed in 1817, and between November 23rd and December 30th, 1819, the "Savage Parliament" passed the infamous "Six Acts," against delay of justice, against drilling, against blasphemy and sedition, for disarming, and imposing the fourpenny newspaper stamp.† How the reformers were treated will ever be remembered in the massacre of Peterloo in 1819, when for the simple act of meeting in the open-air to hear an address by "Orator Hunt" the people were charged, first by the Yeomanry, and then by the Hussars, to such effect that eleven were killed, and between four and five hundred were wounded.

Another long period of smouldering quiescence followed, and then followed the first successful Reform Movement of the century. This also was heralded in by a period of intense depression and rioting. Molesworth's description of the people at this time is worth reading in this connection. Referring to the cause of riotings he says:—‡

The simple fact was that wars, national debt, increase of population, corn laws, maladministration of the poor laws, and other legislation or hindrance of legislation had reduced the great mass of the people, and especially the agricultural labourers, to the verge of starvation and despair. They were going mad with misery; and in their madness they did mischief by which they themselves were sure to be the first and greatest sufferers.

In 1830 innumerable petitions were received by the House of Commons, and in 185 of these which this historian examined distress and depression were evidenced in every part of the kingdom and in every branch of industry.

The time was ripe for reform, and it could not, without danger of revolution, be delayed. The successful French Revolution of 1830, and the accession to the throne of William IV., who was

* Hone's "Political Register." May 14th, 1817.

† Wallas' "Life of Place," p. 148.

‡ Molesworth's History, Popular Edition, p. 29.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND REFORMS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

known to be favourable to reform, gave hope to its advocates in the country. The Duke of Wellington's Ministry was overthrown, and Earl Grey and the Whigs came in. At last, on March 31st, 1831, the long looked for measure was introduced by Lord John Russell. It provided for the disfranchisement of many rotten boroughs, and the enfranchisement of those large industrial towns which the Industrial Revolution had called into being. It extended the franchise, lessened the cost of elections, provided for each election to extend over only two days, and, by providing more polling stations, reduced the distance a voter would have to travel to record his vote to a maximum of fifteen miles. When, however, the second reading was moved it was carried by a majority of only one, and, this victory being in many respects worse than defeat, an appeal to the country was unavoidable.

Meanwhile, the out-of-doors agitation had continued with vigour, and petitions were pouring in to the House of Commons. The dissolution became the signal for a more thorough agitation than ever. Victory was in sight, and nothing gives heart to a body of reformers so much as to see the end of their labours. The work had been commenced and carried on for a long time by the middle-class Radicals, but now the working classes were led to join the movement in the hope that, once the franchise was extended to the middle and shopkeeping classes, they in their turn would help their late assistants to the attainment of a share in the government of the country. One important organisation, the "Rotundanists," stood aloof, and this was important because of the influence two of the members, Lovett and Hetherington, were able to exert. As a general rule, however, the demand for reform was unanimous so far as the workers were concerned. When the elections took place the reform party triumphed, and the Bill was reintroduced in June, 1831.

After all, the parliamentary battle had only begun. The divisions of the previous session were mere skirmishes, and in comparison there were now two great contests to be fought. The first, the Committee stage of the House of Commons, was won after hard struggles, and the Bill passed the third reading in September by a majority of 109. The second barrier seemed impassable, for the Lords were too acutely interested in the nomination of members of rotten boroughs to give up without a struggle. As was expected, they threw out the Bill, and the fight had to be fought all over again.

Having got so far, nothing could daunt the reformers, and they set to work with redoubled energy. No longer a question of "reform *versus* corruption," it was now "the Lords *versus* the people." Could the people win? They formed political unions all

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND REFORMS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

over the country, and, although in several places riotings and the destruction of property took place, on the whole the agitation was a peaceful and orderly one.

When Parliament met, the reconsideration of the question was almost the first business, and a Bill not greatly differing from the last was introduced by Lord John Russell on December 12th. The second reading passed, before Christmas, by a majority of 162—exactly two to one—and the Bill went into Committee immediately after the recess. On March 23rd, 1832, it was passed by an overwhelming majority, and then again rose the question, "What will the Lords do?" This time the answer was not a foregone conclusion, for they had been alarmed by the display of feeling against them in the previous year. Besides, a new suggestion, that the King should create sufficient peers to ensure the passing of the Bill if again rejected, had obtained considerable adherence among the Ministers, who hoped, however, that such extreme action would not be necessary.

The Lords changed their tactics. Instead of rejecting the measure at the second reading, they passed it by a majority of nine, the leaders of those who changed their votes intimating that they would endeavour "to amend the Bill" in Committee. So far the game was still in the hands of the Opposition, and they won a seemingly minor point when the order of procedure came into consideration. Earl Grey took this as an indication that the Bill would be so mutilated that the Government would not be able to accept it, and there was nothing left to him but to recommend to the King that more peers should be created. He accordingly went down to Windsor with a memorial from the Cabinet asking for the creation of fifty new peers. The King, however, had changed his mind on the whole question, and refused to grant the Cabinet's request. Earl Grey and the Ministers resigned, and then commenced the most exciting eleven days in the nation's history. The Duke of Wellington was sent for, and, after Sir Robert Peel had refused to try, undertook to form a Ministry and to pass a modified Reform Bill. He failed, and where he failed no Tory Minister could hope to succeed. The King became very unpopular. Cards with "*No Taxes Paid Here*" began to appear in the windows, and the people were agitating and preparing for revolution. All classes,* even the "Huntites," whose leader had opposed the measure in the Commons because it was not drastic enough, joined in the

* Place says that in several places the working men refused to join because they wanted "a revolution, in which they might gain and could not lose;" but they were a small minority, and generally in extreme poverty.—*Cf.* Wallas' "Life of Place," p. 280.

agitation. At Birmingham a meeting of 100,000 people was held, and they determined not to pay any more taxes, but to arm themselves. The soldiers sided with the people, and the newly-formed police were declared by their officers not to be relied upon to act against the people. The movement in the Midlands became a gigantic force, and a rising was actually planned, with military men as officers. But Place and other astute organisers, working in London, did not want a rising—they only wanted things to be sufficiently turbulent and riotous to keep the troops busy where they were, and to prevent them from being sent from one place to another. Plenty of rioting on a small scale, but no revolution, was the order of the day.

What was needed was to harass the Duke, so as to prevent him from succeeding in his endeavour to form an Administration of desperate men and proceed to put down the people by force, cost whatever it might. The unions met daily—nay, hourly—and at the London Union's meeting one of the most magnificent bluffs ever worked was decided upon. The idea was that if a run on the banks could be created a panic would ensue, and would bring the Duke to his senses. The Bank of England could not hold out long, and if it closed its doors there was an end for the time being to the credit system of the country. Would the organisers be justified in taking such a step? They argued thus: "We shall cause a panic if we do this, but we shall succeed in getting the Bill passed, and prevent a revolution. If we do not take this step the Duke will succeed in his intention of forming an Administration, and a panic will be just as certain, with the difference that nothing will prevent a revolution." After much deliberation, Place took the final step and drew up the famous placard, "*To Stop the Duke, Go for Gold.*" The move was almost instantaneously successful. The reformers got the posters printed and put up in the metropolis, and were about to despatch them to the provincial towns when it was announced that Wellington had failed, and that the King had sent for his old Ministers. Within three days over one million pounds had been withdrawn from the Bank of England.*

Thus was won the struggle between the people and the peers. The King had consented to the creation of as many new peers as were necessary for the passage of the Bill, but the permission was never used. The anti-reform peers gave up the contest, and the Bill passed its third reading in the House of Lords on June 7th, little over a month from the time the Duke gave up his attempt to defeat the people.

* Wallas' "Life of Place," ch. xi., is the main authority for the facts stated in this paragraph.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND REFORMS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

What had the people gained from the measure? If the truth be faced, they gained practically nothing, and in very few years Lovett and his friends saw how true had been their forecast that the middle classes only wanted the people's help for their own purposes, and that when their end had been obtained their old assistants would be discarded. The movement had done one great thing, however, for it had shown the people their power, and out of the ashes of the unions formed to agitate for the Reform Bill rose the Chartist movement.

What had they hoped to gain? The manufacturers of Lancashire and Yorkshire were making large profits while the people starved. Wages had fallen till they could fall no longer, and if ever the rich grew richer and the poor poorer it was then. The people believed that the first step to a better standard of life was the control of Parliament and taxation, and they also believed that through an extension of the franchise to include the middle classes this power would, in gratitude for their aid, be handed on to them. An indefinite desire for social reconstruction existed in the minds of the great mass of the people, and the Bill was supported by most because it was expected to hasten this reconstruction, and opposed by the "Rotundanists" because it would stave it off. As it happened, the "Rotundanists" were right.

The people's expectations of assistance from the middle classes who were enfranchised by the Reform Bill were not realised. It was soon found that Lovett and his friends had been right, and the chief thing the new Parliament did for the workers was to give them the doubtful benefit of the New Poor Law. The old agitation for reform was destined to recommence soon, and the time was hastened by the spread of the teachings of Owen, Hodgskin, and Thompson, that labour was the sole producer of wealth, and that the labourer was entitled to the whole produce of his labour. This doctrine was largely held by the leaders of the "Rotundanists," and it ultimately gave to the movement which followed a distinctly economic as well as political basis.

Trade for a while had been good, and while trade is brisk social movements do not usually flourish. A few ardent workers were teaching the London democracy that many reforms were still needed; an attempt at self-help was made in the great wave of trade unionism which came and went in 1833-34;* but for four years social politics were comparatively quiet. Then came an agitation for an unstamped press, in which the reformers were partly successful by forcing the Government to reduce the

* See Webb's "History of Trade Unionism," p. 114 ff. Robert Owen was intimately connected with this movement.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND REFORMS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

newspaper stamp to one penny, and it was out of the small association organised for this purpose that the great Chartist movement grew. An association, called "The Working Men's Association," was founded by Lovett, Cleave, Hetherington, Julian Harney, Vincent, and others, and in November, 1836, the famous programme of reform which has since been known as "The People's Charter" was drawn up and adopted.

The movement started as soon as the programme was ready.* The men who drafted the Charter were all adepts in the arts of popular agitation, and were perhaps the most capable body of working-men organisers that up to that time had ever led a democracy. All had suffered in some way for their parts in previous agitations, so that their democratic opinions were, in each, deeply rooted convictions, and not transient illusions. Further, nearly all were good speakers, and could rouse a gathering to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. Hetherington went all over the country forming Working Men's Associations, and Vincent went into the West of England and Wales on a lecturing tour which ended in his devoting himself to that district till the Chartist Movement ended.

No better time could have been selected for commencing the new agitation. A bad harvest and a commercial crisis in 1837 gave the organisers the opportunity they needed, and the people listened with willing ears to the message the Chartist emissaries brought them. Besides the new organisations which were formed, old associations were revived, notably the Birmingham Union, and in a few months the movement had grown above all anticipations.

The next step was the holding of a great convention. What was to be done was not quite clearly defined, but, looking at events over an interval of half a century, at this stage it is clear that the Charter was to be obtained by legitimate means. The use of physical force had not, so far, been mentioned. The main body of the Chartists had no votes, so almost the only large step possible was the petition. All the usual arts of public agitation are exhibited in the Chartist movement, newspapers, pamphlets, lectures, meetings, demonstrations, processions and conventions, petitions, and even riots, but the petition was the grand finale to many local attempts to influence the Legislature, as it was to the movement itself.

The convention was held in 1839, when a host of delegates met in London to consider the great petition which the Birmingham

* For the history of the Chartist Movement, see Gammage's History, and Rose's "The Rise of Democracy." Gammage's account is not entirely to be trusted, but his book contains the most details.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND REFORMS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

men had drawn up, and which Mr. Attwood ultimately presented to Parliament. The London association had excluded all but working men from active participation in its work, though some of the "Philosophical Radicals" in Parliament were originally concerned in drafting the Charter, and no less a man than O'Connell handed it to Lovett at a meeting, with the words, "There, Lovett, is your Charter, agitate for it, and never be content with anything less."* The provincial unions were wider in their membership, and many middle-class reformers were found in their ranks. O'Connor, originally an Irish politician, and assistant to O'Connell, saw a wider field for his activities in the English movement, and soon became a great force; Brontïerre O'Brien, the most logically minded of all the Chartist leaders; Joseph Rayner Stephens, a hard-working factory reformer; John Frost, a magistrate of Newport, and others of the middle classes were prominent in various parts of the country, and were elected at huge mass meetings as delegates to the convention. Ebenezer Elliot, a true poet, although dubbed the "Corn-law Rhymer," was connected with the movement in its early days.

The convention† had hardly opened its sittings when signs of a split were seen. So accustomed have we now become to peaceful methods of political agitation that it seems hard to realise that the Chartists wrecked their great movement by quarrelling over the question of moral *versus* physical force. Yet, not only was such the case, but the physical force Chartists soon won the day. All were unanimous as to the end they desired, but about the means to be employed there were grave differences of opinion.

After much vacillation and wasting of time by discussing such unnecessary topics as the New Poor Law and the Police, it was decided that the delegates should return to their constituents and report progress, and then reassemble in Birmingham. Scarcely had the convention reopened than it was decided to return to London. In the meantime, the great petition had been presented to Parliament, and the House had so far moved from its previous uncompromising attitude as to allow Messrs. Attwood and Fielden to address them respecting it. But a motion that the House should go into Committee was lost by 48 to 237 votes, and moral force Chartism came abruptly to an end.

The convention reassembled in London soon after, and ulterior means of obtaining the Charter were considered. Attwood and Fielden recommended more petitions, on the ground that the chief

* Gammage's "History of Chartism," p. 11. Edition of 1854.

† Gammage's "History of Chartism," ch. xxxiii.-xxxv.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND REFORMS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

objection to the House going into Committee on the previous one was that the petition had only 1,280,000 signatures, and was not an unanimous expression of the people's desire. But the advocates of physical force were in the ascendant, for the moral force section had been sadly weakened by defections and persecutions, and the remaining members were in no mood to petition a Parliament which had passed the adverse vote by such a large majority.

The most drastic of the ulterior means suggested for obtaining the Charter was that of a general strike. The idea was that, as the ruling classes would not consent to an extension of the franchise, the workers should refuse to work till that extension was conceded. A more impossible proposal could scarcely have been made at the time, for food was dear, employment was scarce, and wages were at the starvation level for all except the best skilled artisans. Distress reigned supreme, yet the distressed were to simultaneously give up their bare subsistence. Happily, the impossibility of the idea was seen at an early stage, for nothing but the collapse of the whole movement could come of it. In short, it spelt suicide.

About this time the Government awoke to the fact that the agitation was widespread, and that only drastic measures could put it down. The Ministers commenced to "hit back," and for some time trials for sedition, libel, and other similar offences were the order of the day. Scarcely one of the leaders of the movement escaped imprisonment, and in many instances the punishments were atrocious. Some were even transported, and a list of fines and imprisonments passed in two years would extend to many pages. The movement, depleted of its leaders, had apparently come to its end.

Unfortunately for the authorities, it was only the end of the first stage which had come, and the next stage was to be a far more difficult one to manage. While the old leaders were in prison, a few enthusiasts had met and started a new organisation, which was strengthened when, one by one, the leaders were released from prison. Many, however, were lost to the movement for ever. Lovett, for instance, came from prison full of an education scheme by which the rank and file were to be thoroughly educated before again demanding the adoption of the Charter. Several others had also new plans of their own, and where unity had been superficially possible before it became impossible now.

The idea of a universal strike had long been given up, but something approaching it occurred in 1842. If trade had been depressed and people ill-nourished before, this year seems to compete with 1848 for the position of the worst year of the century. Strikes were prevalent in the manufacturing districts,

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND REFORMS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

and the Chartists of Lancashire and Yorkshire used these strikes as a means to their end. From being trade strikes, these local affairs grew to be one large strike for the Charter.* The strikers marched from mill to mill, demanding that the employés should leave their work and join them. Some they turned out, others they forced into unemployment by withdrawing the plugs from the boilers. In many places there were riots, and it was from the plug removing that they got the name of "Plug Riots." Again the Government interfered, and it is asserted by Gammage that spies were actually employed to make riots and then turn "Queen's evidence." Contemporary evidence also indicates that this was done on the former occasion of the Newport riots.

The next five years are chiefly noticeable for the position of Feargus O'Connor in the movement. Practically speaking, Chartism was O'Connor, for nearly every man of talent and influence was driven out of the movement by his jealousy and treachery. O'Connor had proposed a land scheme, by which social regeneration was to come through the workers being associated as members of the Chartist Co-operative Land Society, in groups of houses with two acres of land each. The scheme was unsound, and would have failed if worked on the soundest and most economical plan, but O'Connor had little knowledge of the use of money, and it seems well proven that the subscriptions were applied to keep up his paper, *The Northern Star*, and to pay for conventions and meetings organised at his suggestion. O'Brien and many others adversely criticised the scheme, but O'Connor's influence kept it going for some time, when it came to a sudden collapse. Its critics, however, had to pay the penalty for their criticisms by having the most flagrant abuse heaped on them by O'Connor and his followers.

In 1847, however, the second part of the Chartist movement really lived. A general election took place, and O'Connor was returned for Nottingham. Friends and sympathisers were also returned, notably W. J. Fox for Oldham and Colonel Perronet Thompson for Bradford. The old hopes were revived, and another petition was decided upon. Not only so, but if the petition was not granted the next step was to be the application of physical force. The French Revolution of 1848 gave colour to the Chartists' hopes. If the people of France could revolt and win, why not the people of England? The Irish democrats made common cause with the Chartists, and the movement spread like wildfire. Chartist papers were started all over the country, large meetings

* Webb's "History of Trade Unionism," p. 158.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND REFORMS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

were held, and it seemed as if the whole populace were of one mind. A convention to arrange the petition was called, and met on April 4th, 1848. When the delegates reported on the positions in their respective districts, one after another declared that their constituents were prepared to move for the Charter at all hazards.* The plan resolved upon was that a demonstration should be held, and then that the delegates should proceed in a body to the House of Commons, at the head of a procession, and present the petition. The Government became alarmed, and resolved to prevent the carrying out of this plan. The demonstration on Kennington Common they would permit, but not the procession. London was quickly fortified, thousands of special constables were sworn, troops poured in from all quarters and were placed under the command of the Iron Duke, and cannon were placed in commanding positions.

When the morning of the 10th of April arrived thousands assembled on the Common. Contemporary estimates of the number range from 30,000 to 300,000, but the right number appears to have been about 50,000. The people were addressed from several platforms, and, having no thought of abandoning their plan of going *en masse*, were surprised when O'Connor, the instigator of the plan, advised that the procession should be abandoned. The petition, he said, contained 5,700,000 signatures, and such a unanimous demand could not possibly be refused.† After many speeches, the petition was placed in three cabs, and the executive drove with it to the House. No others were allowed to cross the bridges, any attempt to do so being stopped by the police, and after a while the people quietly went away. O'Connor presented the petition, which was read by the Clerk of the House, and referred to the Committee on Public Petitions. Three days after the Committee presented its report—that the petition contained only just under 2,000,000 signatures, that many of these names were obviously fictitious, and many were too obscene to be repeated.

So ended the great petition, and, although the delegates at the convention did not realise it, the end of the Chartist movement came with it. Meetings continued to be held in various places, but funds dwindled down, and the leaders found other outlets for their energies. O'Connor's land scheme burst, and its founder soon after became insane.

Chartism failed for several reasons, the most prominent being quarrels between the leaders. O'Connor's jealousy could brook

* Gammage's "History of Chartism," ch. liv.

† Gammage's "History of Chartism," p. 338 ff.

no rival, and when a man showed signs of becoming powerful all the forces at O'Connor's command were set to work to injure him. The movement, too, was founded too much on discontent and not enough on education. More potent still, as a destructive force, was the sedition in the speeches, and the continuous menace of physical force. The time for revolution in England had long passed, and if it was possible in 1832 (and this is doubtful) it never has been possible since.

Chartism was no mere agitation for political democracy as an end; it had an economic as well as a political aim. The petition presented to Parliament in 1838, drawn up at the promptings of Attwood, the Currency reformer, contained these words:—*

We tell your honourable House that the capital of the master must no longer be deprived of its due profit; that the labour of the workman must no longer be deprived of its due reward; that the laws which make food dear, and those which, by making money scarce, make labour cheap, must be abolished.

The Poor Law of 1834 always came in for severe condemnation, and in Lancashire and Yorkshire the advocates of shorter hours wanted the Charter carried that their own reform might be brought about more speedily. Towards the later stages of the movement nothing short of complete social regeneration was the distant but distinct end in view. O'Connor opposed the Corn Law Repealers on the ground that the accomplishment of the Charter would make all such reforms as the repealers wanted easy of attainment. Brontierre O'Brien, whom O'Connor called "The Schoolmaster," was a thorough social reformer, with a programme which anticipated much that is vital in the programme of present day Socialist Societies. He was for nationalisation of the land, mines, and railways; equitable adjustment between debtor and creditor in consequence of the fall of prices; and the payment of interest on the National Debt by owners of property, in whose interest, he held, it had been contracted.

Although nothing tangible resulted from the Chartist Movement it would be wrong to conclude that it was a wasted effort. It was, if nothing more, a splendid education for thousands, and it provided a start in useful public service for many whose names are held in respect by the democracy to this day. G. J. Holyoake, W. J. Linton, Ernest Jones, Samuel Kydd, Thomas Cooper, Lloyd Jones, G. W. M. Reynolds, and others too numerous to mention, served their apprenticeship to public work in the movement. Robert Owen, Oastler, Joseph Sturge, W. P. Roberts, W. J. Fox, and John Fielden were all connected with it. If ever such a movement arises again, able to command such a large number of able and

* Wallas' "Life of Place," p. 372. Gammage's "History of Chartism," p. 97.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND REFORMS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

zealous men, and winning the hearts of the people, but free from the personal jealousy which kept the Chartists from working in harmony, the last thirty years of free education would give a new steadfastness of purpose to the people (lacking in those times), and success would assuredly attend its efforts. Chartism was the greatest social movement of the past century, but it failed; another movement as great which had learned and taken to heart the lessons of the past would not fail.

The period of the Chartist Movement was fertile in popular agitations, both in this country and abroad. At home, a continuous agitation was going on in Ireland for the repeal of the Union; a religious struggle took place in Scotland, which, led by Dr. Chalmers, ended in the establishment of the Free Church; and in England the repeal of the Corn Laws and the enactment of the Ten Hours Bill were both violently agitated for and won. As in all such agitations, success or failure depended mainly on the work of one man, and it is as impossible to narrate the incidents leading up to the repeal of the Corn Laws without mentioning the name of Richard Cobden * as it is to describe the repeal of the Combination Laws without mentioning Francis Place. Not that the two movements have any other resemblance to each other, for the later one was popular, extensive, and the almost universal demand of the nation, while the earlier one, which can only be called a movement by a stretch of language, was entirely local, and so far from being the will of the people was almost carried in spite of them.

For the genesis of the protective system we have to look back to the time when it was believed that gold and silver were the only forms of national wealth, and that nations grew rich or poor in proportion as their external trade brought a surplus or deficit of the precious metals in exchange for the goods they sold. They aimed, therefore, at selling as much and buying as little as possible. Trade was trammelled; raw materials were costly, and foreign nations could not buy our goods as they would because we declined to take their products in exchange for them. As commerce expanded by the introduction of new articles, the protective duties were extended, and in 1824 a list of the articles on which import duties had to be paid formed a tolerably complete catalogue of the products of human industry.† The chief taxes were on grain foods, to afford, it was declared, protection to our agriculture, and these taxes had the effect of making the people's food dear without,

* The history of the movement is fully told in John Morley's "Life of Cobden," and in "The Free Trade Movement," by G. Armitage Smith. 1897.

† Mongredien's "History of the Free Trade Movement," p. 4.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND REFORMS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

as was fondly hoped, keeping agriculture from depression. This effect of the Corn Laws (the whole protective system centred in these laws) had been noticed for many years, and in a spasmodic fashion reform had been proposed, but until a change took place in the constitution of the House of Commons, and the will of the people was represented therein, it was hopeless to think of getting the taxes removed. When, in 1832, Manchester and other large manufacturing towns were enfranchised there came a possibility of the repeal of the laws, and earnest reformers began to consider in what way it might be done. The first definite step was taken in 1838, when a few Manchester men formed an Anti-Corn Law Association, having for its object the repeal of all import duties—in other words, free trade. Their first step was to move the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, and it was at a meeting of that body, called to consider the Corn Laws, that Richard Cobden attracted attention by a telling, closely-reasoned speech, in which he argued for a complete repeal, instead of a revision, of the laws. The speech was successful, and the amendment which he moved to the official resolution was carried.*

The next step seemed clear. A body of men had determined to attack and overthrow the strongest bulwark of monopoly and landlordism in the country, a task so great that they were told that they might as well try and overthrow the monarchy itself. Undaunted, with a sublime faith in themselves and their mission, they made a commencement by raising a subscription of £5,000, and immediately set about their work of teaching and organising the country. Their plan was to form Anti-Corn Law Associations in every place, and to unite them into a League, with its headquarters at Manchester. We have not the space to follow the course of the organisation they built up, but it may be safely said that never before or since has there been one like it in this country. Realising the gigantic task they had set themselves, they commenced their work with quiet earnestness, and soon had a staff of lecturers, paid and unpaid, travelling over the country, distributing literature, addressing meetings, and doing all they knew to win the people to their side. Cobden and Villiers (afterwards joined by Bright) were the Parliamentary leaders of the movement, keeping strictly from party entanglements, and ready to accept any services from new converts, or to use any legitimate opportunity as it arose for furthering their cause. How stupendous the movement in the country became may be seen in the sums the League raised for propaganda purposes. In 1839, £5,000; in 1840, £8,000; in 1843, £50,000, and in 1844 between £80,000 and £90,000 were spent.

* Prentice's "History of the League," Vol. I., p. 79.

Nor can any charge of corruption be made against them, for this money was spent in strictly honourable ways. Contributions to the fund ranged from the shillings of the operatives to the thousand pounds of the cotton lords. Inside Parliament they were only a handful, and they had to convert the greatest political leader and strongest party of the first half of the century.

In 1842 the first success came, but it was only a small one. Peel, in that year, laid their foundation by reducing the duties on about 750 articles, and imposing instead an income tax (hitherto only imposed in time of war) of 7d. in the pound. He also revised the Corn Laws, retaining the sliding scale system, but lessening considerably the duty to be paid.* The only difference between the two great political parties on the corn question was that whereas the Whigs, led by Lord John Russell, wanted a fixed duty, the Tories preferred the sliding scale, which increased the duty when the price was low, and decreased it when the price rose. Both parties were, therefore, against the reformers, who advocated total repeal. So far as the Corn Laws were concerned, this alteration of Peel's was no success at all, but in the revision of the other duties they had undoubtedly won a step. There was no relaxation of effort on their parts, and as the League grew in numbers and power they carried the war into the enemy's own camp—the agricultural districts. Here the lecturers were confronted with the greatest difficulties, and were even occasionally threatened with ill-treatment, but they held their own, and victories came as in the towns. Yet the end seemed a long way off, and probably would have been but for a new set of circumstances. Villiers had annually moved a motion for repeal, and the majority against it had been gradually decreasing as the speeches of Cobden, Bright, and himself told on the minds of their hearers. Of still greater importance, the facts and arguments began to tell on Peel himself. On one occasion, when Cobden had made one of his most telling speeches, Peel was so much affected that he could not answer it, and had to put up Mr. Herbert to answer it for him. Then came, in the autumn of 1845, the Irish potato famine, and in England and Scotland rain and the failure of the crop. From the prospect of a plentiful harvest came scarcity, and Peel found himself unable conscientiously to tax the people's bread. He called the Cabinet together, and advised the suspension of the duties by an Order in Council, but the Cabinet refused, and nothing was done. Then Lord John Russell announced his conversion in a letter to the constituents of the City of London, and Peel, having decided that he could no longer support the Corn Laws, resigned office. Lord

* Mongredien's "History of the Free Trade Movement," ch. v.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND REFORMS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

John tried to form an Administration, but failed; and after fourteen days, in which the nation was agitated with suspense, Peel resumed office.

These events had been watched with the closest interest by the League, for with the Whig party converted, and Peel decided even against his party, the end was suddenly in sight. A great fund was decided on for future agitation, and no less than a quarter of a million was guaranteed. The very amount of the sum was enough to strengthen Peel's hands, for, with promises pouring in fast, he could not fail to see how much the whole country was united. The money might not be wanted, but it was there, and with such a sum the League would not be disbanded until success was achieved. Peel himself afterwards said that he thought he could have held out for another three years, but he could not stifle his convictions in the face of a starving people.

Early in 1846 Peel introduced his proposals. These abolished the import duties on some manufactured articles, and greatly reduced others. These alterations affected about 150 articles. He further proposed to abolish all duties on wheat, oats, barley, and rye, from the 1st of February, 1849, with a reduced sliding scale in the meantime. A great debate took place a few days later, lasting over twelve nights, no fewer than 103 speeches being made. Lord John Russell supported Peel with a splendid speech. At various stages the struggle dragged on, the Opposition fighting every stage, and at the end of June the two Bills, "The Customs Duties Bill" and "The Corn Bill," were passed.

Peel had carried the greatest measure of commercial reform of the century, but he had to pay the price. Scarcely had the Bills received the Royal Assent than he was attacked in a most virulent manner by Lord George Bentinck and Benjamin Disraeli, the former of whom accused him of "betraying the honour of Parliament and the constituencies of the empire." The occasion of these speeches was a Coercion Bill for Ireland, and, the disaffected Tories voting with the Opposition, the Government measure was lost by a minority of 73. Peel had not expected to carry his measure, and was prepared for resignation. In a touching and eloquent speech he defended his policy, and paid that oft-quoted tribute to the one man who had forced him to the course he had taken. True, he was defeated, but his defeat was sweeter than many a victory, for he had won the hearts of the people. When he left the House he found a large concourse of people waiting outside to see him. "Every head was bared, the crowd made way for him, and many accompanied him in respectful silence to the door of his house."

The work of the League was now accomplished, and it was formally dissolved. Cobden's work, too, he thought, was done,

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND REFORMS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

and that at the cost of financial and physical ruin. In carrying on his great campaign his business, once so flourishing, had been neglected, and had practically failed. But the services of such a man could not be unrequited, and a movement for a national testimonial soon raised the sum of nearly £80,000. Part of this was spent in settling his affairs, and the rest was invested. It has been said that he was mercenary in accepting such a testimonial, but it was entirely unsolicited. In the people's eyes he was their benefactor, and just as it is honourable for a successful warrior to receive a tribute for his services so it was honourable for one who had benefited his countrymen to receive a reward at their hands.

It will not be out of place to consider for a moment what the repeal of the Corn Laws meant to the people. The ten years preceding 1846 were years mostly of depression, and bad trade and defective harvests had brought the great mass of the people to the verge of starvation. Much of the menace of the Chartist Movement was due to absolute hunger, and with the trade revival brought about by the gold discoveries and the repeal of the Corn Laws a distinct improvement in the condition of the people was noticeable.* The unstable element in the Chartist Movement melted away, and it is not too much to say that, if the movement was crippled by the failure of the demonstration and petition of 1848, it died as soon as the people had a sufficiency of food once more. The removal of the duties gave an upward impetus to the standard of life, and the "progress of the people" dates from the time when the corn monopoly was broken down. Since that time a vast improvement has taken place, our own great Co-operative Movement has taken root and flourished, trade unions and friendly societies have grown in membership and affluence, and, though the time may be at hand when we shall have to seriously consider the question whether it is well for us to be so dependent on other countries for our food supplies, it cannot be disputed that the repeal of the Corn Laws saved the workers of this country from a depth of distress awful to contemplate, and helped to make possible the improvement which has since taken place.

The last great movement I propose to sketch is the movement for the "Ten Hours Bill." The year 1902 is the centenary of the Factory Acts,† and as nearly as possible half-way through the

* Wages rose by 16 per cent. between 1850 and 1855. See article on Wages, &c., in the C.W.S. "Annual" for 1901, by the present writer.

† What follows relating to the "Ten Hours" Movement is mainly taken from "The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury," by Edwin Hodder; "The Life of Robert Owen," by Lloyd Jones; "The History of the Factory Movement," by "Alfred" (S. Kydd); and "The History of Factory Legislation," by Philip Grant, Secretary of the Short Time Committee.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND REFORMS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

century was passed, after long years of agitation, the most important Act of the whole series, and the only one in favour of which an extended popular agitation took place. As in the case of other movements, it had a devoted leader, but no movement of the past century has had at its head one who sacrificed more, or was more distinguished for the purity of his motives, than Lord Ashley, afterwards the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, who for twenty years devoted his life to the cause of the factory operatives.

The earlier Factory Acts were concerned with the labour of children, for the machinery invented by Hargreave, Arkwright, Crompton, and others, revolutionised the system of manufacturing textile fabrics, and made the labour of children, hitherto of minor importance, to be as useful in its way as that of adults. A hateful system of employing pauper children as "apprentices" had grown up, full of abuses, and dangerous to public health. The system attracted the attention of the Manchester Justices of the Peace, who invited Dr. Percival, the pioneer of Sanitary Reform, and a Committee called the Manchester Board of Health, to investigate the system. This was done, and in a report issued in 1796 the horrors of the system, the injurious effects on the health and morals of the children, and the infectious diseases transmitted from one child to another employed in the factory, and from these to persons living in the neighbourhood, were all pointed out.

This was the first step in the agitation for reform, and the first legislative success was obtained in 1802, when, at the proposal of Sir Robert Peel, an Act was passed to regulate the labour of apprentices in cotton and woollen mills. The peculiar necessity for employing pauper children ceased a few years after, and the children of parents residing in the neighbourhood of the mills were employed instead. This produced another children's labour question which Robert Owen had solved in his own mills at Lanark without financial loss to himself or his partners, and he issued a letter to the manufacturers suggesting a ten hours day, to be enforced by legal enactment. The proposal was unanimously rejected. He next went to London and interviewed many Members of Parliament, including Sir Robert Peel. Peel, as a successful cotton spinner, knew well the evils of the child labour system, and was in favour of strong measures. In 1815 he introduced a Bill to provide for the exclusion of children up to ten years of age, and a ten hours day of actual employment for those from ten to sixteen years old.

From the day Peel formulated his proposals the active opposition of the manufacturing classes to reform commenced. Their interest was strong enough at the outset to force Peel to withdraw his Bill,

and to move instead for a Select Committee to consider the question. This was granted. The evidence given before the Committee showed an even worse state of affairs than had been alleged by the advocates of reform—children of seven years of age working twelve, twelve and a half, thirteen, fourteen, and even fourteen and a half hours a day in ill-ventilated rooms, and atmospheres of 70 to 78 degrees. Owen's evidence attracted considerable attention, for it proved that the abuses which had grown up were not really necessary, and that the industry could be profitably worked without them.

Nathaniel Gould, a wealthy Manchester merchant, now became the out-of-doors manager of the movement, and with his influence Peel's Bill was passed in 1819. This measure was not so satisfactory as the one which was proposed in 1815, so the opponents of reform had gained something, but it was a useful step. The minimum age for entrance into a factory was fixed at nine years (the Act only applied to cotton mills), and from nine to sixteen years of age children were only to work twelve hours a day.

Two more Acts were passed before the agitation for the Ten Hours Bill seriously commenced, one in 1825, which reduced the hours to sixty-nine per week, and one in 1831 which abolished night work for all young persons under twenty-one years of age.

In 1830 Richard Oastler commenced his great work for the cause of Factory Legislation. The conditions of labour in woollen mills were wholly unrestricted by law, and Oastler, living at Leeds, was in the midst of a great cloth manufacturing district. The agitation against the slave trade had received strong support from him, his tender heart being touched to the quick at the inhumanity of the slavery system and the iniquities the negroes had to undergo. Yet he had never heard of the systems of child slavery existing at his own door until his attention had been drawn to them by his friend, John Wood, a wealthy manufacturer of Bradford, who "had in vain endeavoured, by his own private influence, to reform the factory system." Oastler, filled with indignation, took what turned out to be the first step in the Ten Hours Movement by writing to the *Leeds Mercury* an account and denunciation of what he had seen. A prolonged discussion of this letter was carried on in the Yorkshire papers, and the smouldering hatred of the people broke into fierce fire.

The next step came from the worsted manufacturers, twenty-three of whom met at Bradford and resolved in favour of legislation to reduce the hours of labour in all worsted mills.

This was in 1831, and Sir John Hobhouse's Bill was at the time before the Commons. Petitions in favour of amendment

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND REFORMS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

began to pour in, but the opposition, led by the manufacturers of Halifax, was too strong, and all Hobhouse could do was to obtain the conditions previously mentioned.

Oastler became now the head of a definite movement, and in a letter to the people said, "Let your politics be a Ten Hours Bill and a Time Book." In response, the people organised Short Time Committees, and a strongly-welded federation grew up which was not dissolved until the reform was won. In Parliament, Sir John Hobhouse found himself unable to support the measure of reform the operatives desired, and the leadership was entrusted to Michael Thomas Sadler. Sadler's first step was to introduce a Bill for the ten hours day (1832), in support of which he made a speech which takes a high place in the literature of the subject. It resulted in the appointment of a Committee, where the whole case was opened up.

In the stormy times of the Reform agitation the Ten Hours Movement grew apace, keeping on the whole a strictly non-party position. It is true that Oastler and Sadler were Tories, but in the ranks of the movement were to be found all shades of existing political opinion. At meetings held to further the cause, mill-owners, barristers, doctors, clergymen, journalists, and workmen were all to be found making speeches and recording their votes in favour of a "Ten Hours" resolution.

One dramatic incident, illustrating the intensity of the operatives' feelings, was the great York meeting, where thousands of men, women, and children met in the Castle Yard. The nearest factory town was Leeds, twenty-four miles away, and many of the outlying districts were forty to fifty miles away, but from these places they came to swell the numbers and show how unanimous was the demand for protection of the children. That many thousands of ill-fed, badly-nourished people would travel forty, fifty, and even a hundred miles, on foot, in "the most inclement weather within memory," was the strongest evidence which could be given of the earnestness and determination of the people. Even the enthusiasm of the Chartist Movement failed to produce such a meeting as this.

When the Reform Bill was passed Parliament was dissolved. Sadler had sat for Newark, and, that place being disfranchised, he tried to obtain a seat at Leeds, and then at Huddersfield, but the opposition of the manufacturing classes was strong enough to keep him out. This was the end of his Parliamentary career, but it had not come until the foundations of success had been laid, and its completion was only a matter of time. Had he done no more than make his great speech when introducing his Bill in 1832 he would

have earned a high place in the history of the movement, but his greatest work was done on the Committee which followed. The evidence taken by that Committee established an unanswerable case for the regulation of hours, and that this was so was largely due to the way in which Sadler procured and examined witnesses who could authoritatively give the evidence required.

The great problem now was, "Who will be the leader?" The elections had resulted in the return of several staunch advocates of the measure, notably John Fielden, a wealthy manufacturer who had once been an operative, and who had been a factory reformer from the time Nathaniel Gould had worked so hard for the success of Peel's Bill in 1819. He would have made an excellent leader, but he lacked experience of the House of Commons. The Short Time Committee sent the Rev. G. S. Bull (Parson Bull, of Bierly) to London to find a leader, and the result of that mission was notified to the Committee in a letter saying that he had prevailed upon Lord Ashley to renew Mr. Sadler's Bill, and that his lordship had that day given notice of motion to that end.

From now till 1853 the history of the movement is largely biography of Lord Ashley. He identified himself entirely with it, and made enormous sacrifices of time, money, and even refused to take office, for it. Lady Ashley, too, was a true helpmate in the work from the moment she persuaded her husband that, come what would, it was his duty to lead the movement, and trust the future to Providence.

His first step was to reintroduce Sadler's Bill. The opposition had now grown stronger, and was more decided and better organised. Some measure of reform they were prepared to give, but "Ten Hours" clauses they were determinedly opposed to. Had he not reintroduced the Ten Hours Bill it was certain that Lord Morpeth would have introduced a Government "Eleven Hours" measure to stop the agitation. The only result of Lord Ashley's movement was another strategy for delay—a Commission of Inquiry—which spent some time in going from place to place examining for themselves the actual conditions under which the children laboured. The disappointment of the Short Time Committees was keen, and they refused to give any more evidence, but they invented a novel way of proving to the Commissioners that the evils of long hours for the children had not been overstated. They arranged demonstrations of cripples and children, and marched them to the hotels in which the Commissioners were staying. In the end, the Commission appointed to refute the charges of the reformers affirmed them, their report corroborating what Sadler's Committee had previously stated, viz., that the children worked the same hours as adults, that their work led to

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND REFORMS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

physical deterioration, that they were uneducated, and that they were not free agents, but were entirely under the control of their parents, who neglected their best interests. Therefore, they resolved, "a case is made out for legislation on their behalf."

Lord Ashley reintroduced his Bill, and Lord Althorp opposed it on the grounds that the Government intended to introduce one based on the Commissioners' report. This opposition ensured Lord Ashley's defeat, and the Government measure was brought in. It provided for the limitation of hours in all textile industries, except silk, for children from nine to thirteen years of age, to nine hours daily and forty-eight weekly, and for young persons up to eighteen years of age to twelve hours a day, and sixty-nine hours a week. Night work (between 8-30 p.m. and 5-30 a.m.) was prohibited. By a cunning arrangement of the clauses relating to children's ages, the Act did not come fully into effect until 1836. One other good feature was the appointment of Factory Inspectors.

The agitation for, and the opposition to, the Ten Hours Bill grew apace for the next few years, and the two parties had a test of their relative strength in 1836, when Poulett Thompson introduced a Bill to repeal the thirteen years limit. This clause had only come into operation nine days before, and the effect of the repeal would have been to make 40,000 children, mostly females, work sixty-nine instead of forty-eight hours a week. But the Government had itself introduced this clause, and the House would not let them go back on their own proposals. In a division of over 350, Thompson could only get a majority of two, and the Bill was withdrawn.

For the next few years attention was directed mainly to seeing that the provisions of the Act were faithfully adhered to. Lord Ashley, in 1838, tried to get the same regulations for silk as for the other textiles added to an amending Bill which Lord John Russell introduced, but the latter declared that if his lordship persisted in his proposal he should be forced to withdraw the Bill. Lord Ashley, therefore, gave way, but a greater testimony to his power and influence could not have been given than this, that the Prime Minister would have to withdraw a Government measure if a private member of the Opposition persisted in an amendment to it. Yet this happened at a time when the movement out-of-doors was temporarily disorganised through its leader, Oastler, being imprisoned for a debt of £3,000. He remained in prison for four years (issuing therefrom the Fleet Papers weekly), until the debt he had incurred was paid for him by public subscriptions.

In 1841 Peel returned to power, and offered Lord Ashley a place in his Ministry, but Lord Ashley declined to accept the proffered position because Peel would not declare himself in favour

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND REFORMS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

of the Ten Hours Bill. In the light of later events we can see, as Lord Ashley did at the time, that Peel endeavoured to get him to take office mainly to prevent him from going on with the measure. Peel soon came out in his true colours as an opponent of the Bill, and gave the management of factory legislation over to Sir James Graham, who was even more determinedly opposed to it than himself. Lord Ashley regarded Peel's Tory Government as ten times more hostile than Lord John Russell's Whig Government had been.

In 1843 Sir James Graham introduced a Government measure, but it was abandoned, to be reintroduced in an amended form in the following year. That year was the year of dramatic incidents, and, although the Ten Hours Bill was not carried until 1847, the cause was really won during the debates on the Government measure. The chief gain from that measure was that children were only to work six and a half hours a day, and thirty hours a week, and that women* were only to work twelve hours a day and sixty-nine hours a week. When the Bill reached the Committee stage Lord Ashley proposed that the term night should mean from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m., and, to the amazement of the Ministers, this was carried. Graham said that this meant a ten hours day, and to this the Government were entirely opposed. He did not, however, withdraw the Bill, but the point came up for discussion on a later clause which stated the daily hours. Lord Ashley moved for ten to be inserted as the number, but the resolution was lost by nine votes. Graham then moved for twelve hours, but this, too, was lost. Instead of then moving for eleven hours, as everyone expected, Graham withdrew the Bill, and later in the session introduced one which admitted of no amendment. Lord Ashley, however, moved a new clause for an eleven hours day and sixty-four hours week, to become a ten hours day and fifty-eight hours week in 1847, and Lord Macaulay, in a powerful speech, supported him, but Sir Robert Peel threatened to resign if this were carried, and to save the Government the House voted against it, and it was lost by 138 votes. In due course the Bill became law. Except for Peel's threats of resignation the amending clause would probably have been carried, so that, although it was defeated by a large majority, there was no cause to fear but that it would become law soon.

Here, in a sense, Lord Ashley's connection with the measure ends, for he resigned his seat for Dorset over the question of the Corn Laws. The leadership now devolved upon John Fielden,

* This marked a new stage in factory legislation. Adults had not previously been included in any arrangements.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND REFORMS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

who reintroduced the Ten Hours Bill in 1846, and only lost the second reading by ten votes. Soon after the Government were defeated as a penalty for repealing the Corn Laws, and Lord John Russell became Prime Minister.

The end is soon told. Fielden again introduced the Bill in 1847, and this time it was carried. In the Lords, to the honour of the Bishops, it must be recorded that nearly every one of them was in his place and voted for the measure. Many of them also spoke in its favour.

Fielden did not live long after his Bill was carried, for he died in 1849. Faithful to the end, he was active as ever in the cause when, just before he died, the question was reopened in an unsuspected manner. He was buried at Todmorden, followed to the grave by thousands of sorrowing operatives from all parts of Lancashire and Yorkshire.

Unfortunately, complete success had not yet been obtained. There had been a flaw in the Act of 1847, which formed for the manufacturers a loophole of escape. The workers' hours were to be ten per day, but these could be worked between 5-30 a.m. and 8-30 p.m. The employers soon discovered that by working in relays, and running the mills during the whole of this fifteen hours, they could compel their operatives to work more than ten hours without being discovered by the Factory Inspectors. It seemed as though the whole battle had to be fought over again, and Lord Ashley, who had now returned to Parliament as member for Bath (where he had defeated his bitter and cynical opponent, Roebuck), introduced another Bill. But he could not carry it and retain the fifty-eight hours week, and in the end he entered into a compromise whereby the limits of the working day were to be assimilated to the actual working time, with ten and a half actual working hours for five days in the week, and seven and a half on Saturdays—sixty in all. For this compromise he was reviled by many of the men for whom he had laboured, but subsequent events showed that he had adopted the wisest course. Even then children were omitted from these Acts, and relays of children were resorted to to compel the men to work longer than the young persons and women. Another Act was necessary, and in 1853 the limits of the working day for children were made to correspond with those of the women.

This was the end of the movement. The cause for which so many had fought and suffered over twenty odd years was won, and it has been a blessing, not only to the women and children concerned, but to the men whose work depended on theirs, and consequently could not be carried on without their help. The male operatives knew all along that a ten hours day for their

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND REFORMS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

helpers meant one for themselves, but they never proclaimed this. "They hid themselves," it has been said, "beneath the women's petticoats," and even now, although the textile operatives enjoy a fifty-five and a half hours week, only the women, young persons, and children are legislated for. As the foundation of subsequent extensions of the Factory Acts, the Ten Hours Act and its amendments are the most important on the Statute Book. The Short Time Committees "buiilded better than they knew," for they laid the foundation of that protection for factory workers which has so materially aided in raising the standard of life and physical efficiency during the past half-century.

Space will not permit of a glance at later movements, and the early Co-operative and Christian Socialist movement demand much more than a short sketch; but each of the movements we have passed under review were, in their ways, the foundations of the greater privileges we now enjoy. We have only to compare the workers as they are described in the burning pages of Engel's well-known work on the "Condition of the Working Classes in 1844" with the workers as they are to-day to see that, although much poverty remains to be removed, and many problems are yet to be solved, the "agitators" and reformers of the first half of the nineteenth century were paving the way for a vast improvement in the lives of the people. Our duty, if we would show appreciation of their work and sacrifices, is to hand down to future generations the benefits we have received, not wasted or impaired, but enlarged and extended, that their lives may be as much better for our having lived as are ours for the lives of the Owens, Places, Lovetts, Cobdens, Shaftesburys, Oastlers, and Fieldens who have gone before.

In addition to the authorities mentioned in the previous notes, I have to acknowledge the helpful suggestions I have derived from Mr. Ramsden Balmforth's "Some Social and Political Pioneers of the Nineteenth Century." Sonnenschein, 1900.



Co-operation in other Lands.

BY HENRY W. WOLFF.



THE twentieth century, so it has been predicted, is to be the century distinctively of "Co-operation." Combined effort is to become the ruling force throughout the world. History seems disposed to make good the prophecy, for in nearly every civilised country do we see Co-operation, which has long since assured its footing in some form or other, advancing steadily and resolutely. What Lord Rosebery some ten or fifteen years ago called, without exaggeration, "a State within the State," now bids fair to become "a world within the world." This being so, there could be no more interesting study than to measure exactly, in every country, the economic effect which this new power has there produced, the number of its adherents, the precise amount of its production or trade, the creation of new capital, by thrift or otherwise, that it is accountable for, and then to draw a comparison between country and country. Unfortunately, an inquiry of this comprehensive sort is, for the present, wholly out of the question. We tried to institute one, some years ago, in the International Co-operative Alliance; but although we managed to enlist the help of the ablest collaborators to be found, most of them in official positions, our attempt as good as failed in view of an absolute dearth of figures abroad. And while foreign Ministers of Finance persist in trying unfairly to tax Co-operative Societies on their supposed "profits," and while Co-operative Unions of different types continue, in hostile rivalry with one another, to conceal data which it looks as if some of them were loth to have published, such dearth of figures is likely to prove permanent.

However, if we cannot accurately measure the economic effects already assured, there is ample material for an inquiry of a different sort, which ought to prove no less interesting. We are in a good position to examine and compare the characteristic features of each several movement which now presents itself to us under the comprehensive name of "Co-operation." We shall find that these several movements, though sharing a common name, are not in essence all of a piece, that all is not gold that glitters—is, at any

CO-OPERATION IN OTHER LANDS.

rate, not gold of the same quality; and we shall be better able than we now are to judge of the educational value of each system and to estimate, if not its precise actual effects, at any rate its capacity for producing such.

Among ourselves the name of "Co-operation" has long since acquired a definite, well understood meaning. We look upon it as a product of the Rochdale system, embodying Rochdale principles. That is the rootstock of all our "Co-operation." However, now that Co-operation has become strong and general, foreigners appear unwilling to allow that it is in every instance an outcome from Rochdale. And they are right in this, that there are in every country indigenous organisations for common work to be found which have grown up from germs that have probably existed there time out of mind. Spain has had its "co-operative" *compañia gallega* probably for centuries. Portugal its *Sociedade familiar*, Russia its *artel*, and all Slav countries alike their *pomotch*, their *droujina*, their *wataga*, which may still be observed in their original humble and homely, rudimentary but effective, forms in Eastern Europe. Asia could match all these things with institutions of probably still greater antiquity. It has become the fashion elsewhere to father modern local Co-operative organisation upon such early racy groupings. However, the peculiar merit of the Rochdale Pioneers is not that they brought men together for common action. That has been easy enough since the days of Adam. What the Pioneers did to make their enterprise truly memorable was to raise such common action from the status of casual collaboration, for a temporary object, with purely economic aims, to that of a permanent institution with a higher purpose than the saving or earning of a few paltry pounds or shillings. And foreign Co-operators have in their modern organisations accepted that principle. Our Co-operators do not, since the Rochdale days, combine, as many Russian *artels* still do, merely to execute some particular job with greater economy, or to labour together for a season. They join a society which is intended to last and to live, to produce very much more the longer it lives, very much more than an insignificant immediate gain; which is to level up, raise, educate and emancipate, enrich without trenching upon any other interest, and leave the world and its inhabitants, when all is done, better than it found them. That is, I take it, what in our mind constitutes "Co-operation," and that is the standard by which we shall presumably want to measure different Co-operative movements elsewhere. It is this nobler purpose which has given Rochdale Co-operation its peculiar prestige and made its influence to diffuse itself, as that of a pattern to be followed, throughout the world. Nearly in all countries do we find its impress, though not imprinted

CO-OPERATION IN OTHER LANDS.

everywhere with equal clearness—even where it has asserted itself only at second or third hand, filtering through other systems. Then let us look around in the world and see what its various systems are and how they have grown up!

Our most direct and most self-avowed pupils are the distributive societies of France, which were formed with the distinct object of implanting the Rochdale shoot on French soil. The leaders of this movement have adhered faithfully to the British model. They have laboured, and are still labouring, to produce from the same root precisely the same fruit that is culled here. In many cases have they been successful. There are brilliant specimens of distributive Co-operation in France, which do ample credit to their parent, which realise more or less fully the object which the Pioneers had in view, creating business, and creating also character, building up by slow degrees fortunes by thrift, large collective funds by a steady accumulation of share capital. However, in many cases the effect falls very much short of the ideal. The tempting jingle of the present paltry gain, the few sous that are netted over a season's purchases, have proved too much for the poor struggling working men. Working men undoubtedly they are. That is so much to the credit of this movement, and in this respect due justice ought to be done to it. It addresses itself to the right persons. And the working men Co-operators, so it ought to be observed, think in France first of labour, for they nearly all share their "profits" with their employés. But, oddly, among the population of all others most famed in Europe for its habitual thrift there is in this particular application a most notable absence of thrift, as well as of enterprise, of plodding on and toiling, slowly but steadily, for a great distinct object, of that spirit of "go" of which, nevertheless, we find magnificent examples in other provinces of Co-operation. Frenchmen are capable of great and prolonged efforts once they plainly see a high ideal before them—as do their productive societies, which are still all instinct with the spirit of the Revolution; or else a direct personal gain, as do their agricultural syndicates, which have during the past fifteen years multiplied like mushrooms. The difficulty to our French neighbours seems to be to work on with only faith, not sight, to guide them, on a long weary path, such as distributive Co-operation has almost necessarily to travel over in achieving what must in most cases be a work of years. There is in the great mass of small, struggling societies little thrift, little effort at development of the existing institution. It would be of advantage to secure it its own house, to add new features to its business. But there is the little surplus, which means so many francs to everyone, and those francs are claimed. The foundation of all this Co-operation is undoubtedly

CO-OPERATION IN OTHER LANDS.

good. However, it will need a good deal more of the Rochdale leaven to produce out of this slowly rising lump a genuine Rochdale loaf. The tendency, however, is a right one.

The next convert that we can claim is Switzerland; for, *pace* Dr. Müller, who will have Swiss Co-operation to be an indigenous growth of its own soil, Edmond Pictet avowedly introduced distributive Co-operation into Switzerland directly from Rochdale, as M. de Boyve did in France. There is greater uniformity here, on a smaller area, and more uniformly good business. Generally speaking, good management is one of the characteristics of Swiss Co-operation, both distributive and of credit. Shares in the proceeds are also allowed to the employés. There is, moreover, more thrift and greater enterprise, which in the best societies rises to a great height—not in that model store of Basel only. But there is already an infusion to be observed of a socially more pretentious influence, which rather modifies the character of Co-operation and substitutes a different aim. In Geneva, Edmond Pictet's own society bears so much of a middle-class character that working men prefer to keep up their own humbler institution, the *Fidélité*, which is much more feeble, but thoroughly "working man." We shall see this middle-class preponderance increasing as we go along. In Switzerland, where schoolmasters and professors play a fairly leading part in the organisation of Co-operation, a rather curious plea is advanced to defend it, which, to put it plainly, smells just a little of the theorist's lamp. Some of the Co-operation there has assumed, if not yet a Socialist character, at least, in the mouth of its most prominent champions, a Socialist tendency. Co-operation, so it is contended, ought not to be a "class" movement at all, whether "working class," as it is in Great Britain, or otherwise. It is to create a common possession of all, in which magnate and beggar may equally share. That is a specious plea enough. But, obviously, to call British Co-operation a "class" movement is to employ a misnomer, however much that Co-operation may be directed at improving the position specifically of working men, for it nowhere trenches upon the legitimate interest of any other class. It simply helps those first who need help most. It levels up by raising the valleys, not by laying additional soil upon the hilltops. So far as business enterprise and arrangements go, there are specimens of Co-operation in Switzerland which are unsurpassed anywhere. But the aim has been slightly deflected from the Rochdale model.

We must leave Rochdale now, though, as already observed, its influence is apparent everywhere, to examine the work of a great German master in Co-operation, the power of whose example is to

CO-OPERATION IN OTHER LANDS.

be detected all over the Continent, namely, Schulze Delitzsch. Co-operation in Germany, in Austria, in Belgium and Italy, in Russia and Servia, to some extent in the Scandinavian kingdoms and in the Netherlands, is all more or less traceable to him. His work has left its mark upon different races as well as upon different nations. There is a considerable mass of Slav Co-operation, of which we hear little, some of it of admirable quality, distinctly attributable to his teaching and example. To some extent his Co-operation admits that it is copied from Rochdale. Its distributive form certainly is. However, in Germany and Austria distributive Co-operation occupies only the second place. The first place is there assigned to credit. And that circumstance at once explains certain differences which are apparent at first glance in German and congenerous Co-operation as compared with our own. You need but move from one of the two spheres to the other to notice it. I do not know how the fable could have obtained currency here that Schulze Delitzsch Co-operation does not make sufficient provision for the accumulation of capital, that its stores are carried on, mainly or exclusively, with borrowed money. I suppose it is because there are Co-operative Credit Banks by the side of stores, which, indeed, make it their business to lend for Co-operative enterprises as well as for individual. But it is the very reverse of the truth. Capital—the steady, continuous accumulation of share capital—is the peculiarly leading feature in all Schulze Delitzsch Co-operation; and, notwithstanding the prevalence of Co-operative credit, loan capital is, under the guidance of this school, watched with a more searching and jealous eye than anywhere else. In distributive societies its excessive accumulation is impossible, for this reason, if for no other, that distributive societies are not allowed to receive deposits. There is nothing in the German law to forbid them, as seems to be assumed in some quarters in this country. The prohibition is simply the result of German excessive consistency—call it pedantry, if you like—which lays it down that a society must not engage in *two* kinds of work at once. Schulze Delitzsch and his successors argue that a distributive society may buy and sell, but it must not on any account become a savings bank—any more, by the way, than a productive workshop; for that likewise goes against their principle. If people want to save, let them go to the Co-operative Bank! Otherwise saving stands in high honour. The credit societies of this order—which have, of course, as representing the leading form of Co-operation practised, communicated something of their character to the other forms—have for a long time gone, in popular parlance, by the name of “Compulsory Savings Banks.” Their author, advisedly, *compelled* members to save, by insisting

CO-OPERATION IN OTHER LANDS.

upon the issue of very large shares. He approved of nothing under £5, and allowed £30, £40, and, I believe, £50. There is no fault to be found with the Schulze Delitzsch societies on the score of respect for capital, nor yet on the score of self-help, which they take a pride in practising in its most rigorous form. In fact, they abominate every kind of State-help. And for that reason, among others, they abominate also everything that smells to the smallest extent of Socialism, with which form of collectivism they are in great fear of being confounded by public opinion. These societies would not for the life of them at their Congresses vote resolutions in favour of the nationalisation of railways or of ground values, of State-aided old-age pensions and the like, as our societies do. They will have absolutely nothing but what they can raise themselves by their own unaided efforts. And they will not on any consideration swerve from the straight and narrow path that "Ältmeister" Schulze Delitzsch has traced out for them. Principle is for them everything.

What we, judging from our own particular point of view, may reasonably take exception to in these societies is, in the first place, that Schulze Delitzsch Co-operation limits its scope and aim considerably more than we do; and, in the second, that it is only very partially a working-men's movement. It approves of and encourages education, and consistently devotes a portion of each year's surplus by rule to educational and other beneficent purposes. But it rather plumes itself upon being strictly economic, not altruistic, and, moreover, not collectivist. It builds up wealth by combined effort. However, that wealth, though employed in common, is the wealth of individuals, created with the object of benefiting individuals. As for working men, an admixture of about 32 per cent. is considered rather a good average, except in special sections, such as that of building associations. And at the outset Schulze Delitzsch advisedly barred admission to the very poor; he distinctly referred them to charitable institutions. A member must, in his opinion, have at any rate something to save up. All this peculiar colouring is, of course, to a great extent due to the particular form which Schulze Delitzsch gave to his Co-operation in preference to others. Banking facilities, ready credit at reasonable rates, were indeed badly wanted when he began work. And what he gave to his country in this way has proved of inestimable benefit. It has created millions of pounds worth of new values. But it is not working men who above all things stand in need of credit and banking. Subsequent experience has made it plain that these institutions may be made most serviceable to working men and small cultivators, and may, indeed, be turned into specifically working-men's institutions.

CO-OPERATION IN OTHER LANDS.

There are numbers of credit societies of this sort in Germany, to which working men are most grateful, and which, with working-men membership, as a matter of course, have widened their scope and become, so to speak, more generally human, in some instances touchingly altruistic, everywhere less purely economic. There are numbers elsewhere under what may be called the same Schulze Delitzsch *régime*. The *Banque Populaire* of Verviers, the most rapidly growing in Belgium, is distinctly a working-men's bank. The *Banchina* and the *Società operaia maschile*, of Bologna—the latter a very humble institution indeed, with only 4s. shares—are as fully devoted to working-men's interests, and have proved unspeakable boons to their members. But these are the exceptions. You notice the difference between Rochdale and Schulze Delitzsch at once when attending a German Congress, where, so to speak, broadcloth is far more in evidence than fustian. But the effect goes down a good deal deeper than dress. It is in grain. Schulze Delitzsch addressed himself first to tradesmen and dealers, and so from the outset gave something of a middle-class character to his Co-operation.

Suffice it to point out two very patent evidences of middle-class supremacy which are likely to present themselves to us as very much graver than they really are. In no Co-operative Bank of this particular type up to quite recently—and even now only in some banks in Belgium and two in Italy—has the essentially Co-operative principle of “a dividend to custom” been applied. All divided surplus has gone to capital. Not even was dividend to capital originally limited. M. Luzzatti has explained to me that in early days it was not considered necessary to limit dividend, because no large surplus was then looked for. That shows how careful we ought to be in the application of principle from the very outset. We see the results of this non-limitation, earnestly regretted by leaders, in shares quoted at a premium and sold in some special instances in the market, and in large dividends. We also see them in the abuse, happily not common, which prevails in such out-of-the-way countries as Galicia, in which the Co-operative form of bank is selected by usurers as an attractive garb to allure borrowers. All this, of course, springs from the self-same root, namely, that this kind of Co-operation was not originally intended for working men.

We are apt, from our own point of view, to consider this a blemish. However, we ought in justice to bear in mind that working men's needs did not present themselves to the first organisers of this Co-operation in the same searching light in which we see them now; and, moreover, that by bringing home to large populations, at the time still ignorant of them, the value of

CO-OPERATION IN OTHER LANDS.

combination and the merit of self-help, exhibited in its purest and most unadulterated form, such Co-operation has done truly invaluable work in acting as a veritable pioneer on wholly unreclaimed ground, preparing the way for what working-men's Co-operation, as we shall see, in later times has brought forth.

Let me notice one peculiar form of middle-class preponderance to be observed in the Netherlands, which are for Co-operation, at the present time, distinctly a land of promise. In the Netherlands Co-operative credit, which in Germany gives the tone, is scarcely existent. Nevertheless, there has long been an exclusion of the working class from the leading societies, because the national institution of "Eigen Hulp," which was copied from the Army and Navy Stores of Vienna, advisedly and by special rule limited membership to "brain workers." Now, manual labourers, if they are worth their salt, work with their brains quite as much as do professors or civil servants. However, this liberal construction was not allowed. A curious kind of organisation was adopted. The "Eigen Hulp" was organised all over the kingdom (including, in respect of services rendered, several sections), with the object of forming local "Eigen Hulps" under it in as many localities as possible. But members must belong to the national "Eigen Hulp" first, and pay it a contribution. This contribution, which was at the outset fixed at $2\frac{1}{2}$ guilders once for all, Dr. Elias, in view of the absence of any visible return, wittily described, in allusion to a well-known conjuring trick, as the "vanishing rigsdaler." However, the one payment did not prove sufficient, and now a guilder a year is levied on each member, which seems to be rather resented, inasmuch as it does not appear to purchase much more than a subscription to the weekly Co-operative newspaper. Two really more serious drawbacks to the system are these:—(1) That the "Eigen Hulp" fritters away power unnecessarily by pedantically tying down every association to one function only, baking, it may be, or butchery, or selling groceries, &c., which splits up the movement into small organisations; (2) that the "Eigen Hulp" keeps the societies composed of its members in very hampering thralldom. They must not alter their rules without its consent. To break away from it means breaking up their local society. Now, there is a good deal of sound Co-operative spirit and enterprise in the Netherlands, as witness the *Nederlandsche Cooperatieve Bond*, which, although nominally a section of "Eigen Hulp," is developing a great deal of independent activity and bids fair to become the nucleus of a new and better organisation. It is endeavouring to do as our Union and Wholesale Society do, uniting Co-operation of all kinds and forms, starting productive works, a banking department, and so on. But it is

CO-OPERATION IN OTHER LANDS.

inconveniently held in leash by the "Eigen Hulp." Moreover, there is the question of working men. The working men have very naturally formed Co-operative Societies of their own, some Socialist, others not, all thoroughly democratic and thoroughly "working man." Here is power running to waste! In the Hague there are three distinct organisations with from 6,000 to 7,000 members each. They might accomplish a good deal were they to join together. The working men's societies are rather deficient in good management, which members of the, "Eigen Hulp" could supply. The "Eigen Hulp" would now be willing to join hands with them; but the working men, remembering the first rebuff, are too proud to accept the proffered hand. There are, however, good Co-operators at work trying to bring about a reform, and it looks as if they were likely to succeed.

Schulze Delitzsch's system has, as observed, spread, among other countries, into Belgium and Italy. In Belgium it is represented exclusively by People's Banks, which are, generally speaking, admirably managed, some of them very popular in spirit, and reaching down, in respect of benefits dispensed, to the humblest classes; one or two, on the other hand, are very capitalist. In Italy there are a fair number of distributive societies practically associated or in alliance with the People's Banks, which, as in Belgium, make up the main host of Schulze Delitzsch Co-operation. The distributive societies are, as in Germany, moulded on the Rochdale model. Once more like the German, these societies have become essentially middle class. The evidence of a "Co-operative spirit" in such bodies is—just as in some influential quarters in France—sought in doing good to the working classes rather than enabling those classes to do it, at any rate directly, for themselves. It is fully recognised that Co-operation should aim at benefiting the working classes. However, the traditions of paternal government have not yet been altogether discarded. M. Luzzatti, who has all his life devoted himself with particular assiduity to the promotion of working men's welfare, was evidently seriously pained when about a year ago I pointed out publicly—that is, in a Review article—the middle-class character of the Co-operative institutions with which he is specifically identified. His answer was this: "Do we not do this, that, and the other for working men?" Assuredly his societies do. At the time when I wrote the *Unione Cooperativa* of Milan, a wholly middle-class society full of generosity and public spirit, had only quite recently opened that magnificent *Albergo Popolare*, the first "Rowton House" in Italy, which is entirely due to its initiative. That is only one instance of its habitual beneficence. M. Luzzatti's Co-operative Banks help the working classes with small, unsecured "loans of honour," and

CO-OPERATION IN OTHER LANDS.

with much money voted for educational and charitable purposes. In respect of solicitude shown for working men's interests, M. Luzzatti can truthfully say of himself what I will not quote in the original Latin: "What region is there that is not full of the proofs of my labour?" He introduced the Post Office Savings Banks into Italy; he induced Savings Banks, at a time when no Compensation Law was yet passed, to endow a fund for cheap insurance against workmen's accidents, another for payment of old-age pensions; although disapproving entirely the Socialist tendencies of Italian labour societies, he has stood their firm friend in Parliament and in the Law Courts, obtained new powers for them, shielded them against persecution. Only quite recently he has successfully used his influence to obtain the employment of public money for housing purposes. There is nothing in this way, so one may say, that he will not do, and he rightly takes credit for it among Co-operators. But is this "Co-operation?" In Italy and in some quarters in France it passes for it. In 1896 the late Charles Robert absolutely astounded some very representative Co-operators by the list of names which he had prepared for the "Committee of Patronage" in connection with the International Co-operative Congress of that year. There were philanthropists included in it whom everybody was bound to revere, but with whom, at a *Co-operative* Congress, not a few Co-operators would not have cared to share the same platform; they stood too far off from self-help. This benevolence, which does not know how to discriminate between charity and Co-operation, is really in a very large measure responsible for the powerful wave of State Socialism which is now sweeping over the Co-operative world abroad, substituting subvention for self-help. It has prepared the way for it, led people to expect assistance from outside. And so far from keeping what are supposed to be the dangerous tendencies in working-man Co-operation in check, it has directly stimulated them. Thus in Italy, while men of M. Luzzatti's type habitually bracket philanthropy with Co-operation and seem inclined to turn away from the more democratic and independent forms of working-men's self-help, on the other hand working men openly group trade unionism, friendly societies, and political Socialist agitation, anything that unites working men in "organisation," together with Co-operation, and at the last Co-operative Congress a proposal was seriously brought forward to consolidate them all in one great democratic organisation.

It is time now to turn to a Co-operative movement of an essentially different type, which has conquered for itself as prominent a place in the world, and has overspread quite as much ground as that just spoken of, though differing from it as day does from night.

CO-OPERATION IN OTHER LANDS.

Raiffeisen's object in organising his own form of Co-operation—which should soon become familiar to us, seeing that it has made itself at home both in Ireland and in India—was wide as the poles asunder from that which Schulze proposed to himself. Schulze provided means by which men possessing some little property or income should be enabled to create more, and at the same time he limited his view entirely to economic effects. Raiffeisen descended a good deal lower in the social or financial scale, but he materially widened his aim. His object was, so to speak, to raise up something out of nothing, and practise Co-operation chiefly for the sake of its educational effects—above all things of education for the formation of character. Honesty being thus created, he might, in M. Luzzatti's words, "capitalise" it for economic purposes. Means must be found for raising "the beggar from his dunghill," provided that the beggar should show himself worthy of such treatment. If he would help the very poor, Raiffeisen could not in reason ask members to take up shares. Accordingly he waived the consideration of shares altogether. But he insisted rigorously upon the qualification of "character"—"character" to be attested by the applicant's own neighbours. Since his Co-operation was intended for rural communities only, in which, as a matter of course, people must have something of a settled home and be in constant touch with one another and under one another's eye, that evidence would be sufficient—all the more that it must needs be backed by the unlimited liability of those who give it. For the corner-stone of all this system is the unlimited liability of all for all, which, experience has shown, may be rendered absolutely harmless. For while, on the one hand, it has it in its power to produce security which will purchase credit even where those who join in it are all only poor, on the other hand it will secure itself by necessarily arousing the keenest vigilance in all who join. Another essential condition is that all surplus accruing from business must be paid into a common indivisible fund. The system is, therefore, thoroughly collectivist. Not a farthing is asked in subscription, but not a farthing is paid out in dividend or principal. The system of itself assures remarkable educational efficiency, for it necessarily repels the unworthy, who might occasion loss, in the interest of others who do not wish to incur such, and thereby places a premium upon good conduct and leads those who would share in its benefits to be permanently on their good behaviour. To have contrived a system which produces such results would in itself mean to have achieved something. However, Raiffeisen aimed at more, and he accomplished it. His favourite desire was to "work for God." On the one hand he would have his societies to train up good God-fearing Christians, as well as

CO-OPERATION IN OTHER LANDS.

careful cultivators or workmen ; on the other he desired to provide means by which the better-to-do might show their "love of their neighbour"—this was his great watchword—in helping the poorer without demoralising them. The wealthier man can do this by taking his place in the society as an equal with the poorer, putting his knowledge of business, experience, capacity, personal influence, and the use of his credit in the common stock, so as to ensure a better and more immediate effect. The use of his credit will involve risk, of course ; however, he may secure himself against loss by doing just what—on other grounds as well—Raiffeisen was anxious that he should do, that is, by taking an active personal part in the conduct of affairs, which must enable him to avoid danger by withdrawing at once, as he is entitled to do, whenever he finds the society incurring undue risk.

Here is a kind of Co-operation quite distinct from any other, which ought to satisfy the strictest collectivist and the most zealous Christian Socialist. Members jointly pledge their credit. By such means they raise money to be employed in loans, in common purchases, in every conceivable form of Co-operation, and out of the accruing surplus they build up a fund which belongs to all in common, and, indeed, prospectively, to the entire local community.

The success of this system has been something surprising. It has raised up societies by the thousand in Germany, Austria, Transylvania, Servia, Italy, France, all over the Continent. It still keeps spreading and growing. It has made Co-operation for agricultural purposes possible, finding money in plenty—which has been regularly repaid—for the creation of Co-operative Dairies and similar institutions. It has reached down to the lowest depths of poverty, fertilising previously desert places. By its economic successes it has attracted and gained the favour of the poor. By its educational successes it has secured the goodwill of the authorities and the clergy. That is its possible weak point. It should not be so, but by such abuse as in this imperfect world every institution is liable to at one point or another, the upper class members may conceivably become too dominant. Most of this Co-operation is only humble. It deals with small sums and satisfies small wants. But it penetrates where no other Co-operation could hope to do so. There is no question here about "how to help the poor," as in this country. The problem settles itself. In its collective aspect this system deals with very large values and represents great power. It has not asked for boons or subsidies. It has taken the comparatively small sums which authorities have placed at its disposal for propagandist and organising purposes.

CO-OPERATION IN OTHER LANDS.

But for its loans it has negotiated with great banks on equal terms, as a matter of business. And its effect in stimulating thrift and collecting savings has been very great.

Such excellent results might be counted upon to suggest imitation. Two distinct powers have made the system their own, suppressing, or else adding, something as occasion required, so as to make it answer their particular purpose.

In the first place Raiffeisenism may claim to have become the parent of nearly all that Co-operation applied to agriculture which has lately astonished the world by its rapid expansion and its magnificent successes. Thirty years ago, before the Raiffeisen system had become well known, there was none. You may strip off the religious and educational side of Raiffeisenism and still leave something economically very useful. That is what has been done in respect of agriculture. The several systems created have all adopted Raiffeisen methods, but not, as Raiffeisen himself was often heard to complain, the Raiffeisen "spirit." Their object is to make agriculture more remunerative, and nothing more. And the consequence is that many of the bodies so created have become absolutely class organisations, pursuing selfish objects, class benefits, which may or may not come into collision with other interests. Co-operation is avowedly only one of the instruments employed to benefit agriculture. Others may be found in State aid, political agitation in favour of protection, in opposition to graduated income tax, and so on. Since agriculturists have votes, and candidates for Parliament desire to be elected, and Governments to maintain themselves in power, a bargain may easily be struck on these lines. The argument that by benefiting agriculture you will benefit the entire community is too captivating not to impose on many well-meaning but illogical people. Thus, in Germany and France, we have seen many millions voted out of the taxpayers' pockets, Central Banks endowed to provide money, sometimes under market rate, not only for more or less legitimate loans, but for such hazardous enterprises as the purchase of nitrate mines in Chile, and with the effect of raising up mushroom societies by the thousand, often enough subsisting upon nothing but borrowed capital. As so tempting is the prospect of doing good almost bound to present itself that in Italy the late Minister, M. Ferraris, not long ago proposed to devote £2,000,000 of Savings Bank money every year to the endowment of agricultural Co-operation, which was to be created wholesale—so to speak, forced upon the country, willy nilly, leaving it open to people to join if they liked, but creating the machinery with State aid all the country over. Now, all this is a very doubtful kind of "Co-operation." It has nothing in it of the Rochdale principle.

CO-OPERATION IN OTHER LANDS.

Yet as so praiseworthy does it present itself to those interested in agriculture—and, let it be added, evidently ignorant of the true meaning of “Co-operation”—that we have had one prominent leader of the agricultural syndicate movement not long ago publicly vaunting himself, in a truly pharisaic spirit, that he and his colleagues are not as “ordinary Co-operators,” mere dividend mongers, but working for higher ends. What are those “higher ends?” Agriculture is, of course, to be benefited, which may be a very good thing for agriculturists, more particularly when coupled, as it is in this case, with a seven francs duty upon wheat, the rejection of commercial treaties designed to cheapen goods for the advantage of the working classes, and the blocking of graduated income tax. The smaller folk are also to be enriched and raised, but not by their own efforts, but by methods which will keep them in their proper places. It is not, in many cases, these small men who govern the syndicates, but gentlemen of a superior order. The small are admitted as beneficiaries, but excluded from service on the Committee. All this is given out as “Co-operation,” quite evidently in ignorance of the true article. For here we have another curious confession from one of the recognised leaders of the same movement, who in his newspaper seriously tells his readers “how to secure all the benefits of Co-operation without practising it.” They are to combine in great numbers and so obtain good prices from dealers. Caricature of “Co-operation” could not be carried much further. Yet all this very peculiar combination is given out for “Co-operation.” It appears to be very difficult for agricultural Co-operative Societies to resist being swept away into this enticing maelstrom. We can understand such simple and straightforward Co-operation as that of agriculturists in Denmark and the Netherlands, who combine, it is quite true, for their own benefit as agriculturists, but without the intention of trenching upon any other interest, merely eliminating the middleman and carrying their organisation to a high pitch of perfection. We shall feel, I think, quite as fully disposed to sympathise with the agricultural Co-operators of Eastern Switzerland, who do not stop short at agriculture, but, like the Danes, benefit an entire rural population in its domestic wants, boldly defying “the trade” in non-agricultural articles (from offending which other agricultural Co-operative Societies, dependent upon State favour, nervously shrink), and successfully ousting private trade altogether from not a few villages. But even this great and democratic union has already been to some extent tarred with the “agrarian” brush. In France and Germany agricultural egotism and class greed are often carried very much further. Of course, they succeed—up to a certain point. The leader of the

CO-OPERATION IN OTHER LANDS.

largest of these unions in Germany not long ago, when declining my invitation on behalf of his union to become a member of the International Co-operative Alliance, did so on the ground that his union, having proved successful far away above all other unions, must hold aloof. However, what would remain if his union were to be swept away? Nothing. The ideal of many of these foreign agricultural Co-operators is not the creation of something that will endure and will grow, having a foundation in itself, but an open source of benefits, supplied by the community, for the use of agriculture, from which those who want anything may draw at pleasure—something like the four rivers watering Eden—which simply gives, in a providential way, without calling for any effort, and lasts only while Providence leaves it there. The help so got may yield a good harvest; it can yield nothing more. Light come, it is likely to prove light go. It certainly does not make better men, though it may make better schemers and fighters for their own hand. Evidently a great deal of Rochdale principle is still required to turn Co-operative organisations like those here spoken of into what they might and should be, and what with, after all, their good material and their opportunities and legitimate wants and claims they may still become.

Here we have the Raiffeisen system dragged down into a purely economic sphere. On the other hand, its second distinctive feature, devotion to religion, has been accentuated so as to become denominational. The system has not been otherwise changed in structure. It still aims at and attains the same ends and dispenses the same benefits. But it has become, if not everywhere avowedly, yet everywhere essentially, preponderantly Roman Catholic. There are people, naturally, who eye this peculiar "Church-branded" kind of Co-operation with suspicion, surmising that Co-operation so directly connected with Rome, almost blessed by the Pope in a special Brief, must be intended for eventual abuse for political purposes. Well, that remains to be seen. There is no evidence of such intention yet. If it is entertained, it may be that the Pope will find that he has reckoned without his host, just as Prince Bismarck did when, at the instance of the Socialist Lassalle, he gave Germany manhood suffrage, counting with certainty upon the gratitude of the working classes to reward him with a solid, dependable majority. The upshot was, as it turned out, all the other way. Co-operation may be, as Socialists maintain that it is, a capital training school for Socialism; it cannot possibly be a training school for absolutism and dictation. Meanwhile this "Catholic" Co-operation—which, be it remembered, is "Catholic" only in Catholic countries—is doing a great deal to benefit the poor people. The denominational method may be bad; the practical

CO-OPERATION IN OTHER LANDS.

results are good. It reaches down to the lowest pauper and creates all varieties of Co-operative institutions. Italy has already over a thousand village banks of this type, with Co-operative dairies, stores, wine presses, &c. attached, to say nothing of the town banks which act to some extent as centres, and which invariably function under the sign of some chosen patron saint. In France M. L. Durand keeps, figuratively speaking, stamping these societies out of the ground, as Pompey did legions. In Germany the Lutherans have been quick to follow the Roman Catholic example, organising equally religious "Peasants' Unions" of their own, which go so far as to find their members in Co-operative "law." In Belgium and the Netherlands the Roman Catholic *Boerenbonds* have assumed a particularly sable dye, but have not yet had time to become as useful as their counterparts elsewhere. Needless to say, other Co-operative movements for the present have nothing to say to the Roman Catholics, who in moments of excitement sometimes amiably style them "Belial." Nor will Roman Catholic Co-operators have much to say to others. The rivalry subsisting has this good result that it produces a rather keen competition, each system desiring to be beforehand with the other and "head it off." In this way Co-operation may be said to gain.

There is a final chapter to the history of Co-operation which I have to tell, which is more particularly connected with the distributive form. Before I open it, a few words seem due to what has been going on in a different quarter, to some extent paving the way for that democratic incursion which is the characteristic feature of the present epoch.

Co-operative production scarcely counts for much anywhere abroad, except in France, which, as being the country of the Revolution of 1848, is considered its birthplace and its peculiar home. Of the societies formed in 1848, with great hopes of a permanent "socialisation" of industry, at the present time only one survives. But the old Republican spirit still pervades all that exist, and infuses into them that mixture of dash and patient perseverance which makes for success. Printers, house painters, cabinet-makers, cabmen—the last named running about 1,000 Co-operative cabs in the streets of Paris—whatever their calling may be, you find that what they value in Co-operation is less the additional shilling or half-crown earned than the Republican independence which it assures to them. As for additional earnings, these men have often enough in times of trial had to pinch on less than the ordinary wage. And they have done so patiently, in view of the ultimate benefit to be gained. The lithographers of Paris have twice struggled through heavy insolvencies—one almost

CO-OPERATION IN OTHER LANDS.

crushing—toiling on from year to year, not for themselves but for their creditors, rather than take advantage of the Bankruptcy Act, liquidate, and start afresh. They insisted upon paying every penny of the principal due, and every farthing of interest. Such an act as this alone argues character, which deserves to be honoured. Unfortunately, together with the Republican spirit these Co-operators have, until recently, also retained their distinctively Republican form of organisation and their Republican fondness for even the outward appearance of equality, which renders administration and the choice of capable chiefs difficult. In both respects a remarkable change has recently taken place. Co-operators now know how to value capable directors, and gladly pay them according to their worth, which has improved management. Deprived of sufficient capital by pedantic adherence to the old rule, which allowed only working craftsmen to be members in each society, many societies have of necessity had to procure themselves a market for their goods under shelter of official patronage. This is objectionable, of course, though in France allowance should be made for exceptional temptation. But, in truth, rather too much has been made of this feature. There are many productive societies, large and small, which compete fairly in the open market and obtain ample orders. And although some societies—as, for instance, several societies of cabinet-makers—would find it difficult to subsist without official patronage, they are known to give value for money in the shape of more dependable work. This productive Co-operation presents a peculiarly attractive appearance when it descends into the humbler callings, such as those of paviors and stone hewers. And that leads us on to a particularly noteworthy form of democratic Co-operation which has its home in Italy—that of the *braccianti* and *muratori*, whom it is an absolute mistake to speak of, as has been done at a recent British Congress, as Co-operative “labour gangs.” Many of the old-fashioned Russian *artels* are “labour gangs” truly enough. They combine for their job and then separate. The Italian *braccianti* and *muratori*, however poor their members may be, and however humble may be their work, certainly have very much higher aims in view. They distinctly want their society to be a permanent, pronouncedly collectivist institution. It is, in their conception of it, to lead on to a fundamental reform of State organisation on collectivist lines. Whatever these people be, they call, and consider themselves, Socialists. They combined for Co-operation because they were too miserably poor to strike against starvation wages. They have organised societies in which every member is required to take a share, to be paid up by easy instalments, which will be eventually repaid out of profits. They undertake contracts, which a special law has enabled them to do.

CO-OPERATION IN OTHER LANDS.

Out of their receipts they pay fair wages, but not a farthing of profit is divided until the reserve fund, which is to provide the collectivist indivisible working capital, has reached a certain figure. When opportunity presents itself they rent land for collectivist occupation. Such an experiment was made, with very fair promise of success, at Ostia. They form part, of course, of the organised labour movement, enlisting in the local "Chamber of Labour," and they have contributed in a large measure to the formation of the new, democratic, National (Co-operative) League. They are political, no doubt, but they set very special store by education. They have successfully raised wages wherever they are sufficiently strong to do so, and in certain districts already absolutely control contract work, and they have put a stop to that abominable employment of child labour in those pestiferous rice swamps where little urchins, standing up to their ankles in foul water, under a scorching sun, were engaged for days together weeding—and contracting lifelong fever. Men of this kind, combining in abject weakness, are often enough brought face to face with serious difficulties, to which some of the smaller societies have succumbed. But the movement is going on.

Not on this ground alone does Socialism, or what believes itself to be such, appear to have become a very active ally of Co-operation. Spain is organising its new Co-operative Societies distinctly on collectivist lines. In the Netherlands what working-man's Co-operation there is is taking a pronouncedly democratic, partly a Socialist, form. So is the very little Co-operation which is to be found among industrial working men in Denmark. In Switzerland the example of a most original Co-operator, Herr Gschwind, of Oberwyl, bids fair to exercise considerable influence. His idea is to make all trade, all enterprise—in fact, all possessions—in a given district collectivist and Co-operative. District by district the country is in this way to be converted, and then there will be a collectivist State! Herr Gschwind has made a beginning in his own parish. Truth to tell, though he has ventured upon a determined start at several points, and finds, owing to accommodating credit, that he can do with comparatively little capital, he has not yet made much headway. But he has scored one remarkably lucky hit. He has organised the supply of electric light and power on Co-operative lines with such signal success that this institution has spread, I believe, over the whole of his little Canton.

That brings me up to the final chapter of my tale: the story of the new democratic movement which, blending with the other beginnings just spoken of, is making its influence felt all over Europe. You cannot tell precisely at what particular point it

CO-OPERATION IN OTHER LANDS.

began. There was evidently unrest and a longing for something more democratic, more beneficial to working men, than was prevalent, in more quarters than one. Working-man opinion rebelled against the exaggerated worship of capital, the monopolising of working-man's Co-operation by the middle classes, and the baneful narrowing of the Co-operative aim. In Italy, concurrently with the societies of the *braccianti* and *muratori*—it may be before them—working-men's Co-operative associations were formed which were very democratic. Like the large distributive society of Sampierdarena and the engineers' society in the same place, they might declare themselves anti-Socialist, or else, like the excellent society of Turin, which has, by coalition with the friendly societies in the district, grown into the powerful *Alleanza*, they might own themselves Socialist. In any case they were genuine working men's societies, pursuing working men's aims. In the "seventies" the Socialist *International* collapsed of atrophy and divisions, breathing its last in Belgium, where priestly domination by a natural reaction keeps the Socialist party strong. Its members survived. Casting about for some new method of organisation, they bethought themselves of Co-operation, and discovered that Co-operation might be turned to account as an admirable training school and make-penny—Co-operation, which had up to then been contemptuously spurned by Socialists everywhere, and has been so until recently elsewhere. In weakness and poverty Socialist Co-operative Societies were formed, with the avowed object of being employed to serve the party as milch cows, by means of a levy regularly made on the profits in aid of a propagandist party fund.

The striking success of the *Vooruit* of Ghent and the *Maison du Peuple* of Brussels, both formed about the same time, in 1880, gave the movement a powerful impetus. Socialists felt that they had found the proper weapon for new warfare. *Maisons du Peuple* sprung up in towns all over the country, almost as "Trees of Liberty" did in France at the time of the Revolution. Such *Maisons du Peuple* are very much more than mere stores. They are centres of working-man life and activity. In them the working man finds his shop, his bank, his club, his library, his restaurant, his free dispensary, his discussion forum. In them he is trained to think and act as a Socialist. Party politics are canvassed, party moves prepared. Outside, "the people" meet, when occasion requires, to be harangued in the Socialist interest, from a window or balcony. And it has been found that districts in which the *Maison du Peuple* is strong invariably return Socialist Deputies to Parliament. Here is an encouraging proof of power in the organisation! The Belgian example accordingly impressed its lesson upon Socialists and Democrats elsewhere. The French

CO-OPERATION IN OTHER LANDS.

Socialists have now become ardent Co-operators. Their movement is still in its infancy, but it is spreading. In Italy, where the *Lega Nazionale*—the national “Co-operative Union”—rather severely ignored by the Co-operative leaders till it became too strong to be given the cold shoulder, had prepared the way for action. The *Maison du Peuple*, here called *Casa del Popolo*, is being resorted to specifically as a means for organising democratic Co-operation in the rural districts. The hope is entertained that by such means, in addition to the benefits which result from the institution in Belgium, among an almost purely industrial population, in Italy small cultivators and the land may be brought together on living terms, the exacting middleman being replaced by the necessarily fair-dealing Co-operative Society. While Socialists and Democrats were arming in these three more or less “Latin” countries, by a natural rebound from excessive worship of capital, a new movement was started on rather different but equally democratic lines in Germany. Distributive societies, so it was thought, were being neglected. Certainly they were seriously hampered by pedantic insistence upon that antiquated rule which forbids alike productive workshops and saving departments in connection with distribution.

Working men and those who act with them, and for them, were not likely to rest content indefinitely, merely looking on, while “middle-class” interests were being persistently put forward and their defence—the defence of private retail trade, even as against associated consumers—represented as the main object of a great Co-operative Union. There seemed all the less sense in this since distributive societies, catering for the small man, kept increasing rapidly in number, power, and membership, thus obtaining the mark of public approval and of justification by success for their democratic movement. Between 1890 and 1901 distributive societies in the Schulze Delitzsch Union increased in number from 263 to 638, and their membership grew from 215,420 to 630,755, so as to outnumber the other societies making returns of the same Union. The working men Co-operators tenaciously kept inside the old Union, and were careful to bring in others, like-minded with themselves. Evidently their object was, in course of time, to become the more powerful section, and then to compel the Union to accept their principles, which mean: elimination of the middleman for the consumers’ benefit, independent production for the direct supply of goods to the Stores, and the institution of savings departments. Antagonism between the two sections grew fierce, and bitter things were openly said on both sides. Since as long ago as 1893 there has been friction severe enough to foreshadow a rupture. Things were brought to a climax last September, at the Annual Congress of the Union, when the “old gang,” being still

CO-OPERATION IN OTHER LANDS.

in a large majority, avowedly judged the time come for putting such power to a high-handed use in order to prevent the threatened swamping process. Upon the motion of the governing Board, the Congress, by a very large majority, voted the expulsion of 98 distributive societies there and then. The spokesmen of the Board at the same time openly threatened to deal with many others in the same way. There was no fighting against overwhelming numbers. The 98 societies had to go. Their friends, as a matter of course, made common cause with them; and on the spot a new Union was constituted, which is to represent democratic principles and working men's interests. The movement has developed so fast in the past that there can be no doubt that there is a prosperous—it may be, even a brilliant—future in store for it. The sympathies of most British Co-operators will presumably go with the new Union. In any case, then, in Germany also the working men's cause is advancing.

The reflecting mirror having thus been passed all round, it will be admitted that there is ample variety in what throughout Europe styles itself "Co-operation," and that perhaps the inquiry first suggested, into statistics of the effects produced, might without some explanation not have proved quite so useful as at first blush the idea was apt to suggest. Rather imposing figures might be produced from countries in which the millions granted by the State facilitate what is thought to be Co-operation. On the other hand, where Co-operation is democratic the effect of its work might easily be underrated. For the organisation of Wholesale Societies, without which the distributive movement can impossibly work at its best, is on the Continent still in its infancy. The good material is there; but it waits to be made effective. Evidently that is now likely to be done. Even where Co-operation is not democratic and has gone a little astray in its eagerness for immediate results there is good stuff enough in it to be manufactured into a better article. What seems wanted is, that these various movements should be brought well in touch with one another, so that the imperfect may learn from the more perfect, the agricultural Co-operators—who now depend upon State aid, studying short-sightedly only their own immediate advantage and considering "Co-operation" merely a matter of cheapening articles of consumption—may be brought to understand that leaning upon others instead of standing firm upon one's own feet is disadvantageous to the person who leans as well as to those who are made to feel his weight in supporting him. There is probably not one movement in the whole half-dozen which is not in a position to bring something that is good and valuable into the common stock, even if it should only be something to balance

CO-OPERATION IN OTHER LANDS.

some exaggerated feature in another movement. In such "concert" of movements British Co-operation, it seems to me, may be made to play a most valuable and important part. And assuredly it will play it. It admits that it does not sufficiently reach the poor as do the Socialist and the religious Co-operative movements. But it is thoroughly democratic, thoroughly a working man's movement, well organised, well centred, and accordingly strong. It has in these respects a pattern to set up for others to follow. If it will patiently maintain touch with them, relying above all things upon the teaching force of its example and of necessarily instructive intercourse, it may do much to transform what still is amiss and render an invaluable service to the working population elsewhere.



The British Islands: Their Resources in Live Stock.

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PRACTICALLY it may be said that the governing classes of this country are now, and have been for generations, to a very large extent drawn from the great territorial families or their collateral branches, and yet there has been no section of British industry where statistical information and record has been more generally neglected or incompletely obtained even to the present date than those which refer to British live stock and agricultural pursuits as a whole. Exception may be taken to my statement, but, though undoubtedly great improvement has been made during the past few years in connection with these returns, they cannot yet be termed either complete or satisfactory when, to name two omissions only, there is no reliable statement in respect to the number of horses we possess in the country, nor any reference to that most valuable and important industry in connection with the production of eggs and poultry. Of these two omissions, that in respect to the horses is unquestionably one of primary importance, and one it is difficult to conceive being neglected to the extent it is after the experience we have recently had in connection with the South African War. Why there should be no complete return made of all the horses, as there is supposed to be of the cattle and sheep, &c., is a question which needs immediate attention, particularly so from the fact that public money is voted annually to the Royal Commission on Horse Breeding. Hence it should, seeing public money is devoted to the furtherance of breeding horses, follow that the fullest information in respect to this industry, which is, though only to a limited extent, supported by the State, be made available to the public who supply the funds. The real nature of the returns in connection with horses will be more fully explained under their sectional heading, but it has been considered advisable to give prominence to this question in the introduction so that the importance of the omission may be placed in the forefront and thus attract, it is

THE BRITISH ISLANDS: THEIR RESOURCES IN LIVE STOCK.

hoped, such notice as will ere long result in full and complete returns being made of this important section of our "Live Stock Resources."

It was the intention to have prepared and tabulated a series of tables covering the last fifty years of the nineteenth century, an object which was unfortunately prevented by the fact that earlier than the year 1871 it was found the records covering the whole of the United Kingdom were not complete, and therefore it became compulsory to limit the period of comparison to that from the year 1871 to 1901 inclusive. The several tables will be dealt with in their order, and no further reference is necessary at present other than to say that every care has been taken to secure the most reliable data from which to obtain the results tabulated. In all cases official figures have been used, and in the percentages the actual, and not the nearest, figures have been given.

The term "Live Stock" for the purpose of this paper includes horses, cattle, sheep, and pigs. Each of these are dealt with in separate sections, and so that the several divisions of the United Kingdom can be compared one with the other, separate comparative tables having been prepared for each, a uniform plan being followed, and all results shown in the different tables, which are complete within themselves, have been obtained by the same method.

HORSES.

The results we have tabulated are those taken from the Agricultural Returns for the United Kingdom, and include only (1) horses used solely for agriculture (a term which is stated in the official publication to include mares kept for breeding), (2) unbroken horses one year and above, and (3) unbroken horses under one year.

There are, therefore, three divisions which go to make up the aggregate returns in this section, and from the indefinite manner of the classification it is absolutely impossible to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion as to what they consist of. For instance, does the first class in the case of a landowner farming his own land and keeping thoroughbred brood mares include those brood mares? or do divisions 2 and 3, "unbroken horses," include unbroken thoroughbred, hunter, hackney, or other colts? If so, for it would appear impossible to fully comply with the requirements of the returns and not include them, why should they be returned as unbroken and unmatured horses and not when they are made and matured? Then, again, why are no returns secured and tabulated from the owners of thoroughbred studs, livery stable keepers, the omnibus, tramway, railway, and carrying companies, nor of the hunters, carriage, harness, and pleasure horses owned by the private gentlemen throughout the country? Most, if not the

THE BRITISH ISLANDS: THEIR RESOURCES IN LIVE STOCK.

whole of the large number of horses owned by the foregoing, there is every reason to believe, are not included in the numbers given in our tables, and hence they can only be taken as representing a portion, and probably but a minor portion, of a very important section of the live stock resources of the kingdom. Attempts might have been made to have computed the number of horses owned by those who are not required to make returns to the Board of Agriculture, but such computations would have been at their best the merest estimates, and, the object of this paper being to prepare reliable references for both present and future requirements, it was deemed better, even at the risk of incompleteness, to use only official figures.

ENGLAND.

PERIOD.	Average Yearly Number.	+ or - Over Previous Corresponding Period.	Average Number per Head of Population.	Average Number per Acre of Cultivated Area.
1871-1875	988,715	....	0.04	0.04
1876-1880	1,081,946	+ 9.43	0.04	0.04
1881-1885	1,085,940	+ 0.36	0.04	0.04
1886-1890	1,094,683	+ 0.86	0.04	0.04
1891-1895	1,169,420	+ 6.82	0.04	0.04
1896-1900	1,167,708	- 0.14	0.04	0.04
1901	1,161,914	- 0.49	0.03	0.04

This table shows that in England, during the first twenty-five years of the period under review, there was a steady and progressive increase in the number of horses given in the returns. The highest yearly total was 1,190,038 in the year 1896, since when there has been a slight annual reduction, probably arising from the further reduction of the arable portion of the cultivated area of the country, whilst the diminished proportion per head of the population for the year 1901 is fully accounted for by the increase in the population shown by the census returns for that year.

WALES.

PERIOD.	Average Yearly Number.	+ or - Over Previous Corresponding Period.	Average Number per Head of Population.	Average Number per Acre of Cultivated Area.
1871-1875	120,789	....	0.08	0.04
1876-1880	132,275	+ 9.50	0.08	0.04
1881-1885	138,924	+ 5.02	0.08	0.04
1886-1890	140,757	+ 1.32	0.08	0.04
1891-1895	147,403	+ 4.72	0.08	0.05
1896-1900	153,685	+ 4.26	0.08	0.05
1901	154,624	+ 0.61	0.07	0.05

THE BRITISH ISLANDS: THEIR RESOURCES IN LIVE STOCK.

There has been throughout the whole period a steady progress in connection with the number of horses in this division. Each quinquennial period shows an increase over its predecessor; and there is a further matter for gratification, namely, the fact that the number of horses returned for the year 1901 is in excess of that for the average of the previous five years. The proportionate number per head of the population is considerably larger than that of any other division of the United Kingdom except Ireland. It is evident, though, that the population in the industrial and manufacturing centres is increasing at a more rapid rate at the present time than the number of horses, as the proportion of the latter to the former for the past year, 1901, is one point lower than it was during the last quinquennial period. One other point in connection with this division is also worthy of note, namely, that the horse population shows an increase per acre of cultivated area as compared with the earlier part of the period under review, and at the same time that the proportion in Wales since 1890 has been higher than in any other part of the United Kingdom during this period.

ENGLAND AND WALES.

PERIOD.	Average Yearly Number.	+ or - Over Previous Corresponding Period.	Average Number per Head of Population.	Average Number per Acre of Cultivated Area.
1871-1875	1,109,504	....	0·04	0·04
1876-1880	1,214,221	+ 9·43	0·04	0·04
1881-1885	1,224,864	+ 0·87	0·04	0·04
1886-1890	1,235,440	+ 0·86	0·04	0·04
1891-1895	1,316,823	+ 6·58	0·04	0·04
1896-1900	1,321,393	+ 0·34	0·04	0·04
1901	1,316,538	- 0·36	0·04	0·04

As England and Wales are for so many purposes treated as one country and one division of the United Kingdom, it has been deemed advisable to prepare a series of tables giving the combined results for these countries. From these, as stated above, it will be observed that, whilst there has been practically no variation of any moment in respect to either the number of horses per head of the population or of cultivated area, there has been during the whole of the period under review sufficient increase in the number of horses to keep pace with the increase of population, the comparative small reduction disclosed in the number of horses returned in 1901 being more probably than not a matter of only a temporary character.

THE BRITISH ISLANDS: THEIR RESOURCES IN LIVE STOCK.

SCOTLAND.

PERIOD.	Average Yearly Number.	+ or - Over Previous Corresponding Period.	Average Number per Head of Population.	Average Number per Acre of Cultivated Area.
1871-1875	178,652	....	0.05	0.03
1876-1880	191,716	+7.31	0.05	0.04
1881-1885	189,591	-1.10	0.05	0.03
1886-1890	190,180	+0.31	0.05	0.03
1891-1895	202,318	+6.37	0.04	0.04
1896-1900	201,169	-0.56	0.04	0.04
1901	194,893	-3.13	0.04	0.03

The tendency in Scotland, as disclosed by our table, has been for the horse population to decline, its maximum numbers during the period having been reached in that from 1891 to 1895, the highest yearly return being that for 1895, when the total was 207,233. The proportionate number of horses to the population is steadily decreasing, which would also appear to be the case in respect to its proportion per acre of the cultivated area, to judge from the results disclosed by the yearly returns for the last three years, 1899, 1900, and 1901, each of which show a reduced total in the aggregate returns.

GREAT BRITAIN.

PERIOD.	Average Yearly Number.	+ or - Over Previous Corresponding Period.	Average Number per Head of Population.	Average Number per Acre of Cultivated Area.
1871-1875	1,288,156	....	0.04	0.04
1876-1880	1,405,937	+9.14	0.04	0.04
1881-1885	1,414,455	+0.06	0.04	0.04
1886-1890	1,425,620	+0.07	0.04	0.04
1891-1895	1,522,573	+6.80	0.04	0.04
1896-1900	1,521,152	-0.01	0.04	0.04
1901	1,511,431	-0.64	0.04	0.04

The result of the combined totals for England, Wales, and Scotland, which make up the area of Great Britain, disclose a condition of affairs which may be considered as satisfactory, for, notwithstanding the increase in the population during the period covered by these tables, the proportionate number of horses has been fully maintained.

THE BRITISH ISLANDS: THEIR RESOURCES IN LIVE STOCK.

IRELAND.

PERIOD.	Average Yearly Number.	+ or - Over Previous Corresponding Period.	Average Number per Head of Population.	Average Number per Acre of Culti- vated Area.
1871-1875	474,062	....	0·08	0·03
1876-1880	498,547	+ 5·16	0·09	0·03
1881-1885	484,566	- 2·80	0·09	0·03
1886-1890	507,587	+ 4·75	0·10	0·03
1891-1895	556,555	+ 9·64	0·12	0·03
1896-1900	518,876	- 6·77	0·11	0·03
1901	491,430	- 5·28	0·11	0·03

Ireland, unfortunately for her material prosperity, shows the highest proportionate number of horses per head of her diminishing population, which has gone on increasing at each of the several periods given in the above table except the last, namely, 1896 to 1900, when, not from the fact that the population increased, but because the number of horses decreased, there was a reduction of one point in the proportionate rate per head of population. With all the great advantages of soil and climate, and with that notoriously high reputation for its horses, it is a matter of serious concern to note that a material and important decline is shown to have taken place in the quinquennial period from 1896 to 1900 compared with that for the corresponding period of 1891 to 1895, a fact further accentuated by the numbers in the returns for 1901—491,430—which is the lowest annual return since that for the year 1877. These returns range for the past thirty-one years from 557,139 in 1895 to 468,089, the total for the year 1874.

THE UNITED KINGDOM.

PERIOD.	Average Yearly Number.	+ or - Over Previous Corresponding Period.	Average Number per Head of Population.	Average Number per Acre of Culti- vated Area.
1871-1875	1,826,133	....	0·05	0·03
1876-1880	1,913,936	+ 5·15	0·05	0·04
1881-1885	1,908,279	- 0·29	0·05	0·03
1886-1890	1,942,290	+ 1·78	0·05	0·04
1891-1895	2,075,531	+ 6·85	0·05	0·04
1896-1900	2,050,827	- 1·14	0·05	0·04
1901	2,011,701	- 1·97	0·05	0·04

The aggregate result for the whole of the United Kingdom is brought out in the preceding table. From this it will be seen that,

THE BRITISH ISLANDS: THEIR RESOURCES IN LIVE STOCK.

although the average of the aggregate total for the past five years is just over 1 per cent. less than the preceding five years, the proportionate number of horses compared either with the population or cultivated area at that date is, with but slight variation, the same as it was thirty years ago. This is very satisfactory, and discloses the welcome fact that the equine population has to all intents and purposes maintained the needful rate of increase to equal the requirements made by the increased population. The reduction of the total for 1901 to below that for the average of the preceding five years is a matter that may or may not be ascribed to the increased requirements for military purposes, a fact that will require another quinquennial period to expire before it can be definitely decided one way or another, mainly on account of the great uncertainty that exists of how many, if any, of the horses taken for military purposes were included in the returns for the years prior to 1901.

CATTLE.

The returns for this section are far more complete than those for horses, though there is still room for more detailed information. However, in this country, particularly in respect to agricultural statistical information, it is a matter of considerable difficulty to secure any improvement or alteration of detail. Therefore, whilst not in any degree being satisfied with either the scope or completeness of the details given, approval may be expressed that such useful divisions as cows and heifers in milk or in calf, cattle two years old and above, cattle one year and under two, and cattle under one year have been separately given, and the hope entertained that in the near future steps will be taken to secure returns so that the number of animals kept for stud, male and female, for dairy, and for feeding may also be given.

ENGLAND.

PERIOD.	Average Yearly Number.	+ or - Over Previous Corresponding Period.	Average Number per Head of Population.	Average Number per Acre of Cultivated Area.
1871-1875	4,054,074	....	0.18	0.16
1876-1880	4,075,520	+0.52	0.17	0.16
1881-1885	4,324,461	+6.10	0.17	0.17
1886-1890	4,543,192	+5.06	0.17	0.18
1891-1895	4,741,195	+4.35	0.17	0.19
1896-1900	4,701,258	-0.88	0.16	0.18
1901	4,791,535	+1.92	0.15	0.19

Practically right away from the year 1871 there has been a steady and progressive increase in the number of cattle in England.

THE BRITISH ISLANDS: THEIR RESOURCES IN LIVE STOCK.

There have been variations in the yearly totals, these having ranged, during the period under review, from 4,968,590 in 1892, the maximum, to 3,671,064, the return for 1871 and minimum. Taking, however, the quinquennial periods and averaging their aggregate totals, we secure the result given in the second column of the foregoing table. This shows, as already stated, a steady and progressive increase in each period except that for the years 1896-1900, when the small reduction of 0·88 per cent. was shown, which may be considered as having been more or less brought about by a reaction resulting from the low range of values realised in the early nineties. We find on reference to the yearly totals for the past three years that these have each been above that recorded as the average for the five years ending in 1900 or in 1895. Another source of satisfaction demonstrated by the above method of comparison is that the number of cattle per acre of the cultivated area of the country is now larger than it was thirty years ago, and that in this respect last year's total is as high as it has ever been, namely, 0·19 per acre. It is, however, very patent, on the other hand, that were it not for the supplies from outside sources England alone would not be able in any sense of the word to provide for its own requirements, the present ratio of cattle to population being 0·15 per capita, as against 0·18 thirty-one years ago.

WALES.

PERIOD.	Average Yearly Number.	+ or - Over Previous Corresponding Period.	Average Number per Head of Population.	Average Number per Acre of Cultivated Area.
1871-1875	631,712	...	0·44	0·23
1876-1880	631,914	+0·03	0·42	0·23
1881-1885	668,286	+5·77	0·42	0·23
1886-1890	699,999	+4·74	0·41	0·24
1891-1895	730,242	+4·32	0·41	0·25
1896-1900	723,791	-0·88	0·38	0·25
1901	743,078	+2·65	0·36	0·26

The position of Wales in respect to the cattle industry is in every way most satisfactory. The thirty years' record given in the preceding table brings to notice the fact that whereas at the commencement of this period the proportion of cattle per acre of cultivated area was 0·23, it has now increased to 0·26 in the year 1901, whilst in comparison to population Wales has more than double the cattle per head than is the case in England. The yearly total for 1901, which is 2·65 per cent. in excess of the average one for the preceding five years, is not, however, the

THE BRITISH ISLANDS: THEIR RESOURCES IN LIVE STOCK.

record for the whole period, this having been made in 1891, when the yearly return was 759,309, whilst the lowest yearly total was 596,588, that recorded in 1871, the first year of the period under review.

ENGLAND AND WALES.

PERIOD.	Average Yearly Number.	+ or - Over Previous Corresponding Period.	Average Number per Head of Population.	Average Number per Acre of Cultivated Area.
1871-1875	4,685,786	....	0.20	0.16
1876-1880	4,607,430	-1.67	0.18	0.16
1881-1885	4,992,747	+8.36	0.18	0.18
1886-1890	5,243,191	+5.02	0.18	0.18
1891-1895	5,471,437	+4.35	0.18	0.19
1896-1900	5,425,049	-0.84	0.17	0.19
1901	5,534,613	+2.01	0.17	0.20

With the addition of the more satisfactory condition of affairs prevailing in Wales to those in England, the result of the tables for these two countries combined brings out the fact here disclosed. From this table it is gratifying to note the important fact that the proportion of cattle to the cultivated area in England and Wales is, and has been, steadily on the increase; and that, whereas in 1871-1875 it was only 0.16 per acre, it had increased in 1901 to 0.20. It is also satisfactory to notice that last year's aggregate total, 5,534,613, was in excess of that for any of the quinquennial average totals given in the table, and was 2.01 per cent. higher than the average for the five years ending 1900, which is the largest quinquennial average but one during the last thirty years.

SCOTLAND.

PERIOD.	Average Yearly Number.	+ or - Over Previous Corresponding Period.	Average Number per Head of Population.	Average Number per Acre of Cultivated Area.
1871-1875	1,127,337	....	0.32	0.24
1876-1880	1,102,287	-2.22	0.30	0.23
1881-1885	1,116,876	+1.32	0.29	0.23
1886-1890	1,138,912	+1.97	0.28	0.23
1891-1895	1,208,418	+6.10	0.29	0.24
1896-1900	1,218,418	+0.82	0.27	0.24
1901	1,229,281	+0.85	0.27	0.25

Scotland, whose capabilities for the production of high-class beef and cattle are known all over the world, holds a record, as disclosed in the foregoing table, of which indeed she may be justly

THE BRITISH ISLANDS: THEIR RESOURCES IN LIVE STOCK.

proud. In respect to the number of cattle there has been, with the exception of a reduction of 2.22 per cent. in the average of the second, as compared with the first, quinquennial period, a continuous increase in each of the subsequent periods, and the total for the year 1901, 1,229,281, whilst not quite the highest yearly total during the thirty-one years, is 0.85 per cent. in excess of the average for the past five years, and this, it will be observed, is higher than any of the other comparative totals given in this table. Then, taking the comparison of the number of cattle, which in 1901 was larger than it had been since the year 1898, we find that the number of cattle per acre was higher than at any other period covered by the table. The increase in the population has, however, been in excess of that of the cattle, and, therefore, it follows in this section, as in those which precede it, that there is need for importation of meat supplies from beyond the seas.

GREAT BRITAIN.

PERIOD.	Average Yearly Number.	+ or - Over Previous Corresponding Period.	Average Number per Head of Population.	Average Number per Acre of Cultivated Area.
1871-1875	5,813,123	..	0.20	0.18
1876-1880	5,809,721	-0.05	0.20	0.18
1881-1885	6,109,803	+5.16	0.20	0.18
1886-1890	6,373,103	+4.30	0.19	0.19
1891-1895	6,639,946	+4.18	0.18	0.20
1896-1900	6,643,463	+0.05	0.18	0.20
1901	6,763,894	+1.86	0.18	0.20

Aided by the increase in the cattle of Scotland, the table for Great Britain discloses the fact that, with the exception of a reduction of 0.05 per cent. shown between the averages for 1871-1875 and those for 1876-1880, there has been a continuous increase in each successive period, with the still more gratifying and important fact that the total for the year ending June 4th, 1901, was practically 2 per cent. in excess of the average for the five preceding years. The results given in the third and fourth columns of the table are a curious instance of the transposition of the proportionate number of cattle per head of the population and to the cultivated area, for whereas in the first three quinquennial periods the former was 0.20 per head and the latter 0.18 per acre, these results were exactly reversed in the last three periods given, the middle one being 0.19 in both cases; the actual result being that, whereas in 1871-1875 the number of cattle was 0.20 per capita and 0.18 per acre, the position in 1896-1900 and in 1901 was exactly reversed.

THE BRITISH ISLANDS: THEIR RESOURCES IN LIVE STOCK.

IRELAND.

PERIOD.	Average Yearly Number.	+ or - Over Previous Corresponding Period.	Average Number per Head of Population.	Average Number per Acre of Cultivated Area.
1871-1875	4,082,384	....	0.76	0.26
1876-1880	4,016,518	- 1.61	0.76	0.26
1881-1885	4,075,673	+ 1.47	0.81	0.26
1886-1890	4,137,175	+ 1.51	0.86	0.27
1891-1895	4,438,753	+ 7.28	0.96	0.29
1896-1900	4,494,748	+ 1.24	0.99	0.29
1901	4,673,323	+ 3.95	1.04	0.30

The doleful reports one reads of the agricultural condition of Ireland are hardly borne out by facts such as are disclosed in the foregoing table, which is, without exception, the most satisfactory one in respect to the cattle industry for any of the divisions of the United Kingdom. In a very striking manner it brings out the fact that if more attention and energy were given to agriculture and less to politics the future of Ireland as an agricultural country could indeed be made a bright and prosperous one. It is not necessary to refer in any detail to the increase in the number of cattle in Ireland; this is readily seen from the preceding table. It will, however, be of interest to observe that the number of cattle returned for the year ending June 4th, 1901, is the highest that has been recorded for the past thirty years, and is, as the table shows, practically 4 per cent. in excess of the average of the previous five years. In comparing the number of cattle with the population the increased proportionate rate of the former to the latter is a matter of great regret, and it is no great honour, but quite the contrary, to place upon record that in Ireland the cattle are in excess of the population; on the other hand, the high proportionate number of cattle per acre, 0.30, only discloses the fact how very valuable a country Ireland is, even under the existing circumstances, in connection with the cattle industry of the United Kingdom.

THE UNITED KINGDOM.

PERIOD.	Average Yearly Number.	+ or - Over Previous Corresponding Period.	Average Number per Head of Population.	Average Number per Acre of Cultivated Area.
1871-1875	9,932,443	....	0.30	0.21
1876-1880	9,864,108	- 0.06	0.29	0.20
1881-1885	10,225,379	+ 3.66	0.28	0.21
1886-1890	10,568,799	+ 3.35	0.28	0.22
1891-1895	11,120,955	+ 5.22	0.28	0.23
1896-1900	11,178,958	+ 0.52	0.27	0.23
1901	11,477,824	+ 2.67	0.27	0.23

THE BRITISH ISLANDS: THEIR RESOURCES IN LIVE STOCK.

The aggregate summary of the cattle industry for the whole of the United Kingdom is given in the foregoing table, and, viewed in the broadest light, it would hardly be correct to assume that the condition of the home supplies has in any degree been the cause of the rise in the value of the commodity produced from the raw material—"the bullock." The calculations in the foregoing table disclose the fact that in each of the quinquennial periods since 1880 there has been a continuous increase in the average yearly number of cattle, and also that the total number declared for the year ending June 4th, 1901, namely, 11,477,824, was 2·67 per cent. in excess of the average for the previous five years, and was, with the exception of the yearly total for 1892—11,519,417—the highest during the period of thirty-one years included in this review. The proportionate number of cattle per head of the population, though at the present time smaller than it was thirty years ago, was, it should be remembered, equal in the year 1901 to that for the whole of the preceding five years, whilst the number of cattle per acre of the cultivated area (0·23) shows a satisfactory but by no means excessive increase as compared with 0·20 per acre for the years 1876–1880.

SHEEP.

The several divisions in which these animals are now returned have, it is worthy of note, been made uniform for the whole of the kingdom by reason of the Irish returns for the past year being made in the same form as the rest of the kingdom, namely, as follows:—Ewes kept for breeding, other sheep one year and above, and ditto under one year. Another division, however, is surely necessary, namely, for stud rams, because under the present system of classification these are included in one or other of the two last sections, to neither of which they really belong. The facts disclosed in respect to the sheep industry will be dealt with as they arise in their several sections. They may, however, be referred to in general terms here, and for this reason, namely, that the enormous losses which were the result of the wet years of the later seventies, culminating in that disastrous year 1879, were so tremendously heavy that our flocks twenty years afterwards are still far and away less numerically than they were previous to the time mentioned above. Indeed, it is very evident that the recuperative power is hardly more than sufficient to maintain them at their lower range of average numbers. This is a matter of serious moment, agriculturally speaking, for many reasons, principal amongst which is the heavy loss to the fertility of the soil of the country which such lessened numbers of sheep have caused, no other animal being nearly so valuable for this purpose, nor in respect to its power and ability to assimilate and convert into food and manure the quickly grown and easily raised catch crops.

THE BRITISH ISLANDS: THEIR RESOURCES IN LIVE STOCK.

ENGLAND.

PERIOD.	Average Yearly Number.	+ or - Over Previous Corresponding Period.	Average Number per Head of Population.	Average Number per Acre of Cultivated Area.
1871-1875	18,717,511	....	0.87	0.78
1876-1880	18,973,728	+1.37	0.82	0.77
1881-1885	15,832,671	-6.55	0.65	0.63
1886-1890	16,264,922	+2.73	0.63	0.65
1891-1895	16,748,765	+2.98	0.61	0.67
1896-1900	15,948,995	-4.74	0.55	0.64
1901	15,548,057	-2.51	0.50	0.63

The position disclosed in respect to the number of sheep in England in the foregoing table is one that can only be viewed with seriousness, for whereas in the period of 1871-1875 we had in England 0.87, or over seventeen-twentieths, of a sheep per capita, we have now but 0.50, or ten-twentieths; and, further, there is almost an equally large reduction in the *pro rata* proportion of sheep per acre of the cultivated area. The range in the yearly totals for the past thirty-one years was from 19,859,758 in 1892, the maximum, to 14,947,994 in 1882, the minimum; whilst the total number for the past year, 1901, 15,548,057, is, with the exception of the totals for the year 1882, given above, and for 1881, 15,382,856, the lowest yearly total during the period under review.

WALES.

PERIOD.	Average Yearly Number.	+ or - Over Previous Corresponding Period.	Average Number per Head of Population.	Average Number per Acre of Cultivated Area.
1871-1875	2,911,385	....	2.04	1.09
1876-1880	2,850,547	-2.08	1.90	1.03
1881-1885	2,598,153	-8.85	1.64	0.92
1886-1890	2,780,703	+7.41	1.65	0.97
1891-1895	3,122,562	+12.29	1.77	1.09
1896-1900	3,304,151	+5.81	1.74	1.16
1901	3,427,734	+3.58	1.70	1.21

The recuperative power of the Welsh flocks has been far greater than that exhibited in the English—in fact, it is more than probable that these flocks never suffered to the same extent as those of England did during the wet seasons of the later seventies.

THE BRITISH ISLANDS: THEIR RESOURCES IN LIVE STOCK.

Although the numbers for the two quinquennial periods of 1876-1880 and 1881-1885 show a very considerable reduction, it is satisfactory to note that the increase shown in the next average given, that for the five years 1886-1890, has continued right up to the present time, last year's total, 3,427,734, being 3.58 per cent. in excess of the average total for the last quinquennial period, 1896-1900. This total is, with the exception of those for the year 1889 (namely, 3,840,689, the maximum yearly total for the period under review) and 1900 (3,432,516), the highest for the thirty-one years; the proportionate number per head of the population being for the past year somewhat lower than in either of the two previous quinquennial periods, but the proportion per acre of cultivated area is larger than during any other comparative period included in the table.

ENGLAND AND WALES.

PERIOD.	Average Yearly Number.	+ or - Over Previous Corresponding Period.	Average Number per Head of Population.	Average Number per Acre of Cultivated Area.
1871-1875	21,628,896	....	0.94	0.78
1876-1880	21,824,275	+0.90	0.87	0.80
1881-1885	18,330,824	-16.00	0.68	0.66
1886-1890	19,045,625	+3.84	0.67	0.68
1891-1895	19,871,327	+4.33	0.66	0.71
1896-1900	18,253,146	-8.14	0.57	0.66
1901	18,975,791	+3.95	0.59	0.68

Combined into one table, the results for England and Wales as a whole are more satisfactory than those for England alone, but still they afford much room for reflection, particularly when the results given for the period of 1871-1875, or either of the other periods given in the table, are taken and compared with those for the last similar period, namely, the years 1896-1900. The seriousness of the loss that has fallen upon the country as a whole, and flock owners more particularly, could not be more easily nor more strikingly shown than it is in this comparison. It is true that the results for the last year are somewhat better, showing as they do an increase under all three heads, but it remains to be seen whether or not this is merely a temporary or permanent increase. It may be hoped, for the benefit of all concerned, that the latter is the case, though there is no question that circumstances at the present time are largely against any material increase being made and maintained.

THE BRITISH ISLANDS: THEIR RESOURCES IN LIVE STOCK.

SCOTLAND.

PERIOD.	Average Yearly Number.	+ or - Over Previous Corresponding Period.	Average Number per Head of Population.	Average Number per Acre of Cultivated Area.
1871-1875	7,161,122	....	2.08	1.57
1876-1880	6,981,013	- 25.1	1.91	1.48
1881-1885	6,883,592	- 1.25	1.83	1.41
1886-1890	6,882,598	- 0.00	1.74	1.41
1891-1895	7,409,432	+ 7.66	1.82	1.51
1896-1900	7,470,842	+ 0.82	1.72	1.52
1901	7,401,409	- 0.92	1.65	1.51

Scotland has the distinction at the present time of having the largest proportion of sheep to its cultivated area of any portion of the kingdom, and with but a little difference it is almost equal to Wales in the number of sheep per head of its population. Practically the recovery from the disastrous period in the seventies commenced, as in the case of Wales, in the quinquennial period of 1886-1890, though the increase in number was not of sufficiently large proportion to make itself felt previous to the next period, that is to say, 1891-1895, when the large increase of 7.66 per cent. was recorded, this being maintained during the following period and slightly added to, so that, although the yearly number for 1901 was somewhat under the average of the previous five years, nearly 1 per cent., there is every ground for anticipating that such falling away may be termed of a temporary description.

GREAT BRITAIN.

PERIOD.	Average Yearly Number.	+ or - Over Previous Corresponding Period.	Average Number per Head of Population.	Average Number per Acre of Cultivated Area.
1871-1875	28,790,018	....	1.07	0.91
1876-1880	27,905,290	- 3.07	0.97	0.87
1881-1885	25,314,416	- 9.28	0.83	0.78
1886-1890	25,928,223	+ 2.42	0.80	0.79
1891-1895	27,280,258	+ 5.21	0.80	0.83
1896-1900	26,732,988	- 2.00	0.74	0.81
1901	26,377,200	- 1.33	0.72	0.81

This table, composed of the combined results given by the two which precede it, brings out the fact mentioned in the introduction

THE BRITISH ISLANDS: THEIR RESOURCES IN LIVE STOCK.

to this section, namely, whether or not the recuperative power of the English flocks can, under the existing circumstances, make up the lost ground in respect to numbers which took place in the years 1871 to 1885. During the ten years from 1886 to 1895 there were strong hopes that this gradual process of breeding up our flocks to the numbers that prevailed in the seventies was being gradually accomplished, but, with the result disclosed by the quinquennial period of 1896-1900, it would appear more than problematical whether or not this will be the case, particularly now that we have that other most important factor turned against the flock master, namely, the ruinously low values that are ruling at the present time for the wool produced by English sheep. When the total for the past year is taken into consideration it will be observed that, whilst it practically maintains the same number of sheep per acre of the cultivated area, it is less by 1·33 per cent. in number than the yearly average for the five preceding years, and shows that, instead of giving an average of nearly one and one-tenth sheep per head of the population, as in the period of 1871-1875, it gives something under three-fourths of a sheep per capita.

IRELAND.

PERIOD	Average Yearly Number.	+ or - Over Previous Corresponding Period.	Average Number per Head of Population.	Average Number per Acre of Cultivated Area.
1871-1875	4,332,612	....	0·81	0·28
1876-1880	3,934,035	- 9·19	0·74	0·25
1881-1885	3,254,117	- 17·28	0·64	0·21
1886-1890	3,697,271	+ 13·61	0·76	0·24
1891-1895	4,398,358	+ 18·95	0·95	0·28
1896-1900	4,255,300	- 3·25	0·96	0·27
1901	4,378,750	+ 2·85	0·98	0·28

The main feature disclosed by the Irish returns is that there has practically been during the past thirty-one years little, if any, advance in the sheep industry of that country, because the proportionate number per acre of cultivated area works out for the past year, when the yearly total number of sheep was 2·85 per cent. in excess of the average for the five preceding years, with exactly the same result as that given for the first period of the table, namely, 1871-1875, the yearly totals having fluctuated during this period from 4,827,702 in 1892, the maximum, to 3,071,493 in 1882, the minimum.

THE BRITISH ISLANDS: THEIR RESOURCES IN LIVE STOCK.

THE UNITED KINGDOM.

PERIOD.	Average Yearly Number.	+ or - Over Previous Corresponding Period.	Average Number per Head of Population.	Average Number per Acre of Cultivated Area.
1871-1875	33,192,418	....	1.03	0.70
1876-1880	31,906,248	-6.91	0.94	0.67
1881-1885	28,631,008	-7.13	0.80	0.59
1886-1890	29,689,535	+3.69	0.80	0.62
1891-1895	31,752,858	+6.91	0.82	0.66
1896-1900	31,051,718	-2.24	0.76	0.64
1901	30,829,889	-0.71	0.74	0.64

From the conclusions arrived at in the remarks upon the preceding tables there remains little need of further details being given in connection with this, the last table of this section, save to call attention to those two most important and material facts which cannot have other than most vital effects upon the welfare of the agricultural community as a whole, namely, that whereas in the first quinquennial period of the past thirty years the proportionate number of sheep per head of the population was well over one, with 7-tenths of a sheep per acre of the whole cultivated area of the kingdom, the corresponding figures for the last quinquennial period showed just about $7\frac{1}{2}$ -tenths of a sheep per capita and $6\frac{1}{2}$ -tenths per acre of cultivated area.

PIGS.

The returns made in connection with this section were not uniform throughout the whole kingdom until the past year, when for the first time the Irish returns were made upon the same basis as those for the other portions of the kingdom, namely, showing in two divisions—sows kept for breeding purposes and other descriptions of pigs. It is questionable whether or not the returns for these animals can be taken as anything but approximate for the reason that it is more than probable many in all parts of the country are not within the ken of the enumerator, particularly those owned by occupiers of cottages in country villages and towns, this more complete and thorough enumeration being a matter that is worthy of immediate attention being given in respect to all sections of live stock. That the mere matter of a few hundreds more or less of any breed of stock may not be of vital importance may be admitted, but the necessity of reliable returns is a matter of most urgent importance, and the reason their utmost completeness is urged is in order that so far as possible every available means may be taken to secure full and comprehensive results. This is neither the time nor the place to

THE BRITISH ISLANDS: THEIR RESOURCES IN LIVE STOCK.

discuss whether or not sufficient funds are provided to secure the results that should be secured, but merely an unrivalled opportunity to bring before a large and important clientage the necessity of this important work being thoroughly done.

ENGLAND.

PERIOD.	Average Yearly Number.	+ or - Over Previous Corresponding Period.	Average Number per Head of Population.	Average Number per Acre of Cultivated Area.
1871-1875	2,100,314	....	0.09	0.08
1876-1880	1,926,500	- 8.27	0.08	0.07
1881-1885	2,066,242	+ 7.35	0.08	0.08
1886-1890	2,063,154	- 0.14	0.07	0.08
1891-1895	2,073,605	+ 0.50	0.07	0.08
1896-1900	2,158,552	+ 0.49	0.07	0.08
1901	1,842,133	- 14.61	0.06	0.07

Considerable variation is the most noticeable feature in respect to the annual returns of swine, and this forms strong ground for the assumption that these annual returns are not of that absolute completeness one would desire. However, by taking the annual returns in quinquennial periods it is probable the averages arrived at will be found more nearly representative of the actual condition of affairs. The foregoing results for England bring out the fact that there has been but little variation between the first and the last of the quinquennial periods into which our table is divided. On the whole the increase works out at about 50,000 head, and shows about the same proportionate number to the acre of cultivated area in the last as in the first period included in the table, whilst the proportionate number per head of the population has decreased from 0.09 in 1871-1875 to 0.07 in 1896-1900.

WALES.

PERIOD.	Average Yearly Number.	+ or - Over Previous Corresponding Period.	Average Number per Head of Population.	Average Number per Acre of Cultivated Area.
1871-1875	218,410	....	0.15	0.08
1876-1880	207,861	- 4.82	0.13	0.07
1881-1885	217,714	+ 4.74	0.13	0.07
1886-1890	231,668	+ 6.40	0.13	0.08
1891-1895	231,169	- 0.21	0.13	0.08
1896-1900	239,795	+ 3.70	0.12	0.08
1901	212,971	- 11.80	0.10	0.07

There has been in Wales a steady increase in the number of swine during the period under review from and after the period

THE BRITISH ISLANDS: THEIR RESOURCES IN LIVE STOCK.

of 1876-1880, with the exception of a slight falling off in the 1886-1890 period. This increase, while it has fairly maintained the proportionate number per acre of cultivated area, has, as is the case in England, shown a decline when compared with the population; or, in other words, the rate of increase in the population has been considerably in excess of that in the supply of pork of home production.

ENGLAND AND WALES.

PERIOD.	Average Yearly Number.	+ or - Over Previous Corresponding Period.	Average Number per Head of Population.	Average Number per Acre of Cultivated Area.
1871-1875	2,318,724	....	0.09	0.08
1876-1880	1,935,261	-16.53	0.07	0.07
1881-1885	2,283,956	+18.01	0.08	0.08
1886-1890	2,294,822	+0.47	0.08	0.08
1891-1895	2,284,739	-0.43	0.07	0.08
1896-1900	2,398,347	+4.96	0.07	0.08
1901	2,055,104	-14.31	0.06	0.07

The combined results for England and Wales bring out the point which has purposely been omitted from notice in the two foregoing sections, namely, the important decrease that is shown to have taken place in the number given for the past year, which it will be observed is no less than 14.31 per cent. below the average of the preceding five years. The cause for so large a reduction is difficult to account for, but the most probable one is that the increased stringency in the administration of the law with regard to the prevention of swine fever (both in respect to compulsory slaughter and movement) has been so effective that it has been the means, temporarily though it be, not only of reducing the increase to a minimum, but actually of stopping it entirely.

SCOTLAND.

PERIOD.	Average Yearly Number.	+ or - Over Previous Corresponding Period.	Average Number per Head of Population.	Average Number per Acre of Cultivated Area.
1871-1875	166,148	....	0.04	0.03
1876-1880	139,238	-16.19	0.03	0.03
1881-1885	148,848	+6.90	0.03	0.03
1886-1890	147,089	-1.18	0.03	0.03
1891-1895	138,155	-6.07	0.03	0.02
1896-1900	137,341	-0.58	0.03	0.02
1901	124,841	-9.11	0.02	0.02

Right away from 1885 the number of swine in Scotland has shown a steady and regular decline one period of comparison as

THE BRITISH ISLANDS: THEIR RESOURCES IN LIVE STOCK.

compared with the other, taking the quinquennial averages as a basis, for these are in this, as in the preceding sections for these animals, evidently more reliable as a data than the yearly totals, which show considerable variation year to year. For instance, quoting the two extremes reached during the past thirty years, we find that in 1897 no fewer than 195,642 swine were returned for Scotland, and that in 1892 the number was as low as 112,015, a difference of over 83,000 head.

GREAT BRITAIN.

PERIOD.	Average Yearly Number.	+ or - Over Previous Corresponding Period.	Average Number per Head of Population.	Average Number per Acre of Cultivated Area.
1871-1875	2,484,872	....	0.09	0.07
1876-1880	2,273,599	- 8.50	0.07	0.07
1881-1885	2,432,804	+ 7.00	0.08	0.07
1886-1890	2,441,911	+ 0.37	0.07	0.07
1891-1895	2,482,924	+ 1.67	0.07	0.07
1896-1900	2,533,688	+ 2.04	0.07	0.07
1901	2,179,925	- 13.92	0.06	0.06

Making the same combination as given in the preceding sections, the foregoing table has been prepared, wherein are combined the aggregate result for England, Wales, and Scotland, and the result shows that the average proportionate number of swine per acre of the cultivated area of the whole country works out at about the same figure now as thirty years back, but that the number of swine, according to the last quinquennial average, was fully two points less per head of the population than in the first of the same periods included in the table. The figures for the last year, 1901, show, however, a still further decline in the last-named comparison, as well as giving the smallest number per acre of the cultivated area shown in the foregoing table.

IRELAND.

PERIOD.	Average Yearly Number.	+ or - Over Previous Corresponding Period.	Average Number per Head of Population.	Average Number per Acre of Cultivated Area.
1871-1875	1,278,417	....	0.23	0.08
1876-1880	1,216,504	- 4.85	0.23	0.07
1881-1885	1,289,056	+ 6.00	0.25	0.08
1886-1890	1,391,449	+ 7.94	0.28	0.09
1891-1895	1,272,759	- 8.35	0.27	0.08
1896-1900	1,323,650	+ 3.99	0.29	0.08
1901	1,219,135	- 7.89	0.27	0.08

THE BRITISH ISLANDS: THEIR RESOURCES IN LIVE STOCK.

The importance of the swine breeding industry in Ireland has long been known and recognised, and the high repute that the products of these animals produced in Ireland hold in the markets of the world is so well known that no reference is needed to remind the reader of the wealth that in former years has been taken to Ireland in exchange for its unrivalled bacon and hams. The highest quinquennial average during the period under review was that from 1886 to 1890, there having been a progressive rise during ten years dating from 1880. This was followed by a sharper falling away, for the next quinquennial total discloses the fact that the whole of the 7·94 per cent. increase in numbers gained during the preceding five years had been lost, together with 0·41 per cent. in addition. The next five years, which brings us down to 1900, show another rise of practically 4 per cent., which, however, is rather discounted by the fact that last year's total shows a deficit of 7·89 per cent. when compared with this period's average yearly total. Turning to the proportionate number of swine per head of the population, we find that in this particular Ireland leads the way over either of the other principal divisions of the kingdom, this being, with the existent diminished population of that country, 0·27 per head, as against 0·23 in 1871-1875, whilst the number per acre of cultivated area remains the same in the last as in the first year of the series given in the foregoing table.

THE UNITED KINGDOM.

PERIOD.	Average Yearly Number.	+ or - Over Previous Corresponding Period.	Average Number per Head of Population.	Average Number per Acre of Cultivated Area.
1871-1875	3,782,134	....	0·11	0·08
1876-1880	3,505,686	-7·20	0·10	0·07
1881-1885	3,736,986	+6·59	0·10	0·07
1886-1890	3,860,334	+3·27	0·10	0·08
1891-1895	3,771,721	-2·32	0·09	0·07
1896-1900	3,874,060	-2·71	0·09	0·08
1901	3,411,129	-11·94	0·08	0·07

The final table for this section combines within itself the results of those for the three main divisions of the kingdom, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and shows in the most concise manner possible, so far as regards the swine section of our live stock resources, there has upon the whole been but little variation in the position it holds now as compared with the corresponding position thirty years since, the slight variation in respect to increase of numbers being in favour of the last-named quinquennial

THE BRITISH ISLANDS: THEIR RESOURCES IN LIVE STOCK.

period, but the proportionate number of swine has, like the results in respect to other animals, failed to keep up its increase at the same ratio as the population of consumers has done, though in this respect the predominance of the latter over the former has not yet assumed any large excess that betokens a near approach of the time when the world's products look like being unable to more than fully supply its wants.

CONCLUSION.

A brief word in conclusion is required to repeat that the object of this paper has been to concisely put on record the live stock resources of the British Islands in such a form that it may be available for both reference and comparison. There has been no mention made of its value either from the pecuniary or national point of view, nor of any of the particular breeds which are comprised within the sub-title of this paper, and whose value in the world's market are without price. These items would form material for papers of equal interest and importance in future years; particularly so would be a record of the value of British stud stock from the point of view of the breeder at home, in the colonies, and abroad, to whom, year in and year out, selections are constantly being despatched, where, by the power of impressiveness resulting from the many generations of thoughtful selection and care, they are enabled to improve the quality and merit of their immediate offspring that these and their descendants are able when sent to our own markets to compete successfully with the second rate, if not some of the lower ranges of our first rate, home produced and fed animals in the supply of food for the ever-increasing number of consumers in our towns and villages.



The Sugar Question in 1902.

BY W. M. J. WILLIAMS.



THE sugar question is moving again, and will have taken a new course, probably, before this paper appears; but the subject is so widely acknowledged as important that it will be of service to survey it, and to mark the movements which recent years chronicle. Particularly important is it to recognise how the question in the United Kingdom has become complicated by the reintroduction of a sugar duty, said to be for revenue purposes, but which cannot but affect proposals which are made by British subjects concerned with sugar, and have, moreover, a very important bearing upon the Convention proposed for ratification as the result of the Brussels Conference of 1902. A halfpenny tax sounds a trifle, but a matter which touches vitally the condition of colonies so wide apart as Queensland, Mauritius, British Guiana, and the West India Islands, not to speak of important interests in foreign realms, is by no means so trifling as it sounds. Again, at home this is, from a social, economic, and commercial point of view, a matter which has always been recognised as of great importance to the British people. The conjunction, therefore, of the imposition of a tax upon sugar imported into the United Kingdom and the agreement on the part of our Government, by the Brussels Convention, to attempt the abolition of bounties, direct or indirect, given to beet sugar productions and exportations on the Continent of Europe, by prohibiting the importation of such bountied goods to the United Kingdom, or by imposing a countervailing duty upon them, cannot be other than an occasion when we should take stock of our position, especially to consider whether such steps as these last are justified in these or any circumstances.

The first point to be observed is that economically the situation has not changed vitally and essentially since Baron de Worms (now Lord Pirbright), as Under-Secretary for the Colonies, introduced a Bill into the House of Commons to ratify the Convention on the Sugar Question which had been made in London between several Powers, and signed on August 30th, 1888. That Convention was not ratified by the British Government, and the Bill had to be withdrawn, though its framers had a large majority, much as is the case to-day. Not only so, it is important to note that all the prime features of the 1888 Convention have reappeared in the proposals of 1898 and 1902, viz., the working in bond under

THE SUGAR QUESTION IN 1902.

constant supervision of revenue officers, the engagement to make no distinction by fiscal means between the product of colonies and that of foreign countries, to prohibit the importation of sugar from bounty-giving countries, or to meet a bounty with a countervailing duty exceeding it, and above all to take a part in the creation of an International Commission which should have power to examine the laws and practices of each party to the Convention, and to declare whether they involved bounty-giving, and, if so, to call upon the offending country, through the various parties, to take steps to countervail such a bounty, or to prohibit the importation of the goods which benefited so. Many readers will still remember how Baron de Worms seemed incapable of realising the force of the arguments used against the ratification of such a Convention, an inability from which his lordship suffers still; but the country was plainly against ratification as soon as it understood the diplomatic language used. The objections might be summed up by saying that under it Great Britain would not have been master in its own house. Not only was it rendered subject to an arrangement which in spirit and in detail was antagonistic to Free Trade, but it made our fiscal legislation subject to interference by other countries. The power to tax or not to tax ourselves as we will would have been taken away. We should have been restricted by an obligation to gain the consent of other nations as to what burden we might impose on our people. The strong Government of 1888 had to sacrifice the feelings of Baron de Worms and Mr. Goschen, and also the Bill. A strong presumption that matters have not changed much economically is found in the fact that all the features deemed mischievous in 1888 are reproduced in the Convention of Brussels, 1902.

Since the failure of 1888, however, the West India Committee has been very active. It consists of "interests" which are said, and said loudly, to be on the brink of perishing. Patronised by some returned Colonial Governors, who good-naturedly show a willingness to aid colonies with which they have been connected officially, and with which some of them have a more material connection, the bulk of the members are bankers and merchants, together with planters in the various colonies, and a number of sugar refiners, whose industry has undoubtedly suffered severely during the last twenty years. It will be recollected how vigorously, and at what an expense, this Committee and its friends have kept up an agitation on the sugar question until this day, working up a movement which has been a force in electoral matters, and which has not failed to sing aloud the wail of distress at the working man out of work. Further, all praise is due to this organisation for the success, to a point, which has attended its efforts, for the West

THE SUGAR QUESTION IN 1902.

India Commission of 1897 and the Brussels Conferences of 1898 and 1902 have in large measure been the result of their work, known and unknown. Nor is it suggested that in some respects the case which they represent is not a legitimate one for attention and inquiry, and the opposition which the Committee has met has not failed to acknowledge that some measures were necessary to prevent a collapse of colonies subject to the strain of economic competition. Opinion, however, differed widely respecting the limits within which aid was legitimate, and the amount of aid was also much canvassed. From the very first the Committee and its friends have taken up a very firm position; in some respects their attitude might be described in harsher terms, for they have not failed in some cases to use threats against the Government of the United Kingdom which have verged upon disloyalty. This was because to this day it has not been found advisable in the interest of the United Kingdom, no less than other portions of the Empire, to adopt the only measure which would satisfy the demands of the sugar interest, viz., prohibition of bounty-fed goods, or a differential tariff which should put the sugar colonies and our refiners in a special position, at the price of dislocating commerce and checking consumption at home, and of raising delicate international issues. Recent events, such as the imposition of a duty on sugar, have rather strained the co-operation of refiners and West India and other planters, but matters seem to be in abatement pending the result of the last Brussels Convention, that of 1902.

In 1896 the British Government appointed a Royal Commission, consisting of Sir Henry Norman, Sir Edward Grey, Bart., M.P., and Sir David Barbour, to proceed to the West Indies to investigate and report on the condition and prospects of those possessions, with particular reference to the claim put forth on their behalf that a countervailing duty should be levied in Great Britain and Ireland in favour of their sugar products, so as to discourage the purchase and consumption of sugars made from beetroot on the Continent. It has been already intimated that the West India Committee had much to do with the appointment of that Royal Commission, and it must be added that it is well known that one or two of the most prominent of the London members of that Committee accompanied the Commissioners on their travels, and further, that a large and preponderating part of the evidence taken was that which had been prepared by their friends. The Commission's Report is dated August 25th, 1897, and it was a document signed by all three members, with an addendum by Sir Henry Norman in favour of a countervailing duty on Continental sugars, while the general report doubted whether such a measure could be of any permanent good, though the account given of the condition of the West India Islands

THE SUGAR QUESTION IN 1902.

and of British Guiana was doleful enough. The report made it clear, too, that the trying circumstances of our West India possessions were by no means the result of the special condition of the sugar industry alone, but that the whole, including the sugar industry, was due largely to the deliberate and long-continued policy of the insular legislatures in making the sugar industry into a monopoly, and, in one or two cases, the sole industry in those possessions. Bounties were shown to be mischievous, as all confess them to be, and, though they aggravated the condition of the West Indies, they were not regarded as the chief factor in the reduction of the price of sugar, which was obviously the salient fact of the situation; the supply from various parts of the world, both of cane and beet sugar, bounty-fed and otherwise, had become so great that the world price of sugar had fallen. In that situation, the fact that many of the West India factories were ill-furnished for competition with newer Continental factories added to the distress. And, lastly, it was brought out in evidence that in order to compete with Continental sugar it was necessary, not only to countervail the bounties, but to add a sum which would also counterbalance the greater distance, and the consequent freight—a sum such as that allowed by France under the name of *detaxe-de-distance*. The result was that a British Government which could not be suspected of a strong attachment to our commercial policy was not in a position to ignore the general trend of the report, and could not do more for the West India possessions than to assist liberally in teaching better methods of cultivation, and in subsidising some steamers plying between the various islands, and others from the islands to Great Britain.

The review of the situation, as found by the Royal Commissioners, though they were beset on every hand by representatives of the planters, would not be complete without emphasising other aspects of the situation in the West Indies. It is well known that since the emancipation of the slaves some of the most powerful citizens of that region have never been reconciled to the situation thus created, and the want of cordiality between some whites and the coloured people has undoubtedly led to consequences in the economic field which are of importance. First of all, the emancipated Caribbee is able to support life easily; a few "ground provisions" will satisfy absolute necessities, and that requires little work to provide it. Hence a certain vain independence of spirit, which is not improved by a hauteur too characteristic of some who would secure their labour. The "damned nigger" attitude is not a success from an economical point of view. In British Guiana the emigration laws have been worked vigorously, and their working is only too little known in this country. Under them, so as to ignore and master

THE SUGAR QUESTION IN 1902.

the coloured natives, East Indians have been imported for labour upon the sugar plantations, and that under conditions and on terms about which much controversy has raged. These people are indentured for a series of years at fixed wages to the importer, who enters into a bond to repatriate them at the end of the term should the labourers demand it. In many cases large numbers have thus returned to India, but some have elected to settle in British Guiana. But very recently, since the abundance of sugar on the market has caused the price to tumble down lower still, threats have been held over Mr. Chamberlain's head that the Imperial Government may at any time become responsible for the cost of returning these people to India. It ought to be known that the obligation to return is personal to the planters importing them, and is due to these people quite as strictly as their wages. The reference, however, to the contingency helps to remind us, not only of the risky nature of this indenture system, but of the temper of the planters who resort to it, who could in many cases find the labour required without importing any coolies. It is necessary to refer to this aspect of the West Indian question for the reason that the agitation in this country has always portrayed the condition of the people in the West Indies as an urgent reason why we should interfere and aid them by fiscal means. But the importation of coolie labourers where natives abound reveals another aspect of the matter. The pages of the appendices to the Report of the Royal Commissioners have much to reveal from this point of view. One witness for a planting company complained that labour was excessively costly because of "the absence of competition among the labourers because existence was easy, the lax administration of defective labour laws, the depletion of the estates by the unchecked desertion of indentured immigrants, which is encouraged by legalised depletion of the estates by the unrestricted sale of Crown lands to immigrants not yet out of their indentures." This statement was met by these immigrants by another placed before the Commission, through the "Protector of Immigrants," in which each of these statements is traversed and even refuted, and it is added that in some cases the condition of immigrant women is a very hard one:—

If a woman is unable to work through any disorder of health peculiar to her sex she is not exempted, but liable to prosecution at the will and pleasure of the overseer or manager, and on being taken to Court is bound to state openly and publicly the nature of her sickness, otherwise she is imprisoned.

Such treatment is a disgrace to the British name. But it is only fair to say that in many cases the condition of the immigrants is prosperous, and many return to India having saved what they deem a large sum. It is plain, nevertheless, that some of the managers

THE SUGAR QUESTION IN 1902.

and companies look upon the natives and the coolies as only so much material from which to grind profits, and it is peculiarly nauseous to find complaints of labourers in such instances. That these relations of capital and labour are inimical to prosperity is evident: they destroy confidence; immigration irritates the natives, and the immigration system is such that it ought to be forbidden by a country of free men. Economically, these colonies, or their planters chiefly, complain of depression, and then add by special laws to the population of the estates a large number brought from India. The facts show that success would be a curse in the circumstances.

Two gentlemen of position in Trinidad ventured to make unpopular representations to the Commission, which may be regarded as independent of the capital and labour controversialists. They were the Hon. H. A. Alcazar (Mayor of Port of Spain) and the Hon. Vincent Brown (Acting Attorney-General). Both agree in the view they take of affairs, and the latter says concisely as follows:—

The first thing to be done is to discontinue coolie immigration, commute the return passage of coolies whenever practicable by grants of land, and call upon all Indian immigrants entitled to a return passage to elect within a stated period whether they will or will not return to India. This being done, the Government will be in a position to know exactly the evils it will have to cope with, and what provisions it will have to make. It will be able to give a larger share of its time and attention to the settlement of the labouring population on the Crown lands of the colony, which should be directed to improving the means of transport, encouraging all industries likely to afford employment, and readjusting the taxation so that the labouring classes may be relieved from its burdens as far as possible. With these measures on the one hand, and a rigid enforcement of economy in the general administration of the Government on the other, I have no doubt that the colony will experience no general distress.

Trinidad is in a more favourable condition than some of the smaller islands of the Caribbean Sea, but every word of Mr. Brown's may be applied in its degree to each of those colonies which are dependent on sugar, as the evidence shows abundantly, and every word ought to be read carefully so as to gain its full import.

The Commissioners, too, in paragraph 118, confirm these impressions when they say:—

It must be recollected that the chief outside influence with which the Governments of certain colonies have to reckon are the representatives of the sugar estates, that these persons are sometimes not interested in anything but sugar, that the establishment of any other industry is often detrimental to their interests, and that under such conditions it is the special duty of your Majesty's Government to see that the welfare of the general public is not sacrificed to the interests, or supposed interests, of a small but influential minority which has special means of enforcing its wishes and bringing its claims to notice.

THE SUGAR QUESTION IN 1902.

There is no reason to think, from subsequent proceedings, that the British Government has heeded the warning thus given so significantly. But side by side with such a warning we may quote paragraph 82 of the same report, which is very adroitly ignored by the sugar agitators when quoting the Commission, though this paragraph is the direct and deliberate judgment of that Commission on the main question at issue:—

In view of all the foregoing considerations—namely, the loss to the British consumer that would result from any rise in the price of sugar; the inconvenience to trade that would be caused by the imposition of countervailing duties; the uncertainty whether any such measure would permanently save the sugar industry in the West Indies; the inexpediency of raising questions connected with the interpretation of the most-favoured-nation clause, which might have the effect of weakening its force; and, finally, the danger, direct and indirect, of departing from what has hitherto been considered to be the settled policy of the United Kingdom—we have been unable to agree to a recommendation that such duties should be imposed. At the same time we consider it to be our duty to draw attention to the precarious condition of the sugar industry in the West Indies, to the very serious consequences to the colonies which must result from a failure of that industry, and to the fact that the levy of countervailing duties is practically the only remedy pressed upon us by the witnesses we have examined, which rests in the hands of your Majesty's Government.

A remarkable pronouncement. The latter part evidently a calumny to the Chairman, while the former gives the judgment of the Commission on the issue submitted to them. It amounts to this:—The West Indies are suffering, but their condition cannot warrant the United Kingdom in departing from sound policy. We have also seen that there is evidence that these colonies are suffering in part from the selfishness of some of the strongest interests—especially the sugar interests. Another point of capital importance is put in the forefront of the Royal Commission's Report, and that is the fact that the great decrease in the price of sugar is due, not to bounties, which have, indeed, been operative, but to developments of a wider and more potent nature. In paragraphs 22 to 38 these factors in the economic decline are dealt with, but the main conclusion is given in the opening sentence of paragraph 26:—

It will be seen that there has been a great increase in the total production of sugar, and to that increase, which has been accompanied by a progressive economy in production, must the fall in the price of sugar be mainly attributed.

The report goes on to refer to the production, the growing production, of the United States; to the temporary cessation of production in Cuba, which would recover in the near future, a suggestion justified by subsequent events; to the production of sugar in Egypt and Argentina, with all the advantages of virgin soil and the most recent experience in manufacturing processes; and to the discovery, especially in Germany, of improved

THE SUGAR QUESTION IN 1902.

processes, and the invention of new machinery, these last accompanied by the introduction of improved strains of beetroot. The conclusion to these remarks is found in paragraphs 49 and 50:

By far the greater portion of the fall in the price of sugar, which has conferred so great a boon upon the consumer, is not due to the existence of bounties, and would not be lost if they were abolished. The fall in the price of sugar is mainly due to a lowering of the cost of production of both beet and cane sugar, and in so far as this is the case the abolition of the bounties would not affect the case. Some British industries possess an advantage over their foreign competitors owing to the low price of sugar in the United Kingdom; but the difference between the high price in foreign countries and the low price in England is due far more to the high internal taxation and prohibitive Customs dues levied in the former than to the effect of the bounties in lowering the price here. The amount of the bounties varies from £1. 5s. per ton in Germany to £4. 10s. per ton in France, but the internal taxation in Germany is £10 per ton, and in France £24 per ton, with surtaxes on foreign sugar.

That was the position in 1897, and the judgment of the Royal Commission upon it: bounties a nuisance, and having an effect on price, but the chief reductions were due to other causes—more economical production, the internal fiscal policy of Germany and France, combined with an expanding field of production. The position is, essentially, the same to day, though matters have not stood still.

The report of the Royal Commission did not please the agitators for aid to the West Indies, though it contained some portions which acknowledged that the actual condition of these possessions was serious. The plan was adopted of booming the addendum of Sir Henry Norman, who favoured a countervailing duty, and of ignoring the criticisms and decisions of the three Commissioners, including Sir Edward Grey and Sir David Barbour, both men of greater weight in economic matters. Pressure brought to bear upon the Government of Lord Salisbury resulted in Great Britain's joining in the Brussels Conference of 1898, to which the work of the Royal Commission was supposed to work up. The Conference met in June, 1898, and it was observed that among those chosen to represent Great Britain were some of those who had been foremost in leading the agitation at home, so that there could be no doubt what advice our experts would give to the diplomatists. Germany, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Spain, France, the Netherlands, Russia, and Sweden were also represented. It soon became evident that there was a reluctance to place every aspect of the question at the disposal of the Conference. Particularly was that the case with regard to the internal surtax imposed to counterbalance export bounties in the sugar-beet countries, and of these France was undoubtedly the least ready to surrender. Russia, too, averred that she had accepted the invitation to the Conference on the express understanding that her internal law was

THE SUGAR QUESTION IN 1902.

not to be discussed. From the first it appeared that affairs were in such a condition that a favourable issue to the negotiations could not be expected, and it is a matter of history that the Conference rose without concluding its work, and without hope of definite reassembly. To us, perhaps, the most significant paragraph of the report of the proceedings by our representatives is that on Great Britain's place at the assembly. We are told that

During the course of this discussion it became evident that great interest was attached to the views which might be entertained by Great Britain in regard to a penal clause for the imposition of countervailing duties on, or the prohibition of, bounty-fed sugar. We, however, maintained an attitude of reserve upon this point, stating that the decision of Her Majesty's Government could not be taken until they were in possession of some definite project of agreement, and were in a position to know which Powers were willing to become parties to it.

How significant such a passage is we can perceive only when we come to review the work of the Conference which sat recently. We know that Lord Salisbury, in his instructions to our representatives at Brussels in 1898, spoke of "ulterior measures which might be rendered necessary, especially in regard to the British Colonies, if the system of bounties should still be retained," but in the upshot no action was taken. The position of England at the Conference was clearly singular and decisive. Much importance had attached to getting her to attend, though it was a Conference of those Powers by which bounties were given. The above extract, however, shows that quite as much importance was attached to England's attitude, and probably more, than to France, and still less Russia's internal surtax and other fiscal devices. Indeed, it might have been foreseen, and it has been hinted by the Powers more than once, that England had no place at the Conference unless she was prepared to give an assurance that she would impose a duty on bountied sugar which might be offered her by those outside the Conference, including her own colonies. The whole question practically hung upon England's decision, for the chief importer and consumer of the sugar which was so made the subject of Conference was found in the United Kingdom, and no decision could be taken until the chief market for sugar was secured to all the parties. No wonder that at that moment the proceedings at the Conference proved abortive. Many of our own people joined with those of other nations in thinking that Great Britain ought not to have joined in the Conference, but for very different reasons.

Though the Brussels Conference of 1898 proved abortive, chiefly because of the attitude of France regarding the internal surtax on sugar, but also very really because of the non-committal attitude of Great Britain, the greatest consumer, it did much to

THE SUGAR QUESTION IN 1902.

bring the bounty system into the clear light of day, and in particular it made that signified by the word "bounty" much clearer to the non-technical man. At one of its sittings it agreed on the following as the definition of "bounty":—

The Conference, while reserving the question of the provisional arrangements and dispositions which exceptional circumstances may justify, thinks that by bounties should be understood (and of which abolition is to be sought) all advantages secured to manufacturers and refiners by fiscal legislation of the States, and which are supported directly or indirectly by the public Treasury. Notably should the following be so regarded:—

- (a) Direct premiums on export;
- (b) Direct premiums on production;
- (c) Exemption from taxes (total or partial) of a part of the manufactured product;
- (d) Indirect advantages arising from a large yield, or from premiums of manufacture realised above the presumed legal standard;
- (e) Benefits accruing from an excessive drawback.

Also the Conference is of opinion that advantages, similar to those arising from bounties as defined above, might arise from a disproportion between import duties and those on consumption (surtax), especially where the public power imposes, encourages, or provokes combinations among sugar producers. It will be desirable that the surtaxes should be regulated so as to limit their action to the protection of the home market.

To this may be added an admirably terse summary of the bounty system in European countries given by M. Yves Guyot in his *brochure* on "The Sugar Question in 1901" (a work of great interest, though his conclusions cannot be commended indiscriminately). He says that the legislation on sugar in European countries has the following features in common:—

- 1. To promote the production of sugar;
- 2. To limit the home consumption;
- 3. To stimulate foreign consumption;

and this is done by bounties on production, avowed as in France, disguised as in Belgium and Russia, by direct bounties on exportation as in Germany, in Austria-Hungary, and, since the law of 1897, in France. It will be observed that, as the definition adopted by the Conference included both direct and indirect aids afforded by the State, the attempt to omit any review of the internal surtaxes in France (a matter so vital, as will be shown hereafter) placed the Conference in a difficulty, and made the various parties only too ready to decline further negotiations at the time. But, on the other hand, it was virtually admitted by all the Powers represented that bounties were follies commercially, and monstrosities financially, and that it was not only desirable but also necessary that States should cease to grant them.

The Conference dispersed, leaving the reassembling in the hands of its hosts, the Belgian Government, and it was difficult to tell how the difficulties which had arisen, especially with France, were to be

THE SUGAR QUESTION IN 1902.

overcome. There cannot be any doubt that the abortive result of the Conference was disappointing to many European Powers who have suffered financially under the bounty system, and were anxious to find a safe way out of their difficulties. In England the parties identified with the sugar agitation were equally mortified, and for some time were much at a loss for encouragement. This, however, they found within a year.

Shortly before the close of the financial year 1898-9 a law was passed empowering the Government of India to impose countervailing import duties on articles which receive direct or indirect bounties from their country of origin, and such duties were at once levied on bounty-fed sugar. (P.P. 207, of 1901.)

Meanwhile the Belgian Government was not idle, and opened negotiations with various European Powers respecting the question as left by the Conference of 1898. The result was an informal meeting in Paris in October, 1900, of representatives of France, Germany, and Austria-Hungary to discuss some of the difficulties which had arisen. An agreement was arrived at that France should abolish her direct bounties, and reduce her indirect bounties by one-third, and that Austria-Hungary and Germany, who gave no indirect bounties at that time, should abolish their direct bounties. This engagement between the three Powers was, however, conditional upon other Powers following their example. But it was clear that events were tending to make the reassembling of the Brussels Conference more easy and probable. It will be found also that from an economic point of view, on the Continent by the action of "Cartels" or Trusts, and by the action of the Indian Government, as well as by the pressure of the sugar interests in Great Britain, the various Governments were being urged and driven to reassemble that Conference. From our own point of view it cannot be disguised that the interests connected with sugar thought the political position in Great Britain propitious for such an enterprise as they had in hand.

Events known to the public, and correspondence recently made known, make it plain that parties which urged our Government to take part in one Conference after another were still active. Soon after the Paris meeting of 1900 the sugar interests of London were found active in the Chamber of Commerce, getting their stereotyped resolutions passed there, with the aid of M. Yves Guyot, from Paris. When the Budget of 1901 was produced, which had been preceded by much correspondence and other forms of agitation, both known and otherwise, it was found that the cry for differential duties on sugar in favour of our colonies had not been heeded. A duty of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb., or 4s. 2d. per cwt., was imposed on all sugar imported, with consequential duties on articles into which sugar entered; but no preference was shown to colonial sugar. To turn

THE SUGAR QUESTION IN 1902.

now to M. Yves Guyot's book, at page 141, which was written early in 1901, is a significant and amusing example of co-operation in agitation, for there it is recorded that:—

It is stated that the Chancellor of the Exchequer will propose the following tariff (in the forthcoming Budget):—

Foreign Refined Sugar	3d. per pound.
" Raw Sugar.....	1d. "
English Colonies, refined	3d. "
" " raw	free from duty.

And it was "estimated that the duty will yield £5,500,000 (138,875,000fr.)." Such a paragraph affords an insight into the ways of those who compass our Ministers, and would arrange our finances to suit special interests. The above tariff is so neatly arranged, not only to suit our straitened colonies, but also to afford aid to British refiners, as the distinction is made, not only between foreign and colonial sugars, but also between raw and refined. The only interest left unconsidered is that of 40,000,000 consumers in the United Kingdom, together with their trade in sweet goods. But there are some fiscal devices which Sir M. H. Beach has not yet been brought to, and to impose differential duties is one of them. He declined publicly to differentiate in favour of colonial sugars, and undoubtedly caused those who had done so much to influence the British Government to suffer a deep disappointment. That refusal, however, was understood to be accompanied by a declaration that the Government was prepared to enter into a resumption of the Conference at Brussels should it appear that affairs promised a substantial result. On the 16th of December, 1901, the Conference met again at Brussels, and the Convention made as the result of the proceedings is now awaiting ratification by the various Governments who are parties to it. Some of the Powers have already passed into law Bills ratifying the treaty; but in September, 1902, the British Parliament had not yet been called upon to express an opinion on the Brussels compact.

Before the official Convention is placed before the reader there are one or two matters disclosed by the official papers* respecting this second Brussels Conference which deserve notice, especially in this country. The first is the letter of Lord Lansdowne to the British delegates, written on the 12th of December, 1901, giving them their instructions. That letter discloses the fact that our Government had regard in this negotiation "to the interests of the British West Indian Colonies and of the sugar-refining trade in the United Kingdom" rather than to the general weal, whether at home or in our colonies. Such an attitude, which regards

* Cd. 1,013.

THE SUGAR QUESTION IN 1902.

sectional interests chiefly, is a most significant one at all times, and usually leads to sinister courses. Here the same letter makes it clear that the Government had made up its mind in favour of the adoption of "a penal clause," meaning thereby the prohibition of bounty-fed sugar rather than countervailing duties, before it entered upon this last Conference, and instructed its representatives in that sense should it appear necessary to get a sufficient number of Powers to agree to the suppression of the bounties. During the proceedings our representatives found themselves once more, inevitably, the centre of attention at the Conference. In our reports the discussion of France, Germany, and Austria's internal taxes bulked largely, and they were, doubtless, matters of detail of much stubbornness; but it is also evident that the fate of the Conference hung on the action of Great Britain. Above all, we were confronted with the fact that we did not appear with clean hands this time. Demanding the abolition of bounties on pains of prohibition, we were charged, and rightly charged, to declare that we gave none, nor encouraged our colonies to do so. Our representatives could not make such a declaration, and though they did so afterwards it is questionable whether their assurances were considered satisfactory. The reference was to the manner in which the 4s. per cwt. duty on sugar has been imposed, varying as it does according to the polarisation of the sample. M. Beauduin, one of the Belgian delegates, illustrated the working of our duty by the following table:—

Degrees of Polarisation.	Yield in Refining.	Yield according to the Bill.	Balance Under.	Bounty.
86-87	80.1	66.4	13.7	1.42
89-90	81.6	72.8	8.8	0.91
90-91	83.3	75.2	8.1	0.84
91-92	83.6	77.6	6.0	0.62
92-93	86.4	80.0	6.4	0.66
93-94	88.3	82.4	5.9	0.61
94-95	88.9	84.8	4.1	0.42
95-96	90.5	87.2	3.3	0.33
96-97	90.8	89.6	1.2	0.12

The analysis and calculations are in accordance with the practice of the trade in Belgium. It is true that three weeks after we find a declaration on the part of our Government that the exports of sugar from British refineries since the duty was imposed on sugar proved that no bounty was given, but such an argument is by no means satisfactory. Our representatives must have found themselves in an unwonted position. Moreover, the German delegates followed the matter up by communicating a significantly-headed memorandum to the Conference.

THE SUGAR QUESTION IN 1902.

AMOUNT OF THE ENGLISH BOUNTY.

In accordance with the experience of the trade, which is confirmed by the official analyses of the French Government (see *Journal Officiel* of the French Republic for June 22nd, 1901), it may be estimated that the raw sugar of 94 degrees of polarisation gives a yield of refined sugar of 88 per cent., less 1.5 per cent. loss in refinement = 86.5 per cent., or 96.88lbs. English per English quintal. One English quintal of raw sugar, of 94 degrees of polarisation, pays an import duty of 3s. 5.2d. The drawback on exportation of 96.88lbs. English of refined sugar is

$$\frac{96.88 \times 4s. 2d.}{112} = 3s. 7.2d.$$

Consequently the bounty is 2d. per English quintal, or about 40 centimes per 100 kilog of refined sugar. This bounty is increased by the advantage which the English refiners receive from the fact that the molasses produced during the process of refinement are exempt from duty, whereas imported molasses pay at least 1s. per English quintal. This advantage may be estimated, particularly in the case of the refiner working on raw cane sugar, at about 1s. 9d. per English quintal, or 38 centimes per 100 kilog of refined sugar.

112-96.88 = in round numbers 15lbs. of molasses per quintal of raw sugar.

15lbs. per quintal of raw sugar = 18.3lbs. per quintal of refined.

$$\frac{18.3lbs. \text{ of molasses } \times 1s.}{112} = 1s. 9d.$$

For other sorts of sugar corresponding results are obtained. The present bounty would be increased if the import duty were raised.

So seriously did the delegates regard this that M. de Smet de Naeyer (the Belgian Premier) requested the British delegates to ask the British Government to rectify this fault of our sugar duty in order to help him to make the Conference a success. The British delegates played this slight advantage given to British refiners against the advantage retained by Germany, France, and Austria in regard to their home trade. How important the attitude of Great Britain seemed to the foreign producers was shown by the inquiry made when the agreement at Brussels was almost complete, and particularly by Germany, whether our Government would give a formal assurance that the United Kingdom will not grant a preferential tariff to sugar from the colonies during the Conventional period. On the other hand, our people have not yet realised the reservations with which our Government signed the Convention; but two days before doing so Lord Lansdowne telegraphed to the delegates:—

Is it clearly understood that, should we desire to do so, we are at liberty to give a preference to sugar from the colonies up to September 1st, 1903, when the Convention comes into force?

For, though Sir Michael Hicks-Beach has not touched sugar in the Budget of 1902, there is yet ample time to develop plans for aiding colonial sugar as here suggested; and, indeed, in several letters and documents now available it is expressly reserved that while, in common with other countries, we shall not sanction any bounty-giving in our colonies, this must leave us free in regard to

THE SUGAR QUESTION IN 1902.

an Imperial tariff for the Empire. Such far-reaching reservations are not yet as widely known as they should be; for while the consumers of this country are in a comfortable state of acquiescence the British Sugar Refiners' Association (apart from the West India Committee) are pressing the Government to secure or to allow them an advantage, a different duty for raw and refined imports, which must always be a disadvantage to the public.

On March 5th, 1902, the Brussels Convention was signed by all the countries represented except Roumania. The document is of the highest importance, both from a public and commercial point of view. Some of its chief stipulations are, therefore, added in a translation:—

The object is the suppression of bounties on the production or export of sugar, and that whether direct or indirect, and preserves, chocolate, biscuits, condensed milk, and all other analogous products containing, in a notable proportion, sugar artificially incorporated, &c., will be regarded as sugar. Bounties are defined as given above, but with the addition of the surtax in excess of the rate permitted by this Convention. That rate (Art. III.) is a limitation of the surtax on imports to a difference between the duty on foreign sugar and that imposed on home products to a maximum of 6frs. per 100 kilog (or say 3s. per cwt.) for refined sugar and assimilable sugars, and a maximum of 5-50frs. for other sugars. Sugar making and refining to be in bond (Art. II.). A special duty on importation of sugar from bounty-giving countries (Art. IV.) or the option to prohibit such sugar. Sugar from contracting countries to be admitted at the lowest rate, cane and beet sugar to be subject to the same rates of duty (Art. V.). Countries which do not export sugar to be exempt from the above provisions (Art. VI.), and legislation on these lines to be undertaken within a year from notice that these conditions do not exist. The Permanent Commission to be appointed to watch events, to sit at Brussels, and to examine legislation of the various countries, and at need, through the Belgian Government, call attention to a defaulting Government, and demand conformity with the Convention (Art. VII.). This is, obviously, a very important point, and requires the closest attention. Bounty-fed sugars transported through contracting countries to be watched, and denied advantages of the Convention (Art. VIII.). Other States may be admitted (Art. IX.). Convention to come into force September, 1903 (Art. X.), and for five years, and then from year to year. Any party may "denounce" the Convention. Oversea provinces to be affected, save British and Dutch, which will still be subject to Art. V. and VIII. (Art. XI.). Ratification at Brussels on February 1st, 1903, or earlier (Art. XII.). A final protocol was added which provides that, as regards Art. III., each Power, in certain circumstances for itself, may add to the "surtax" not more than 1fr. per 100 kilos. And, as regards Art. XI., the British and Dutch Governments give an assurance that no preference shall be given to colonial products during the period of the Convention, and the British Government claims liberty at the same time "as regards the fiscal relations between the United Kingdom and its colonies and possessions."

This last provision seems contradictory and will cause trouble. That, in brief, is the Convention which now awaits ratification by the various Governments, and it contains ample ground for apprehension regarding the action to be taken by our own Government. It has been shown that the correspondence reveals

THE SUGAR QUESTION IN 1902.

the purpose of our Government in entering the Conference was confined to the interests of the West India Colonies and those of British refiners. Further correspondence reveals these interests as most "pushful," and even threatening, during the course of the negotiations, and going so far as to suggest that the Imperial Government might have to pay the cost of repatriating the Indian coolies from Trinidad to British Guiana, at a cost of £1,000,000, besides assuming a debt of £1,548,000, and an annual payment of £1,250,000 for some years. How far such importunity prevailed to make the Government sign the above Convention cannot be told, but it is very well worth knowing that such arguments were used by interested parties.

The issues raised by the Convention are not new. The price of sugar has been tumbling down for years, and the condition of our West India Colonies and of our refiners has not been flourishing. From that unpleasant admission many have sought to convince us that we should enter into such a Convention as the above. Of the West Indies, and the rather mottled and complex state of affairs there, we have spoken already, and of the refiners it may be added that the policy pressed upon us in their interests is an unusual one, and a policy likely to be very expensive. Some tables will be added to this paper to illustrate the position of our sugar industry and consumption, and they will be of service in what follows as a judgment of the Convention and the question whether it should be ratified on our part.

First of all, in view of the harsh words spoken by sugar men of the British policy of the last twenty-five years, it should be observed that we cannot be regarded as in any way responsible for bounties and their effects. Arguments have been addressed to us frequently as though the British Government were the authors of bounties on sugar. It is well known, but it ought to be emphasised, that bounties are the acts of foreign Governments in their own realms. When it is said that foreign sugars are protected in our ports language is used in an unnatural and unusual sense. That bounty-fed sugars, especially those from the Continent, are competing successfully in our ports with West India sugar is true, and there is no wonder that they do. We have seen that bounties account for that only in part, and it may be added that freight is another important factor in their favour, not to speak of their quality and appearance in certain cases. But protected by us these foreign sugars never have been, nor can any sane person doubt that where value is equal the products of our colonies would be favoured by our merchants and consumers. The bounties have been given by foreign Powers, with whose fiscal regulations we

THE SUGAR QUESTION IN 1902.

cannot interfere except by diplomatic channels, and that with the utmost care. Above all things, the fiscal laws of every country are a realm in which each Power must be free and supreme. The agitation which has been conducted and maintained now for so many years with such persistence has too carefully ignored such a patent fact as this, and has preferred to represent the matter in a totally false light. The fact was, and is, that to interfere in such matters is one of the most delicate things in international relations. The assembling of these Conventions one after another is a proof of the importance of this view: the matters in hand can be approached only in a most formal and circumspect manner, and this last Conference at Brussels affords us further proof how it is impossible to secure uniformity even in the European family, Russia even now abstaining from the agreement. Only those who, for reasons which they deem sufficient, pursue their aim with much disregard of larger issues could have been guilty of addressing this reckless and foolish argument to the British world.

This brings us to one of the chief issues of the Convention. Article VII. sets up a Permanent Commission charged with watching legislation touching sugar, and gives it inquisitorial duty of the most objectionable character. This is felt abroad also, for Baron von Thielmann was asked in the German Reichstag how he justified the interference of the foreigner under the Convention in German tariff legislation, and he could only answer that he did not interfere with theirs more than they did with his. But that the interference might be substantial, and might cause much friction, if not stir up dangerous passions, is clear from a little thinking over the provisions of this article. This Permanent Commission is to judge whether a country does or does not grant a bounty; whether a country does export sugar or not, and, therefore, whether it is liable to the restrictions and advantages of the Convention or not; to ascertain the bounties in States which are non-signatory, and to estimate the amount; and to pronounce an opinion on contested points. Not only so, but the contracting parties are required to submit to the Commission all the laws, orders, and regulations made in the taxation of sugar which are or may be in force in their countries, as well as statistical information relative to the object of the present Convention. Acting through the Belgian Government, a country adjudged to be in default will be liable to be "pulled up" by a demand that it should amend its ways. The proposal is, on the face of it, of such a character that it should not be acted upon lightly and without grave consideration. In commercial life rivalries are keen, and politically the state of Europe is such that no irritant seems to be demanded, and indeed might prove

THE SUGAR QUESTION IN 1902.

disastrous; and irritation may be predicted as the effect of such superintendence and interference as this from time to time. As time goes by it may be expected that the objection to such interference will find utterance by thousands instead of the dozens of to-day.

Another issue of far-reaching importance, and perhaps the most imminent of the points raised by this Convention, is that of the prohibition of the import of beet sugar from bounty-giving countries, or, in the alternative, a countervailing duty on such sugars. The British people should not go to sleep over this matter because Sir M. Hicks-Beach has not imposed such a duty in the Budget of April, 1902. The Convention will come into force only in September, 1903, and there is ample time to do mischief, therefore, either in the Budget of 1903, or before, or after, by some special provision for the West Indies in the meantime—measures which might set up relations which it would be difficult to undo in the future. First of all, it should be reiterated that our home market benefits by the unnatural state of things in the bounty countries. M. Yves Guyot, in 1901, shows how loaf sugar, which was then 13s. 9d. per cwt., or 34·20fr. per 100 kilograms, in London's world market, is sold wholesale in Paris at 103fr. The figures, in detail, are the following:—

	Francs.
1. The world's quotation in London	34·20
2. Consumption Duty.....	60·0
3. Refining Tax	4·0
4. Export Bounty	3·11
5. Supervision Tax	0·04
Total	101·35

The Parisian grocer has to bear carriage and other charges which bring the price up to 107·30fr. per 100 kilog, and he sells at 110fr., or about 5d. a lb. It is a well-known fact that much sugar is thus sold at a sacrifice. But that sacrifice is a gain to us, and on the 35,000,000 cwts. which we imported in 1900 (there are 4,000,000 cwts. only produced by the West Indies, &c.), out of a total value of £20,000,000, our gain was probably as much as £3,000,000 or more. In manufacture, to which a large part of our home consumption of 88lbs. per head is applied, a further profit is made, with the additional advantage that in making it employment is afforded to thousands of people, a number many times greater than were ever employed in our refineries. Nor will it avail that Sir Neville Lubbock and his friends should summon engineers to their aid in agitation, for a little knowledge and reflection will suffice to convince an inquirer that all the biscuit,

THE SUGAR QUESTION IN 1902.

jam, and confectionery factories, not to omit breweries, as a visit to any of them demonstrates, must have given more employment to machine-makers than refineries in their palmiest days. No recrudescence of the labour cry in connection with this matter should be possible if the facts of the case are regarded. The nation gains commercially in the purchase of these cheap sugars, it gains for engineering works, and it gains immensely for labour in the new industries which have flourished recently. Now, the demand which the Convention and its friends make upon us is that for the sake of the West Indies principally, whose total production of sugar is not one-seventh of our requirements, and who send but a moiety or less of that production to our shores, the British Government should prohibit any importation of bountied sugar, or impose a countervailing duty upon it. Prohibition is practically impossible and equally insensate. We could not prohibit a necessity as food and as raw material because it is made artificially cheap. And the countervailing duty is not so simple a matter as its advocates would have us believe. We are pressed to impose such a duty with an assurance that its action will be sudden and certain, as though we had never had any experience of such devices, whereas our fiscal history is strewn with the *débris* of all the shifts and schemes of protective ways. Is it credible that all the European countries—Russia, Germany, France, Austria, and the rest—would immediately proceed with one mind and without hesitation at once to undo their fiscal follies connected with sugar? Powerful interests have grown around these in all these countries who are able to fight successfully for their own hand and profit, to the acknowledged loss of their several countries. No better proof of this need be asked for than the way in which the Cartels in Germany and the corresponding interests in France have secured, under this Convention, a shelter for themselves in the surtax reserved on imports and the reservation of the home market. The only signatory to the Convention which really penalises, and penalises herself, is Great Britain, a producer of but little, if any, sugar, but a great consumer, and as between the other signatories and herself her signally unique *rôle* is that she consents to injure herself to benefit the rest; and help them to extricate themselves from the tangle into which they have got. No one imagines we should be there at all except for our West Indies and their allies our refiners, and we are asked to shelter a cane in the Caribbean Sea while we shatter mighty forests of oaks in Britain. Surely, that game cannot be “worth the candle!” A due regard for our situation must make such an agreement as this impossible. Our industries would, indeed, be penalised, our food would be made unnecessarily

THE SUGAR QUESTION IN 1902.

dear, our legislators would be hampered in a vital matter in settling our tax burdens, and all would be done because we, at home, are reaping a material advantage from the present state of affairs. However desirable it is that bounties should be done away with, it is clear that we cannot, without committing a folly greater even than the European countries are now guilty of, place ourselves in their hands only to lose very materially in addition. And this Convention would so place us at a disadvantage in the hands of other countries whether we adopted prohibition or countervailing duties, or tried both at need.

The question discussed here is the ratification of the Convention, and not the case of the West Indies, which is a case sufficiently serious, but not such as can be regarded justly and wisely as sufficient to warrant our hypothecation of Britain's legislative rights or the artificial regulation of her commercial and economic interests. It is confidently submitted that were some of those connected with the sugar agitation, directly or indirectly, free from ulterior designs no such claim as this, made for the West Indies, would be put forward—a case in which the great majority is sacrificed for the small minority. The case of the West Indies should be dealt with as a special one, and efforts should be made to prevent the recurrence of the internal evils which have brought the islands and other possessions to their present predicament. Parliament might well listen to well-devised measures to help these possessions temporarily, and Parliament has already shown a willingness to do so. But an agitation which forces bounties forward as the only cause, or chief cause, of the troubles suffered should become discredited, and that quickly. Such a phenomenon as the recrudescence of Cuba should teach us that European bounties are only a minor difficulty compared with the extended production of sugar everywhere. Cuba is now likely to prove a competitor, and a successful one, in the United States market. When the cry is heard, therefore, in London, on behalf of the West Indies, as it will be heard, it will be necessary for those who at once would conserve the commerce and independence of the United Kingdom, while ready to assist the West Indies, to see that an earthquake is not caused when a golden pill might be effective. A hard time is before the islands, probably, but it may be tided over without any dire suffering, and there is no reason yet in view why they should not see good days again, provided they are ruled for the people, and not for a few. To assist them in the transition from sugar alone to a variety of cultures a Parliamentary grant for some years might be made *under certain conditions*; to ask for a sacrifice, and perhaps an unavailing sacrifice, on the part of the United Kingdom is not only bad business, but a rash and selfish folly.

THE SUGAR QUESTION IN 1902.

Little need be said on the relations of such Conventions as this in regard to our treaties, with their most-favoured-nation clauses, for the subject has received a very great deal of attention, and it is evident that in this regard this Convention might raise more points than it is calculated to settle. But of countervailing duties a point of some economic and practical importance has been raised when it is asked if such duties are consonant with Free Trade. Some Free Traders think they are, but it is probable that the great majority do not. It is pointed out that such duties are not protective of any home industry in the case of Great Britain. Such a contention is not literally true, as has been shown in relation to refining; for it is certain that refined beet can be produced more economically at Magdeburg than at the distance of Glasgow from the beet fields. Sir Neville Lubbock's demand was a duty of £2 a ton, and it was confessed that in part this was to balance the higher freight from the West Indies. But suppose a countervailing duty placed on an article not produced in the United Kingdom, it has still to be pointed out that the non-protective attitude is not the whole attitude and aim of the Free Trader. He does not and cannot look with favour on legislative and fiscal means of regulating prices. If he is told that "a natural price" is all that is demanded, and that these duties will secure it, the assertion must be met by the fact that no one can tell that from any experience warranting such confidence. Especially with regard to sugar, as the stipulations and exceptions of this Convention witness, such a confidence is not warranted; for no one can tell what the amount of duty which would be equivalent to the indirect as well as to the direct bounties, and that in the several countries granting them on various scales and methods. These special difficulties and uncertainties are backed up by general considerations. Why should French subsidies to ships and to railways, as also similar grants in Germany and Belgium, not be made the subjects of similar treatment? From every point of view the fact that a country which enters on such a course becomes literally enmeshed in fiscal devices of all kinds is decisive of the question. What is wanted is the freedom of commerce; to impose duties of any kind, with any intention, is fatal to freedom, and cumbrous with cost. It is vain to say that we must differentiate between revenue and protective duties; here undoubtedly the principle is to protect against a fiscal device, but a device resorted to, not in our own, but in several of the principal foreign States. Let some writers go on saying that this is conceived in the interests of Free Trade; but it will be impossible to convince any who are versed in the history of that movement that the classic exponents of the ideas known thereby would join for a moment in taxing sugar in Britain to

THE SUGAR QUESTION IN 1902.

benefit refiners and the islands of the West. To tell them that foreign countries will immediately drop the bounties, on a decree made in Britain that duties shall be imposed, would meet with words winged with scorn; and the imagination declines to portray Richard Cobden abandoning his method of treaty-making for a fiscal law which would dislocate our trade, raise the prices of food, and fail to accomplish anything, possibly, but a demand for more of the medicine—a medicine calculated to produce an invalid instead of a strong man.

The answer to the question whether the Brussels Sugar Convention should be ratified should be an emphatic No! It is reassuring as it is fitting to find the Manchester Chamber of Commerce taking the lead in declining to do so by a resolution which was passed on May 7th, 1902, as follows:—

That this Chamber is of opinion that the terms of the Convention agreed to at the Sugar Convention in Brussels will deprive Great Britain of her freedom of action in the exercise of her fiscal rights, that the advantages (so called) of the Convention as pertaining to the industrial interests of the United Kingdom and British Colonies are illusory, and that this Chamber strongly urges Parliament not to ratify the Convention.

I.—IMPORTS OF SUGAR INTO THE UNITED KINGDOM.

These imports grew from 1886 to 1900 from 23 to 35 million cwts., or a growth of 52 per cent.; the value grew from £16,000,000 to £20,000,000, or a growth of 25 per cent., as follows:—

SUGAR—QUANTITIES AND VALUES.

	1886.	1890.	1894.	1898.	1900.
REFINED—	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.
Loaf.....	1,715,679	2,061,322	2,711,040	2,546,213	2,878,877
„	£1,516,108	£1,774,639	£2,300,350	£1,685,967	£1,985,437
Other Sorts	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.
„	4,656,371	7,915,343	11,233,752	13,974,041	16,369,310
„	£3,804,527	£6,365,871	£8,524,003	£8,482,915	£10,353,564
UNREFINED—	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.
Beet	6,671,795	10,004,612	7,744,736	9,565,811	10,239,556
„	£3,988,534	£6,126,459	£4,339,730	£4,431,196	£5,120,821
Cane and other Sorts	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.
„	9,461,866	5,712,864	6,561,268	5,127,095	2,995,376
„	£6,552,615	£3,808,638	£4,007,981	£2,621,923	£1,796,617
Molasses	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.
„	430,490	563,687	853,478	1,353,188	1,347,931
„	£137,763	£184,416	£226,568	£346,917	£348,130
Glucose	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.
„	502,567	736,905	1,062,074	1,887,046	1,842,502
„	£335,947	£446,147	£542,195	£731,727	£745,578

THE SUGAR QUESTION IN 1902.

Up to the end of December, 1901, 13,419,775 cwts. of raw sugars, and 21,591,051 cwts. of refined, with 1,696,717 cwts. of molasses, had been imported into the United Kingdom. The values of these, respectively, were £6,394,435, £13,112,602, and £364,261, or a total of £19,871,298.

II.—HOME CONSUMPTION PER HEAD OF POPULATION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

	1886.	1890.	1894.	1898.	1900.
	Lbs.	Lbs.	Lbs.	Lbs.	Lbs.
SUGAR—Raw	47·3	44·99	40·17	39·89	35·48
„ Refined	18·96	28·22	39·89	45·29	52·23
Total	65·99	73·21	80·16	85·18	87·71

A constant growth of consumption, attended by a decided transfer from imports of raw to imports of refined sugar. Refining at the centre of production tends inevitably to this. The amounts here stated, however, include the proportionate amount of raw sugar which was refined and afterwards exported.

III.—EXPORTS—QUANTITIES AND VALUES.

	1886.	1890.	1894.	1898.	1900.
	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.
British Refined	852,733	709,416	1,037,821	736,041	606,353
	£	£	£	£	£
„ „	606,761	505,777	728,892	414,380	381,733
	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.
Foreign Refined	226,118	531,876	131,300	269,759	173,466
	£	£	£	£	£
„ „	192,756	443,996	103,603	155,379	119,309
	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.
Unrefined	659,514	660,171	393,518	378,794	276,144
	£	£	£	£	£
„	456,877	464,052	252,028	213,591	165,215
	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.
	67,822	131,991	195,878	297,762	152,057
	£	£	£	£	£
	27,578	51,622	72,502	91,310	49,561

Exports of sugar, whether of British or foreign production, is an unsatisfactory industry, liable to fluctuations, but on the whole declining steadily.

THE SUGAR QUESTION IN 1902.

IV.—ESTIMATED CROP OF BEET SUGAR ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE FOR THE CURRENT CAMPAIGN, COMPARED WITH THE ACTUAL CROP OF THE THREE PREVIOUS YEARS.

(From Licht's Monthly Circular.)

	1901-1902.	1900-1901.	1899-1900.	1898-1899.
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
Germany	2,270,000	1,984,186	1,798,631	1,721,718
Austria	1,320,000	1,094,043	1,108,007	1,051,290
France	1,200,000	1,170,332	977,850	830,132
Russia	1,060,000	920,000	905,737	776,066
Belgium	350,000	340,000	302,865	244,017
Holland	200,000	178,081	171,029	149,763
Other Countries..	400,000	387,450	253,929	209,115
Total	6,800,000	6,073,992	5,518,048	4,982,101

V.—EXPORTS OF SUGAR AND MOLASSES FROM THE WEST INDIES AND BRITISH GUIANA TO THE UNITED KINGDOM IN 1900.

	Sugar.		Molasses.	
	Cwts.	£	Galls.	£
Jamaica	40,518, at	20,259.	..	..
Leeward Islands	9,000, „	4,349.	..	..
Trinidad and Tobago	489,228, „	332,124.	90,303, at	2,257.
British Guiana	318,620, „	251,710.	..	..
Barbadoes	54,324, „	41,655.	77,520, „	2,423.
St. Vincent	580, „	340.	..	..
St. Lucia	4,612, „	3,242.	..	..
Total	916,882, „	653,679.	167,823, „	4,680.

This is but about a fifth of the produce of the West Indies; the remainder goes chiefly to the United States and Canada, but Cuba will now enter that market again. The rum of these colonies is largely sent to the United Kingdom. The population of the West Indies, including the Bahamas, Turk's, and Caicos Islands, and British Guiana, is about 1,640,000, excluding the aborigines in British Guiana. The population of the United Kingdom (1901) is 41,454,621. Can the welfare of the latter be subordinated to that of the former, wisely?

Wages and Conciliation Boards.

BY W. REES JEFFREYS.



HERE has been a marked increase in the number of permanent agencies for the settlement of disputes between employers and workpeople during the past few years. An examination of the statistics of trade disputes shows that in the last decade of the nineteenth century nearly 300,000 workpeople were annually involved in strikes and lock-outs. During the ten years 7,900 disputes, large and small, took place.

The time lost by these disputes may be estimated at 106,000,000 days. Public opinion has declared strikes to be a wasteful and barbarous method of determining the wages and conditions of labour. In these days, when industrial methods are so complex and industries are so mutually interdependent, the general dislocation of trade caused by a big strike or lock-out is even more important than the working time actually wasted. Under the pressure of the losses and the suffering occasioned by prolonged disputes, the organised employers and workpeople of this country have been building up slowly, with difficulty, and in spite of many mistakes, effective machinery for the settlement of their differences. It is difficult to measure the growth of these conciliatory agencies. Between 1897 and 1902 the number of Trade Conciliation Boards and Joint Committees increased from 80 to 130. But a mere comparison of these numbers is of little service in estimating the growth and extension of the permanent machinery for the settlement of trade questions. The number of workpeople affected as well as the character of the questions submitted to the decision of the conciliation agency are elements that have to be taken into consideration. It is necessary, in short, to examine the work of Trade Conciliation Boards in some detail in order to arrive at any sound conclusions as to their value.

It is proposed, therefore, in the following pages (1) to summarise the work of Trade Conciliation Boards during recent years as a whole; (2) to point out the principal variations in the objects, constitutions, and methods of work of Trade Boards; (3) to give a short account of the history and work of a few typical Boards in

WAGES AND CONCILIATION BOARDS.

each of the principal industries; (4) to consider the work of District Boards; (5) to describe shortly the arbitration and conciliation legislation of New Zealand and Australia and its results; and (6) to indicate so far as possible the direction of the conciliation movement in the United Kingdom, and to consider in particular whether it is tending towards compulsion.

In dealing first with the *Trade Conciliation Boards* it is desirable to make clear the distinction between these organisations and *District Conciliation Boards*.

. A Trade Conciliation Board or Joint Committee consists of an equal number of representatives of employers and workpeople, appointed as a rule by the Employers' Association on the one side and the Trade Union on the other, to determine questions affecting one trade only in a defined district. The Board of Conciliation for the coal trade of Northumberland, the Board of Conciliation for the house painting trade of Sunderland, the Board of Conciliation and Arbitration for the manufactured steel trade of the West of Scotland, the Board of Conciliation for the iron-founding industry of the North-East Coast, the Tees Joint Committee of Employers and Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders, the South Staffordshire Bolt and Nut Trade Wages Board, and the Board of Conciliation and Arbitration for the boot and shoe trade of Leeds are all Boards of this kind. They derive their existence directly from the employers and workpeople engaged in the industry, and their jurisdiction is acknowledged by both parties. As a rule, no one unconnected with the trade has a seat upon them except in some cases, as will be shown later, provision exists for calling in an outside official, variously described as the President, Chairman, Umpire, or Referee, to settle questions upon which the Board is unable to agree.

On the other hand, District Boards stand outside any particular trade. In most cases they have been formed in connection with the local Chambers of Commerce and Trade Councils, and consist of nominated representatives of employers and workpeople selected from different trades. Their services are rarely sought. Neither employers nor workpeople have the confidence in them that they have in the Trade Boards. The difference in structure is of great importance, as it suggests an explanation of the disappointing degree of success that has attended the Conciliation Boards in New Zealand. A knowledge of the structure and achievements of the two types of Conciliation Boards is essential also to a proper consideration of any proposals that may be put forward in this country for further labour legislation in the direction of industrial conciliation.

WAGES AND CONCILIATION BOARDS.

TRADE BOARDS : THEIR WORK AS A WHOLE.

It may be stated broadly that the number of workpeople subject in a greater or less degree to the jurisdiction of some recognised trade conciliation agency has increased from less than three-quarters of a million in 1897 to about one and a quarter millions in 1902. In arriving at these totals no workman has been counted twice, although he may be subject to two different Boards or Committees. On the other hand, a workman has been included if he is subject to the jurisdiction of a Conciliation Board in however small a degree. Some Conciliation Boards consider and settle all matters affecting the respective interests of the employers or operatives, while there are others whose functions are limited to specified questions, such as the general rates of wages or the apportionment of work between trades. It is wrong to assume that all Conciliation Boards and Joint Committees are of very similar constitution or are entrusted with the same powers.

The next question that suggests itself is, are these trade conciliation agencies effective for the purpose for which they have been created—are they living organisations doing good work, or are they institutions existing on paper only like most of the “District” Conciliation Boards?

Mere figures do not give any satisfactory answer to this query. The official statistics show that in 1897 53 Trade Boards considered 1,448 questions and settled 792 of them, and that in 1901 56 Boards considered 1,401 questions and settled 683. Comparing these totals it will be seen that there is a slight increase in the number of Boards considering questions, but a decrease in the number of questions considered and settled.

On the face of it these figures would appear to indicate a decline in the work and influence of Trade Boards. Such a conclusion however, would be the opposite of the fact. The figures given above, for example, do not discriminate between the nature of the questions considered. A question of the readjustment of the price to be paid for hewing a seam of coal affecting only 25 men is counted one case. A question affecting the rate of wages to be paid to 5,000 men is equally considered one case. Furthermore, in one sense the measure of the efficiency of a Board is the fewness of the questions brought before it. As one by one it determines the rates of wages and general conditions that are to prevail in the industry that it regulates, and determines them to the satisfaction of both parties, it is only when some important new development takes place that a question arises which has to be referred to it. For example, many of the cases

WAGES AND CONCILIATION BOARDS.

referred to the Boards in the boot and shoe trade relate to the classification of materials. The total number of cases considered by the Boards in this trade in 1897 was 314. In 1901 the number of cases considered was 146. The decline indicates not any falling off in the efficiency of the Boards, but a gradual perfecting of the wages lists and lists of classified materials in the trade.

It is possible, however, to adduce another set of figures which speak eloquently as to the increasingly successful work of conciliation agencies during the past few years. A reference to the statistics of trade disputes shows that the most fruitful causes of strikes and lock-outs are questions of remuneration. On the average about 75 per cent. of the workpeople affected by trade disputes cease work or are locked out in order to determine in this forcible way the rates of wages. It may be fairly concluded, therefore, that the ability of conciliation agencies to determine peacefully questions of wages is a measure of their general success. During the last few years the number of workpeople whose wages were arranged by Conciliation Boards, Joint Committees, Mediation or Arbitration, has greatly increased. In 1897 the total was 16,000; in 1898, 33,000; in 1899, 379,000; in 1900, 480,000; and in 1901, 507,000. In 1897 the workpeople whose wages were arranged by conciliation agencies formed only 2 per cent. of the total number of workpeople whose wages were changed in that year. In 1898 the percentage had increased to 3, in 1899 it jumped up to 32, in 1900 the percentage was 42, and in 1901 it was 54, or more than one-half of those whose wages were altered.

These figures afford a striking testimony to the work of Conciliation Boards and Joint Committees, and, taken in conjunction with the increase in the number of workpeople subject to the jurisdiction of these Boards, establish their growing importance.

TRADE BOARDS: VARIATIONS IN THEIR OBJECTS, CONSTITUTIONS,
AND METHODS OF WORK.

The objects, constitutions, and procedure of Conciliation Boards vary greatly. The matters with which a Trade Conciliation Board is authorised to deal are in most cases clearly defined in its rules. In many instances all matters concerned with the wages and conditions of labour are within the jurisdiction of the Board. The rules of the Midland Iron and Steel Wages Board provide that—

The objects of the Board shall be to discuss, and, if necessary, to arbitrate on wages or any other matters affecting the respective interests of the employers or operatives, and by conciliatory means to interpose its influence to prevent disputes, and put an end to any that may arise.

WAGES AND CONCILIATION BOARDS.

The objects of the Conciliation Board for the Wear shipbuilding trade are equally comprehensive. They are stated in the following terms :—

The Board shall at all times adjust by conciliatory means all questions that may from time to time arise and be referred to it by either employers or workmen, and pending settlement of any question by the Board there shall thereby be no stoppage of work, and the wages, piece rates, hours of work, or other working conditions shall, until settlement, be those current at the time of notice given.

Most of the Boards in the boot and shoe trade have also very wide jurisdiction, their rules providing in most cases that—

In accordance with the terms of settlement, the Board shall have full power to settle all questions submitted to it concerning wages, hours of labour, and the conditions of employment of all classes of workpeople represented thereon within its district which it is found impossible to settle in the first place between employer and employed, or, secondly, between their representatives.

Another class of Boards deals only with general rates of wages. The Board of Conciliation for the coal trade of Northumberland is one of this type. The rules of the Board for the iron-founding industry of the North-Eastern Coast provide that it shall regulate general advances or reductions in the wages of moulders, but any other general question may by common consent be brought before the Board.

The jurisdiction of the Board of Conciliation for the coal trade of the federated districts is still more limited, for it is confined to fixing the general rate of miners' wages within certain limits, which limits are laid down in the agreement constituting the Board. The powers of the Board of Conciliation for the coal trade of Scotland are limited in the same way.

Other Boards are concerned only with the apportionment of work between trades. They are known as Demarcation Boards.

Not only do the objects of conciliation agencies vary, but so to a limited extent do their powers. In most cases the decisions of a Conciliation Board or Joint Committee are final and binding, but in others they are recommendatory only. An instance of the latter type is the Joint Committee in the cotton weaving trade. This Committee has drawn up from time to time important lists of prices and drafted provisional agreements, but such lists and agreements have to go before its constituent bodies, viz., the Employers' Association and the Trade Unions, for final determination and signature.

Most Conciliation Boards are constituted of representatives appointed by the Employers' Associations on the one hand and the Trade Unions on the other. In a few cases, however, the Board is formed of one employer representative and one operative

WAGES AND CONCILIATION BOARDS.

representative from each works joining the Board. The Scottish Manufactured Iron Trade Conciliation and Arbitration Board is an example of a conciliation agency constituted in this way.

It is, however, in provisions for escape from a deadlock that the greatest difficulties appear, and it is these provisions which are the most interesting and which have been the keenest causes of controversy.

The device that is now most commonly employed is to appoint from the outside a standing official, variously called Chairman, Umpire, President, and Referee, who is called in when the members of the Board are unable to arrive at an agreement. In others there is no standing officer, but one is appointed when occasion requires. Of instances of the first type the Coal Trade Board for the federated districts may be mentioned. In this case Lord James of Hereford is the outside Chairman. Other instances are the Durham Coal Trade Board, which has appointed Lord Davey as its "Umpire," and the Board of Conciliation for the West of Scotland steel trade, which has elected Mr. Cameron Corbett, M.P., as its outside President. In the case of the Midland Iron and Steel Wages Board, Ald. G. J. Johnson, J.P., has been appointed President in accordance with the following rule:—*

The President shall be a person of position not connected with the iron trade, chosen by the Board, whose duty shall be to attend at special meetings upon being requested by the Board to do so. He shall take no part in the discussions beyond asking for an explanation for the guidance of his own judgment, and if no settlement can be made he shall give his adjudication:

In the case of some of the boot and shoe trade Boards the machinery is still a little more complicated. Each side appoints an Arbitrator, and in the event of the Board being unable to agree the question goes before the two Arbitrators, and they in their turn appoint an Umpire if they fail to agree. The rule under which this procedure is adopted is as follows:—

That the Board at its first meeting elect an Umpire, or in case of disagreement each side shall, within seven days, elect an Arbitrator, to whom shall be remitted for arbitration any question referred to the Board under the Board of Trade terms of settlement which it is unable to settle or determine. Should the two Arbitrators not agree, the question shall be referred to an Umpire appointed by themselves, or, failing such an appointment, to an Umpire to be appointed by the President of the Board of Trade for the time being.

The last provision of the above rule directs attention to another difficulty that the rules of several Boards provide against, viz., what is to happen if the Board cannot agree upon its outside

* The first President of the Midland Board, appointed in 1876, was the Right Hon. J. Chamberlain, M.P. Up to the present time it has had five Presidents, all of whom have been Mayors of Birmingham.

WAGES AND CONCILIATION BOARDS.

officer, be he called Chairman, Umpire, President, or Arbitrator? In the case of about nine Boards in the boot and shoe trade an appeal is made in these circumstances to the Board of Trade. There has been, in fact, a rather marked tendency during the last two or three years to constitute the Board of Trade the final authority for appointing the Arbitrator to determine the points on which the Boards fail to agree. This procedure has been facilitated by the Conciliation Trade Disputes Act of 1896, which enables the Board of Trade to pay the fees and expenses of the Arbitrators appointed by them under the provisions of the Act.

Accordingly we find that a number of Boards in the building trade, including most of those in London, have adopted rules providing that in the event of the Conciliation Board failing to agree it shall make application to the Board of Trade under the Conciliation Act, or apply for the appointment of a person to act as Conciliator, whose decision shall be final and binding on both parties.

Of the important Boards in the coal trade the rules of the one for Durham provide that the Board of Trade shall appoint an Umpire after conferring unitedly with each of the parties if the Conciliation Board fail to agree upon the person to be appointed.

Some Boards, however, nominate other authorities to select the official charged with the duty of determining the questions between the parties if they are unable to agree. The rules of the Northumberland Coal Trade Conciliation Board, for example, provide that if the Board should not be able to agree on the appointment of a Chairman, the Chairman for the time being of the County Council of Northumberland shall be asked to nominate one after conferring jointly with the parties.

The rules of most Boards provide for the appointment of Joint Secretaries, one from the employers' and one from the workmen's side. In nearly every case the Secretary of the Employers' Association and the Secretary of the Trade Union are elected Secretaries to the Board. In a few instances, principally in the boot and shoe trade, there is only one Secretary, who is invariably the Secretary of the Employers' Association.

In all Conciliation Board rules clauses are inserted to regulate the voting, so as to secure that the absence of a representative from one side shall not give an unfair advantage to the other. The following rule extracted from those of the Northumberland Coal Trade Board is typical:—

All votes shall be taken at meetings of the Board by show of hands. When at any meeting of the Board the parties entitled to vote are unequal in number

WAGES AND CONCILIATION BOARDS.

all shall have the right of fully entering into the discussion of any matters brought before them; but only an equal number of each shall vote. The withdrawal of the members of whichever body may be in excess to be by lot, unless otherwise arranged.

It is unnecessary to carry this analysis of the rules of Conciliation Boards further. The vital points of similarity and divergence have been noted. In minor details of procedure the practice of nearly every Board differs, but these variations are unimportant. It will be clear, however, that the rules of Conciliation Boards are by no means of a cast-iron character. Most Boards started with rules of an exceedingly tentative character, which have been amended and added to as experience has suggested. To describe the history of each Board or Joint Committee would be a tedious task, and is, moreover, precluded from considerations of space. A fairly full description of the history and work of a few typical Boards will be sufficient, however, to enable general conclusions to be formed as to the value and possible future developments of conciliation agencies.

TRADE BOARDS IN THE MINING INDUSTRY.

In the nineteenth century the mining industry was more disturbed by trade disputes than any other. During the period 1895-1900 about 20 per cent. of the total number of miners employed were annually involved in trade disputes. The corresponding average for all other trades was 2 per cent. During the ten years 1891-1900 five big disputes of national importance took place in the coal trade. The time lost by these five disputes alone was 47,500,000 days, or not far short of one-half of the time lost by the remaining 7,895 disputes. So many other trades depend for their proper working upon a cheap and plentiful supply of coal that mining disputes on a large scale do more to dislocate industry than those in any other trade.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the most strenuous efforts to form conciliation machinery have been made in this industry.

These efforts have on the whole been successful. Conciliation Boards or Joint Committees have been established for determining the general rate of wages of coal miners in all parts of the country except in South Wales. The work of these Boards in settling the general rate of wages of miners is largely responsible for the increase in the number of workpeople whose wages were arranged by conciliatory agencies, and to which reference has already been made. The most important of the Coal Trade Boards is the one for the federated districts of England and Wales. The present Board came into existence on January 1st, 1899. It was constituted on the same lines as the one formed in 1893 at the conclusion of

WAGES AND CONCILIATION BOARDS.

the big dispute in that year. The Board formed in 1893 was dissolved on July 31st, 1896. The jurisdiction of the Board extends over Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, Shropshire, part of Staffordshire, Warwickshire, part of Worcestershire, and North Wales. All demands on the part of the men for an increase or on the part of the employers for a decrease are in the first instance submitted to and considered by the Board sitting without the independent Chairman. If the parties on the Board cannot agree, then the meeting is adjourned for a period not exceeding twenty-one days, and the matter in dispute is further discussed by the constituents of the two parties. To the adjourned meeting the Chairman is summoned, when the matter is again discussed, and in default of agreement by the parties on the Board the Chairman's decision is final and binding.

By the decisions of the Boards the wages of the coal hewers in the districts governed by it were advanced during the years 1899-1901 by instalments to 60 per cent. above the standard of 1888.

During 1902 a demand on the part of the employers for a reduction of 10 per cent. was resisted by the men, and the matter was finally left to the decision of the Chairman, Lord James of Hereford, who gave his vote in favour of the resolution proposed by the employers.

In Scotland, where disputes between employers and workpeople in the coal trade have been exceptionally frequent and violent, the first General Board was not established until January 5th, 1900. Like the Board in the federated districts of England and Wales, it exists to fix a rate of wages within certain specified limits, and is composed of representatives of coal owners and miners. Unlike the English Board, however, it has no standing outside Chairman, but its rules provide that

If the parties cannot agree, then the meeting shall be adjourned for a period not exceeding fourteen days, to allow the matter to be discussed by the constituents of the two parties. In the event of a disagreement at the second meeting, a neutral Chairman may be called in to settle the matter, but only if both parties agree to that course. If it is agreed to call in a neutral Chairman, he shall be nominated at this second meeting, or an adjournment thereof, and a third meeting of parties shall be held not later than fourteen days thereafter. The decision of the neutral Chairman shall be final and binding on both parties.

Miners' wages in Scotland rise and fall more frequently and by larger amounts than is the case in England. Wages were advanced 18½ per cent. during 1900, and reduced 50 per cent. in 1901 in three instalments. The first instalment of 25 per cent. was

WAGES AND CONCILIATION BOARDS.

arranged by the Board, the second of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. was awarded by Lord James of Hereford, and the third, also of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., was awarded by Sheriff Jameson. During 1902, two further reductions, both of $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., were awarded by the same Arbitrator. In connection with his last award the Arbitrator stipulated that the reduction should not reduce wages below $37\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. above the 1888 standard in any district.

In the counties of Northumberland and Durham Conciliation Boards have had a longer and more interesting history than in other parts of Great Britain. Negotiations for the formation of a Board in Northumberland began so far back as October, 1891, but the proposal fell through owing to the unwillingness of the owners to accept an independent Chairman. Negotiations were resumed in March, 1894, and the principle of an independent Chairman was accepted by the owners in April. A Board was formed, and Mr. Strachan, barrister-at-law, was appointed outside Chairman. The Board continued to meet quarterly for the purpose of settling the general level of miners' wages throughout the county. The basis of discussion was a return of the ascertained average selling price of coal at the pit's mouth, as ascertained from the books of certain firms by accountants appointed by the Board. In 1896, owing to dissatisfaction being expressed by some of the men as to the working of the Board, a vote was taken on the question, and resulted in a majority against the continuance of the Board. Due notice having been given, it ceased to exist on the last day of that year. In 1899 the Board was re-established, and since that date it has changed from time to time the general rate of wages in Northumberland.

In Durham a Board for the revision from time to time of the county rate of wages was formed in February, 1895. This Board came to an end in August, 1896, but was re-established in 1899. The Board does not meet quarterly, as in the case of the Northumberland Board, but whenever application is made by the owners or men. Wages in Durham do not change quite so frequently as those in Northumberland. The rules of the Durham Board are very similar to those of the one in Northumberland.

In addition to the Conciliation Boards for settling county questions in Northumberland and Durham, there exist Joint Committees of employers and employed which deal with questions affecting single establishments only. Their chief function is the local readjustment of wages with the view of bringing the wages paid to particular classes in individual pits into conformity with those generally paid in the two counties. A very large number of cases are brought before these Committees in the course of the

WAGES AND CONCILIATION BOARDS.

year, the Durham Joint Committee, in particular, settling as a rule from 200 to over 300 differences between employers and workpeople in the course of the twelve months. Committees for dealing with small disputes exist in the West of Yorkshire, the West Lothians, and other districts. In South Wales and Monmouthshire it is not an infrequent practice to refer small disputes to the Sliding Scale Committee, to which reference will be made later, for consideration.

In addition to the federated districts, Northumberland, Durham, and Scotland, Boards for determining the general rate of wages exist in most of the smaller coal mining centres. Practically, therefore, throughout Great Britain, with one exception, the general rates of wages are now regulated by Conciliation Boards. The exception is South Wales and Monmouthshire, where a sliding scale is (October, 1902) in operation. Under this sliding scale wages vary automatically with the selling price of coal, which is ascertained every two months by accountants appointed by the Sliding Scale Committee.

The present scale was first put in operation in 1892. Previous to that date four scales had been in existence, dated 1875, 1880, 1882, and 1890 respectively. In October, 1897, the miners gave six months' notice to terminate the scale. The notice ran out without the parties being able to agree to the terms on which it should be renewed. A large party of the men were opposed to renewal on any terms, and a stoppage of five months' duration resulted. After a long and bitter dispute the workmen were defeated, and the scale was renewed practically on the same lines as before. The agreement under which the employers opened their collieries to the men provided that the sliding scale should remain in force until January 1st, 1903, and thenceforward, unless six months' notice to terminate the agreement should be given on the previous 1st of July, and thereafter on any other following 1st of January or 1st of July. On the 1st of July, 1902, the men gave notice to terminate the agreement of 1898, and the sliding scale embodied in it. They put forward in substitution for the scale a scheme for a Conciliation Board of twenty-four members on each side and an independent Chairman. The miners' leaders stand committed to the principle of the Conciliation Board, and at the time of writing there is reason to fear that unless some agreement is arrived at another of those fierce disputes which have marked the industrial history of South Wales will take place.

There was a time when sliding scales were popular. Many people regarded them as a means by which the vexed question of the rate of remuneration should be equitably and peaceably settled.

WAGES AND CONCILIATION BOARDS.

Between 1877 and 1890 nearly every coal mining district in England tried one or more sliding scales, but they have all been abandoned with the exception of the one in South Wales.

The sliding scale system of fixing the rate of remuneration according to the selling price of the product has always appealed more to the employers than to the workpeople. The workmen have, in the coal trade, revolted against sliding scales—first, because of the extreme fluctuations to which they rendered wages liable; secondly, because of the difficulty of obtaining a satisfactory basis; thirdly, because of the permanent tendency of prices to decrease; and fourthly, because the workmen believed that there is a great inducement under the sliding scale system for employers to cut prices.

As a result, difficulties in connection with the operation of scales arose either when wages were very high and trade good or when trade was bad and wages were very low. At both these periods a tendency on the part of one of the parties to break through the scale was generally manifest.

TRADE BOARDS IN THE IRON AND STEEL TRADES.

Sliding scales have met with a greater measure of success in the iron and steel trades than in any other, and it is only in these trades that they continue to flourish. One reason for this is to be found in the fact that they have usually been worked by Wages Boards charged with the supervision of the scale, which Boards have not hesitated to depart from the agreed scale under special circumstances or to vary and amend the scale when it has not been working to the satisfaction of both parties. For example, on September 27th, 1900, the Standing Committee of the Midland Wages Board unanimously agreed that, in view of the fact that a further advance of wages would make the difference between the Northern and Midland Districts wider than in any time past, it was in the interest of the iron trade of the district to waive any advance, as on nine former occasions (during the period 1895-99) the employers had made similar concessions. Again, at a meeting held on July 26th, 1901, it was agreed that, "the operatives having on a recent occasion waived their right to an advance of wages to which they were entitled, the employers under present circumstances waive their right to a reduction."

Of the Wages Boards administering sliding scales and generally regulating the conditions of employment in the iron and steel industry, the two most important, as they are also the two with the most continuous history, are the Board of Conciliation and

WAGES AND CONCILIATION BOARDS.

Arbitration for the Manufactured Iron and Steel Trade of the North of England, which was founded in 1869, and the Midland Iron and Steel Wages Board, founded in 1876.

In the case of the North of England the full Board meets twice a year, but a Standing Committee is appointed which deals with questions affecting individual works. This meets fairly frequently, and deals as a rule with a considerable number of cases. If the Joint Committee is unable to come to an agreement the matter is usually referred to an Arbitrator.

The Midland Board also appoints a Standing Committee to deal with cases affecting individual works. The number of cases settled varies from year to year, but they average about eight per annum.

There is no doubt that these two Boards have succeeded in preventing strikes and maintaining good feeling between the iron workers of the Midlands and the North and their employers. This is attested by both sides.

On the other hand, independent inquirers who have examined the structure of the iron trades have arrived at the conclusion that, although the conditions are peaceful, in other respects they are not altogether satisfactory. Sub-contracting prevails to a very large degree, and while the sub-contractors who are members of the Iron Workers' Union make large wages it is freely asserted that both from the point of view of the under hands and the organisation of the industry for cheap and rapid production the present condition of affairs leaves something to be desired, and that the friendly relations of employers and workpeople, combined with the conservative instincts of both parties, have tended to prevent the introduction of those improvements in production which are necessary if the districts affected are to continue to compete successfully with foreign countries.

While the workers' Boards in the North of England and the Midlands date back over a quarter of a century, the Scottish Manufacturers' Iron Trade Conciliation and Arbitration Board was not formed until March, 1897. Its objects as embodied in its rules are very similar to those of the Midland Board. It deals both with general wages changes and also with questions of dispute affecting single works. Its operations have been very successful up to the present time. Boards for the regulation of steel workers' wages and for other purposes exist in Scotland and South Wales. In the pig iron industry Boards or Joint Committees are in operation in Cleveland, West Cumberland, and in Scotland, the three principal centres of the industry.

WAGES AND CONCILIATION BOARDS.

TRADE BOARDS IN THE ENGINEERING AND SHIPBUILDING INDUSTRY.

An important group of Conciliation Boards exist in this trade known as Demarcation Boards. Questions of demarcation of work have until quite recently been a most fruitful cause of strikes and lock-outs. These disputes were of a most irritating nature, and usually caused much ill-feeling. They were strikes in the main between workpeople, although nominally directed at the employer. The latter was frequently a helpless sufferer by quarrels which once commenced were difficult to terminate. To the outside public demarcation disputes, *i.e.*, whether a shipwright or a joiner should do a given piece of work, or whether a smith or a boilermaker should carry out a particular job, were senseless in the extreme. The deep-rooted traditions and the practical reasons which prompt a shipwright or a joiner or other workman jealously to resist the encroachment of any other trade upon work which he considers particularly his own will, when understood, excuse even when they do not justify disputes between two classes of workpeople. As a result, however, of the general formation of Demarcation Boards these contests have been greatly reduced in number. Boards to settle the apportionment of work between trades exist on the Tyne, Wear, Tees, at Hartlepool, Middlesbro', Liverpool, Birkenhead, on the Clyde, and at Leith.

One example will probably be sufficient to indicate the methods of procedure in the case of these Boards. In the rules of the Clyde Standing Committee of Shipwrights, Joiners, and Employers for the demarcation of work it is provided that all differences which cannot be settled by the operatives themselves in the yard in which they arise shall be submitted to a Committee consisting of three shipwrights, three joiners, and three employers. Work in the yard affected must proceed without stoppage, and the firm affected is entitled to give a temporary decision, but it is specially provided that that decision must not be adduced in evidence or in any way used to prejudice the ultimate arrangement of the question. The quorum of the Committee is six, but in all cases the voting power of the three parties represented upon the Committee must be equal. Should the representatives of any of the parties on the Committee be dissatisfied with any of its decisions, appeal may be had to a body of referees whose appointment is provided for in the rules. It may be stated as showing the importance of the work of these Committees that in 1895 the one on the Clyde dealt with twenty-seven cases, in 1896 with thirty-nine, in 1897 thirty-three cases were considered, in 1898 fifteen cases were disposed of, in 1899 twenty-nine were brought before the Board, and in 1900 thirty-five cases were settled.

WAGES AND CONCILIATION BOARDS.

There is no doubt that a considerable number of these cases in the absence of conciliation machinery would have resulted in irritating and probably prolonged disputes.

Apart from the Demarcation Boards a number of Boards exist in the engineering and shipbuilding industry for the settlement of wages disputes and other questions. The wages of both ironfounders and pattern-makers on the North-East Coast are considered and determined by Boards of Conciliation. The wages of marine engineers are similarly regulated.

On the Wear, questions affecting the wages and conditions of employment of shipwrights, joiners, painters, drillers, and hole cutters have been settled successfully for many years by the Board of Conciliation for the Wear shipbuilding trade. Since 1894 the wages and conditions of employment of boilermakers and shipbuilders have been settled by a separate conciliation agency.

On the Tyne, Tees, Clyde, and at Leith Joint Committees of employers and boilermakers and iron shipbuilders exist for the purpose of settling questions affecting these trades.

No account of the conciliation machinery in this industry is complete without some reference to the engineering dispute of 1897-8, and the agreement that sprang out of it. That dispute, the nominal object of which was to reduce the hours of labour in London, was really concerned with the whole question of workshop management and the practice and limits of collective bargaining.

The employers demanded, as the means by which they hoped to increase the output and to reduce the unit of cost, complete freedom in the management of their workshops. The workpeople failed to put forward an alternative method by which the same results could be obtained, while at the same time conserving to themselves the right to determine by collective agreement the general conditions under which work should be carried on. The confusion of the issues, combined with the absence of a clearly thought out proposal on the part of the workpeople, resulted in their defeat. But in the agreement by which the great dispute was terminated are clauses which established machinery for the settlement of questions in debate between employers and employed under which many points in dispute have been arranged.

TRADE BOARDS IN THE OTHER METAL TRADES.

In addition to the Boards in the iron and steel and engineering and shipbuilding industries, to which reference has already been made, there exist a number of these organisations among other classes of metal workers.

WAGES AND CONCILIATION BOARDS.

The rules of the South Staffordshire Bolt and Nut Trade Wages Board, which are dated 1893, state that the object of the Board shall be to deal from time to time with the wages paid for any forged work in the bolt and nut trade. The Board has met and considered questions each year since that date, and has altered from time to time the general rate of wages.

An important Board in this group of industries is that for the brass foundry trade. The objects of this Board are stated in its rules to be the "amicable settlement of all disputes between the manufacturers of and workmen engaged in brass foundry as to the amount of day wages, piecework prices, and hours and conditions of labour." During 1900 an important arbitration took place in connection with this Board, acting jointly with the Gas and Electric Light Fittings and the Water, Steam, and Beer Fittings Conciliation Boards. The workmen put forward a number of important proposals embodying some radical alterations in the wages and conditions under which the brass trade was then carried on. The employers replied with a number of counter proposals, and, neither side being able to agree, the Boards applied to the Board of Trade to appoint an Arbitrator. Sir David Dale was appointed to act in that capacity. After a long and careful inquiry, extending over many days, Sir David Dale issued his award, which, in the main, disallowed the proposals of the men while it conceded a few of the minor alterations asked for.

Another important Board is that in the bedstead trade. Its objects are stated in its rules to be "the amicable settlement of all disputes between members of the Bedstead Manufacturers' Association and the Bedstead Workmen's Association as to the amount of day wages, piecework prices, and hours and conditions of labour, and the improvement of the bedstead trade by the consideration and furtherance of all matters tending to the mutual benefit of employers and employed." This Board has done a good deal of work since its formation both in settling the general rates of wages and in dealing with cases affecting individual shops where it was necessary to fix the prices of fresh patterns or work.

A number of Boards in the metal trades of Birmingham and district were formed in connection with alliances between employers and employed, including the Bedstead Trade Board and the Conciliation Board of the metal trade. Nearly all of these alliances have now come to an end, but the Wages Boards have, in most cases, been continued.

Other Boards in the metal trades include the Tin-Plate Trade Conciliation Board, the Wages and Conciliation Board of the fender and fire brasses trade, and Boards in the brass and iron fender trade, the cycle tube trade, and the stair-rod trade.

WAGES AND CONCILIATION BOARDS.

TRADE BOARDS IN THE BOOT AND SHOE TRADE.

Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration exist at the present time in nearly all the important centres of the boot and shoe trade. In 1895 a long and bitter dispute took place in this industry. The dispute was settled at a conference held at the Board of Trade, when terms of settlement, dated April 19th, were drawn up and agreed to by both parties. Among other things the settlement provided that a general Joint Committee of employers and workpeople should draft a model set of rules for the guidance of the local Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration, and that any points in dispute should be settled by Lord James of Hereford. These model rules have been generally adopted by the local Boards.

Previous to the dispute of 1895 local Conciliation Boards had been in existence, but they worked under exceptional difficulties. For many years the method of production in the boot and shoe trade had been passing through rapid transformations, chiefly because of the wider introduction of machinery and the application of mechanical processes to operations previously performed by hand. The transition from hand work to machine working is a fruitful cause of friction between employers and employed in every industry, and owing to the peculiar circumstances of the trade it was exceptionally so in the making of boots and shoes. The general introduction of machinery had also greatly reduced home work and led to the establishment of a factory system. This state of things, combined with questions as to the classification of work and modes of payment—always causes of controversy in a piecework trade—led to numerous local disputes. With a view to preventing such disputes, local Boards of Arbitration and eventually a National Conference of the Trade were established. For a time these institutions succeeded in somewhat mitigating the evils to which the trade was subject. Eventually, however, the difference between the organised employers and workpeople became too serious for settlement by the machinery then established. A series of differences, one of the most important of which was the refusal of the operatives to abide by the decision of the Chairman of the National Conference, led to the prolonged dispute referred to above. In November, 1894, a number of proposals from the Federated Employers' Association to the Operatives' Union was accompanied by a letter, the following extract from which contains the explanation of the attitude of the employers to the conciliatory machinery in existence at that date:—

For some time past the operations of our General Conference and Local Arbitration Boards, as you must be aware, have not been satisfactory. Instead of remaining Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration they have been largely used as a vehicle for the general abuse of manufacturers and the introduction

WAGES AND CONCILIATION BOARDS.

of propositions based upon extreme Socialistic doctrines, encroaching upon the individual rights of manufacturers. In fact, they have been made the easy means of raising disputes rather than settling them. The policy the Union has adopted in attempting to find work for the unemployed, by restricting the output and placing every obstacle in the way of the satisfactory operation of machinery, thus increasing the cost of production, is, in the opinion of the manufacturers, suicidal, calculated to materially reduce the demand, and to drive the trade into other countries where no such restrictions exist. These circumstances, coupled with the action of the Union in ordering illegal strikes, declining to carry out the awards of the Umpire, or in other cases seeking a re-hearing, or reading into the award what obviously was never intended, make it impossible to go on under present conditions.

The rules now generally adopted contain provisions calculated to remedy some of the evils of which the employers complained in 1894.

The important character of the work discharged by the existing Boards is well illustrated by the following summary of the work of the Leicester organisation during the period 1895-1900. In the course of the six years the Board settled the question of the general rate of wages, determined the regulations affecting overtime and boy labour, and dealt with innumerable questions of classification which previously were a fruitful cause of small disputes.

In 1895 twenty-one cases were brought before the Board, in 1896 thirty, in 1897 forty-four, in 1898 thirty-nine, in 1899 twenty-five, and in 1900 twenty-one. All these questions were either settled by the Committee, withdrawn or ruled out of order, or referred to arbitration. Included in the latter was the important question of boy labour which resulted in an award of Lord James in 1892, restricting the number of boys under eighteen to one boy to every three men employed being retained. Another important proposal resulted in the Arbitrators refusing to devise a minimum wage for youths between eighteen and twenty. They decided that all minimum wages then in force should continue and remain in force for a further period of three years. Upon the question of overtime the Arbitrators decided that, with a view as far as possible to abolish persistent overtime, "we award that for the period of four weeks next before or next after or partly before and partly after the usual holidays . . . overtime may be made to the extent of five hours per week without extra payment, and that time lost through a breakdown of machinery or through the temporary illness of a workman may also be made up without extra payment. In all other cases, time and a quarter shall be paid to each workman upon weekly wages for all time made beyond fifty-four hours in any one week. This award shall not apply to pieceworkers."

TRADE BOARDS IN THE BUILDING AND OTHER TRADES.

In the building trades about forty Conciliation Boards and Joint Committees have been formed. Their constitution is generally provided for in the working rules which now regulate the wages and conditions of labour of bricklayers, carpenters and joiners, masons, painters, plasterers, &c., in nearly every district.

Some account has already been given of the work of the Joint Committee in the cotton weaving trade, and reference should also

WAGES AND CONCILIATION BOARDS.

be made to the Brooklands Agreement in the cotton spinning trade. This agreement was drawn up at the conclusion of the great dispute of 1892-3. It provides the machinery whereby any question, difference, dispute, or grievance with respect to work, wages, or other matters shall be settled without resort to a strike or lock-out. Under it many points of dispute have been arranged.

In the less organised industries not many Conciliation Boards are to be found. Strong organisations on both sides are conditions precedent to the establishment of a successful Conciliation or Wages Board. In the clothing industry such conditions do not exist, and, with the exception of two or three Boards in the tailoring trades, these organisations are absent from this important industry.

Among dock and waterside labour successful Boards have been established, more particularly at Bristol, Cardiff, and Dundee. A Board exists in the Scottish baking trade, another in the China furniture trade, and Boards which have not been so far particularly successful in their action exist in the London cabinet-making trade and in the Staffordshire pottery trade.

DISTRICT CONCILIATION BOARDS.

District Conciliation Boards exist in Aberdeen, Birmingham, Bristol, Derby, Dewsbury, Dudley, Halifax, Leeds, Liverpool, London, Manchester, and other towns. There are altogether at the present time about sixteen such Boards. Six years ago their number exceeded twenty-five, about ten having dropped out of existence during that period. Their objects are usually stated as follows:—"To promote amicable methods of settling labour disputes and the prevention of strikes and lock-outs generally." They are usually composed of a few leading employers of labour and trade unionists, representative of the principal trades and industries of the district. During the last six years the average number of these District Boards known to have settled any disputes between employers and workpeople has been two. The Boards in London and Aberdeen have been the most successful. The average District Board, like an individual Arbitrator, is usually out of touch with the disputants. They accordingly have little confidence in it, and it is only in exceptional cases that its good offices are solicited.

CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION IN THE COLONIES.

It is of interest in connection with this subject to consider the results of the conciliation and arbitration experiments in Australasia.

WAGES AND CONCILIATION BOARDS.

In the United Kingdom the State has interfered with questions of dispute between employers and workpeople only in a half-hearted manner. The keynote of the Conciliation Act of 1896* is voluntary agreement; the keynote of the legislation in Australia and New Zealand is compulsion. In this country the State will arbitrate if asked to do so by both parties, but even then no compulsory powers are vested in its representatives. In the colonies referred to it intervenes unasked, and the decisions of its representatives are enforced by the machinery of the State.

The industrial legislation of New Zealand has so far attracted more attention in this country than that of Australia. The New Zealand law provides for the formation of industrial unions of employers and employed. Industrial agreements regulating the conditions of labour may be made between industrial unions, industrial associations, or employers. These agreements can be enforced by the State.

The law next provides for the formation of Boards of Conciliation. For this purpose the country is divided into districts. The members of the Board are elected by the respective industrial unions of employers and employed, but if the proper electing authority neglects to exercise its powers the Governor makes the appointment. Any party may make an application for reference of any matter in dispute to the Board of Conciliation. The Board has then to inquire into the matter and to make suggestions to induce the parties to come to a settlement. If a settlement is arrived at its terms are embodied in an industrial agreement. In the contrary event the Board is required to make a recommendation, and, if the recommendation is accepted either in its entirety or with alterations, then as originally made or subsequently modified it becomes an industrial agreement.

If any party is dissatisfied with the recommendation he may within one month have the dispute referred to the Court of Arbitration. If within that time no application is made, the recommendation becomes an industrial agreement binding on the parties.

It is generally admitted that these Boards have not worked so well as was expected. Mr. W. P. Reeves, the author of the

* The Conciliation Act of 1896 gives the Board of Trade power to take action where a difference exists or is apprehended between an employer or any class of employers and workmen, or between different classes of workmen. Between August, 1896, and June, 1901, 113 cases were dealt with, of which seventy were settled under the Act, ten between the parties during negotiations, and in thirty-three cases the Board refused to intervene or, intervening, was not successful in inducing the parties to come to a settlement.

WAGES AND CONCILIATION BOARDS.

original Act, expressed the hope that they would do the major portion of the work, but it has been found that the decisions of the local Conciliation Boards are not accepted. The majority are appealed against and referred for final settlement to the Court of Arbitration. When, however, the constitution of these Boards is examined in the light of the English experience, the cause of their ill success is not far to seek. It has been pointed out that in England Trade Conciliation Boards owe a large measure of their success to the fact that they are formed of employers and workpeople actually engaged in the trade in which the dispute arises, and who are accordingly familiar with every detail of the points at issue. The general Boards of Conciliation in New Zealand correspond more with the English District Boards, which it has been shown have not so far accomplished very much. On a New Zealand Conciliation Board a tailor, a baker, a butcher, with a clergyman or lawyer in the chair, may have to decide on technical points of dispute concerning, say, bootmakers, wharf labourers, or printers.

The Court of Arbitration consists of three members appointed by the Governor, viz., one member on the recommendation of the industrial union of employers and one on that of the industrial union of workers, and it is presided over by a Judge of the Supreme Court. In some ways this Court has more far-reaching powers than any other within the limits of the British Empire. It determines all matters before it in such manner and in all respects as in equity and good conscience it thinks fit, and is not bound by the ordinary rules of evidence. It may summon witnesses, it may call for the production of books and allow the parties to inspect them, and it may refer any matter to a special Board for report. So long as it acts within its jurisdiction no Court can restrain it, and its jurisdiction is very wide. From its decisions there is practically no appeal. It interprets its own awards and fixes the penalty for any breach of them. Generally speaking, the greatest satisfaction is expressed with the constitution of this Court, its proceedings, and its decisions. It has power to make awards extending over the whole colony, and these awards continue notwithstanding expiry until new agreements or awards are made. Practically, therefore, the Court of Arbitration in New Zealand is the authority for finally determining the wages and conditions of labour in any trade in New Zealand, and its decisions can be enforced by fines and penalties. Although it is possible to exaggerate the importance of the New Zealand industrial legislation and to ignore its weaknesses, it must be admitted that the Act has prevented strikes of any magnitude, and has on the whole brought about a better relation between employers and employes than would

WAGES AND CONCILIATION BOARDS.

exist if there were no Act. It has enabled the increase of wages and other improved conditions to which the workmen are entitled to be settled without friction and bitterness of feeling. It has enabled the employers to know with certainty the conditions of production, and, therefore, to make contracts with the knowledge that they will be able to fulfil them.

So far, however, the New Zealand experiment has not been tested by a period of bad times. The awards generally have been in favour of the workers, and the ever-increasing wave of prosperity which has passed over New Zealand would probably have brought them improved conditions if the Act had not been in existence. Whether in a period of declining trade and slackened employment the system will work smoothly has yet to be demonstrated.

In Victoria labour legislation has taken the line of establishing Wages Boards for the purpose of fixing the minimum rates of wages for certain trades and industries. Each Board consists, in addition to the Chairman, of not less than four and of not more than ten persons, and of such a number not more than one-half are appointed as representatives of employers and one-half as representatives of employes.

Boards have been brought into existence in thirty-eight trades, including (1) baking, (2) boot and shoe making, (3) clothing, (4) furniture making, (5) shirt making, (6) manufacture of underclothing, (7) brick making, (8) carriage making, (9) cigar making, (10) coopering, (11) printing, (12) pottery making, &c., &c.

In his latest report, the Chief Inspector of Factories in Victoria estimates "that when all the Boards have made their determinations about 35,000 persons will receive the benefits of the system."

Boards are required to fix the minimum prices or rates of payment which shall be adopted in each trade. The minimum fixed may be a piece rate or a time rate or both, except in the case of clothing made outside a factory, in which case piece rate wages only may be fixed. The Board are required to fix the number of hours' employment, overtime rate, number of apprentices or improvers, and the wages to be paid to them, &c. Power is given to the Chief Inspector of Factories to grant to an aged or infirm person a licence for twelve months to work at a less wage than the minimum fixed.

The chief difficulties in connection with the successful working of these Wages Boards are (1) the selection of a suitable Chairman and (2) the enforcement of the awards.

As regards the Chairman, not only does the temper and method in which the questions at issue are discussed largely depend upon him, but with him also rests the final decisions in cases of difference.

WAGES AND CONCILIATION BOARDS.

It has been found in practice that Boards on which both parties are anxious to come to an agreement, and which have secured the services of an able and unbiassed Chairman, have had little difficulty in settling rates of wages and conditions of labour which have commended themselves to both parties.

On the other hand, in the case of Boards in which the Chairman has not been equal to the task of maintaining good feeling between the opposing parties, and who has failed to secure the confidence of both sides, friction not unaccompanied with bitter feelings has resulted.

The second difficulty, viz., that connected with the enforcement of awards, has been even more serious. In establishing the Boards the authorities in Victoria apparently were governed by the consideration "in what trades are they most required?" and not "in what trades would they be most effective?" Accordingly, Boards were established in the first case in the more or less sweated industries, where the difficulties of enforcing an award would obviously be great. In sweated industries, where the standard of living is low, where the competition for work is exceedingly keen, where there exists little good feeling and comradeship between workpeople, it is very difficult indeed to enforce conditions as to wages and employment. It is necessary only to consider the obstacles in the way of enforcing a standard rate of wages among the workpeople employed in the clothing industry in London as compared with the comparative ease with which it has been possible to fix and enforce a standard rate for bricklayers to see the dangers that confront the factory officials in enforcing the awards of the Victorian Boards. Accordingly, evasions are not infrequent. Employer and employé agree upon an illegal rate. The wage prescribed is probably paid, but some of the money is forthwith given back to the employer. In another trade the law was evaded by the employers insisting upon the men living on the premises and charging them an excessive rate for board and lodging. Varying devices have been resorted to in other trades. When both workpeople and their masters combine together to break the law, and commit unblushing perjury to hide their action, the difficulties of securing conviction are obviously very great. In the case of the furniture-making trade the difficulty of enforcing the decisions of the Board have been increased by the competition of the Chinese. It is admitted that it is practically impossible to compel the Chinese to comply with the law, with the result that the manufacturer of European extraction has suffered. Notwithstanding these difficulties it seems to be admitted that the Boards have to a large extent put a stop to sweating.

WAGES AND CONCILIATION BOARDS.

Among the charges brought against the Victoria Wages Board system are (1) that the minimum wage tends to become the maximum wage, with the result that the incentive to do his best is taken away from the good workman, and (2) that it prevents old and infirm men from obtaining work.

Dealing with the first of these criticisms, the Chief Inspector of Factories in his last issued report declares that "I have no hesitation in saying that the minimum wage is never the maximum wage," and he submits tables of earnings in support of this statement. With reference to the second objection he declares "I have never heard of such a case, and probably I see more of old and infirm workers than anyone in the State."

That the system has commended itself to the employers as well as the workpeople, notwithstanding the difficulties attendant upon its introduction and any inherent objections, is apparently borne out by the fact that many of the newer Boards were asked for by the employers.

It is interesting to observe that, although the New Zealand legislation started out with the idea of settling disputes, it has in effect operated in the same direction as the Victorian law, viz., to prescribe for each trade the minimum rates of wages and the conditions under which it shall be carried on.

At the beginning of 1902 all the important industries in New Zealand with the one exception of agriculture had been brought under the operation of the law, with the result that in all those trades the conditions of employment had been fixed by a Court whose decisions were as much the law of the land as an Act of Parliament.

"It is necessary to put aside altogether the idea that our Act is simply a device for preventing strikes," says Dr. John Mc.Gregor, of New Zealand, one of its opponents; "it is nothing of the kind. It is a device for putting the regulation of trades and occupation of industries under the control of a statutory Court."

There is this important difference, however, between the two colonies. In New Zealand the enforcement of the conditions prescribed in an industrial agreement or by the Court of Arbitration is left to the parties concerned. The aggrieved employer or workman must initiate the legal proceedings at his own expense before the Court of Arbitration if an award or an agreement has been broken. In Victoria, on the other hand, the decisions of the Wages Boards are enforced by the Victorian Inspectors before a Court of Summary Jurisdiction at no expense to the aggrieved party.

WAGES AND CONCILIATION BOARDS.

Perhaps the greatest tribute to the success which has attended the labour legislation in New Zealand and Victoria is to be found in the fact that it has been re-enacted with certain modification in other colonies.

In December, 1900, South Australia established Wages Boards on almost identical lines with those in existence in Victoria.

In 1901 New South Wales, after a careful investigation by a Special Commissioner of the operation of the labour legislation of New Zealand and Victoria, passed an Industrial Arbitration Act. In this statute provision is made for the registration and incorporation of industrial unions and the settlement of industrial disputes by a Court of Arbitration. The Court of Arbitration constituted under the Act consists of a President who is a Judge of the Supreme Court and two other members. The Court has power to hear and determine according to equity and good conscience any industrial dispute or any industrial matter referred to it by an industrial union or by a registrar. One of the most important provisions of this Act runs as follows:—

The Court in its award or by order made on the application of any party to the proceedings before it, at any time in the period during which the award is binding, may (a) prescribe a minimum rate of wages or other remuneration, with provision for the fixing, in such manner and subject to such conditions as may be specified in the award or order, of a lower rate in the case of employes who are unable to earn the prescribed minimum; and (b) direct that as between members of an industrial union of employes and other persons, offering their labour at the same time, such members shall be employed in preference to such other persons, other things being equal, and appoint a tribunal to finally decide in what cases an employer to whom any such direction applies may employ a person who is not a member of any such union or branch.

It will be seen that by giving the Court power to secure preferential treatment for trade unionists the Act encourages the workpeople to organise.

The Court may also declare any practice, regulation, rule, custom, term of agreement, condition of employment, &c., to be a common rule of an industry, and direct within what limits of area and subject to what conditions and exceptions such common rule shall be binding upon persons engaged in the said industry, whether an employer or an employé, and whether members of an industrial union or not. It will thus be observed that the New South Wales Court has practically power to settle finally the conditions under which workpeople shall labour in the colony—it is an authority for the regulation of trades and occupations.

Western Australia followed the example of the other States, and in February, 1902, the Industrial Conciliation Act received

WAGES AND CONCILIATION BOARDS.

the Royal assent. This Act repeals the previous one of 1900, and is in the main identical with the industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act of 1900 in New Zealand, but in certain respects follows the statute passed by New South Wales in the following year, and which is referred to in the preceding page.

THE CONCILIATION MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

Hitherto there has been a great objection on the part of Trade Unionists in this country to any form of compulsory arbitration. They have looked to the action of their Unions rather than to legislation as the means by which to secure improved conditions. But the limitations that are now being placed upon the actions of the Unions, the success which has attended compulsory arbitration in Australasia, and the fact that Trade Unionism makes no progress among the unorganised and unskilled trades is bringing about considerable modifications in the Trade Union attitude. The majority are still opposed in principle to compulsory arbitration, and this was manifest at a debate which took place in September, 1901, at the Trade Union Congress. At that Congress Mr. Ben Tillett moved a resolution proposing to establish, as in New Zealand, a Supreme Court of Arbitration, presided over by a Lord Justice and constituted of an equal number of workmen and employers' representatives, to settle questions at issue between employers and workpeople. After an interesting debate the resolution was defeated, delegates representing 676,000 Trade Unionists voting against it, as compared with delegates representing 366,000 who voted in favour. These figures represented a marked growth in favour of compulsory arbitration. Apparently the chief objection in the minds of the delegates was the fact that the ultimate decision would rest with a Judge. The judicial bench have been in such frequent opposition to the views and aspirations of Trade Unionism that most of the delegates seemed to feel that, as one of the speakers stated, "to make the Judges arbitrators to decide conditions and wages would be suicidal."

This lack of confidence in the judicial bench was still more manifest at the Congress held in London in September last. A resolution for creating a Court of Arbitration, presided over by a Lord Justice and armed with compulsory powers, was again brought forward and again rejected by 961,000 votes to 303,000. The voting showed that the movement for compulsory arbitration had received a set-back during the twelve months as a result of a number of judicial decisions which had increased the trade union distrust of the Judges. One of the miners' leaders declared that "he had had enough of Judges during the past eighteen months."

WAGES AND CONCILIATION BOARDS.

They were biassed against trade unions. Under compulsory arbitration unions would wither and die." The Secretary of the Boiler Makers' Society said that his members "would rather agree to submit their case to their employers than to a Judge, who, with the bias of his class, would think those conditions too favourable."

The calling in of an outside Arbitrator, apart from the machinery of a Conciliation Board, to settle disputes has also found little favour either with workpeople or their employers. The difficulty of obtaining an Arbitrator at once acceptable to both parties has been an almost insuperable one. Some disputants consider that the Arbitrator should be chosen from among persons intimately acquainted with all the details of the industry affected. This usually involves that he shall be either an employer or a workman in the trade. The employers invariably object to a workman Arbitrator, and the men do not care for an Arbitrator drawn from the employers' class. Others favour the selection of an Arbitrator drawn entirely from the outside who knows nothing at all about the technical matters involved. Further, it has been found that in practice there is a tendency on the part of Arbitrators to split the difference, irrespective of the merits of the case. Decisions of this kind usually fail to give satisfaction or effect a permanent settlement.

In districts and in trades where arbitration has been tried it is often found that the party adversely affected by the award is indisposed to refer the matter to arbitration on a subsequent occasion. Of the many thousands of wages settlements of a collective character that have been made in this country during the last ten years quite an infinitesimal proportion have been arrived at on award of an Arbitrator.

A great distinction exists in the minds of Trade Unionists between an outside President or Chairman of a Conciliation Board and an Arbitrator called in to settle an isolated dispute. They consider that a permanent Chairman appointed by the Board itself is more likely to arrive at a just decision than a Judge or an irresponsible person appointed by an outside authority. The former hears the disputed points discussed across the table by employers and workmen thoroughly familiar with every detail, while the latter has to form conclusions after an inquiry conducted in a more or less formal manner.

The lack of confidence in the judicial bench which characterises Trade Unionism, and the preference for Conciliation Boards presided over by an outside Chairman in whose selection they have had a voice, will tend probably to cause the movement for conciliatory legislation to develop along slightly different lines to

WAGES AND CONCILIATION BOARDS.

the corresponding movements in the colonies. While it is a difficult task to measure the force and determine the direction of modern movements, it is probably safe to say that, although cognisance will be taken of colonial experience, yet in this country, before setting up new Boards of Conciliation, recognition will be extended to those that already exist.

Under the Conciliation Act of 1896 a Conciliation Board may apply for registration to the Board of Trade. As, however, registration carries with it no special privilege or practical advantage, very few Boards have availed themselves of this provision. It has been suggested, however, that under certain safeguards a registered Board should be enabled to file its decisions, and that such decisions should be enforced by the State in the same way as the special rules promulgated by the Secretary of State under the Factory Act are enforced. The organised trades are ready, it is stated, for a measure of this kind. It would enable them to deal with a permanently disturbing element, viz., the unorganised employer and the unorganised workman.

Employers who are not members of and who are not bound by the decisions and agreements of the Employers' Associations and workpeople who are not members of and subordinate to the discipline of the Trade Unions are a frequent cause of disturbance in every industry. If they exist in any large numbers they tend to prevent friendly arrangements between the organised employers and workpeople.

It was given in evidence before the Labour Commission by the workpeople that their difficulties in obtaining redress arose with employers who were not members of the Employers' Associations, and they believed that if all the employers joined the Associations it would materially conduce to the settlement of disputes. The employers on their part stated that it was easier to discuss causes of dispute with Union officials than with the operatives, and they attributed the improved relations in a great measure to the frequent intercourse which takes place between the officials of the Associations on both sides.

When, therefore, an agreement as to wages and conditions of labour has been arrived at by Associations representing the greater part of the capital and workpeople employed in a given trade in any district, there seem to be strong arguments in favour of that agreement being registered and enforced under certain safeguards as part of the Factory Act. One of the results would be to induce both employers and workpeople to go into the various trade organisations, and this would facilitate the establishment of effective Joint Boards of Conciliation generally.

WAGES AND CONCILIATION BOARDS.

The Royal Commission on Labour pointed out in their final report in 1886 that

Strong organisation in any trade is almost a condition precedent to the establishment of permanent and effective Joint Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration for the trade generally, because unless most men in a trade belong to the society it is (a) difficult to obtain a satisfactory representation of workmen on such a Board, and (b) difficult for the executive or leaders of the men to stop local strikes or to ensure that disputes shall be carried to the Joint Board and that the decisions arrived at by that Board shall be respected by the workmen.

On the other hand, it may be pointed out that there is very little chance of Wages Boards being formed by voluntary agreement in the unorganised industries. It is the characteristic of the development of Trade Unionism in recent years that the organised and skilled trades are growing stronger, their Unions are increasing in membership, and their power is becoming consolidated. At the same time the unskilled trades are becoming weaker and more disorganised. It is hopeless to expect that these unskilled trades will ever form the strong organisations which are a condition precedent to the establishment of voluntary Wages Boards. It is only, therefore, by legislation that the condition of the unskilled worker can be improved and minimum standards as regards wages and other conditions of labour enforced.

It is probably to meet this difficulty that a Wages Boards Bill has been introduced into Parliament by Sir Charles Dilke, for the purpose of establishing Wages Boards in England on lines similar to those in Victoria. In the Memorandum that prefaces the Bill it is stated that

The object of this Bill is to provide for the establishment of Wages Boards, with power to fix the minimum rate of wages to be paid to workers in particular trades. It is left to the Home Secretary to say for what trades Wages Boards are to be appointed, so that, at all events in the first instance, Wages Boards need be appointed only for what are known as the "sweated industries," that is, industries in which outworkers are largely employed, and in which the rate of remuneration is low. A Wages Board will have power, if they think fit, to fix a minimum rate for any single kind of work or for any single class of workers in a particular trade. They will have the widest discretion as to fixing a time rate or a piecework rate, and as to varying the minimum according to the kind of work and the class of persons employed. The Bill provides that a Wages Board shall be composed of representatives of employers and representatives of employed in equal numbers, with a Chairman chosen by the members or nominated by the Home Secretary. It is proposed to entrust the enforcement of payment of the minimum rate to Factory Inspectors.

It has been suggested, however, in criticism of this measure, that it proposes to commence at the wrong end. The difficulty of enforcing minimum rates of wages in the unorganised trades

WAGES AND CONCILIATION BOARDS.

would be so great that the whole movement would be brought into public disrepute. It is urged that in the long run the objects of the promoters of the measure would be more readily obtained if statutory powers were given in the first place to existing Boards. Subsequently similar institutions could be introduced gradually and cautiously into the unorganised and sweated industries.

This suggestion accords with Parliamentary practice. Public opinion is not ripe for the wholesale creation of new and untried Wages Boards armed with large compulsory powers similar to those in the colony of Victoria. It is not improbable, however, that the day is not far distant when some of the existing Voluntary Boards will be recognised by the State, and, subject to certain safeguards, clothed with legal powers.



Land Settlement for Workmen.

BY JAMES LONG,

Member of the Council of the Central Chamber of Agriculture.



WHETHER the unemployed in our towns—many of whom, in Lord Fortescue's words, probably desire nothing so little as employment—owe their submerged position to the constant influx of young men from the country—a proportion of whom in their turn share the same fate—cannot be precisely determined, but it is significant that simultaneously with the increase in the number of town out-o'-works there is a diminution in the number of rural labourers. With a long and wide experience of country life and country people we can point to no period during the past twenty-five years in which agricultural labour has been so costly or so inferior, nor to conditions which have been so anxious and so difficult as they are to-day. Within reasonable distance of large populations the cultivation of the soil of the farms is becoming impossible, owing in part to the more tempting wages which are offered by employers of another order, and in part to the fascination of town life, with the glamour of its saloons, its music-halls, and its alluring methods of wasting time. Whenever we consider all those conditions which are applicable alike to the town and country labourer—health, home, rent, garden, advantages in the bringing up of a family, possibilities of saving, and length of days—we are bound to believe that the countryman has the best of the bargain, and that his chances of constant employment and of life are immeasurably superior. The young are, however, not yet blessed with wisdom, and so long as they can choose for themselves they will select the vocation which they regard as the quickest road to success, or to self-gratification, which in many minds stands for much the same thing.

Desire for the possession of live stock and land is inherent in man, and although the young develop tastes for such varied occupations as they may subsequently follow, whether as alumni of the village or the public school, there almost always arrives a time when, success having been achieved, there is a pronounced desire to acquire land by purchase and to stock it with domestic animals, or failing this, to hire it, even though it be but a garden in which to grow the cabbage and the rose or to keep a flock of hens. The determination of the sons of farm labourers not to

LAND SETTLEMENT FOR WORKMEN.

follow the occupation of their fathers is very largely based upon common sense. We confess that if we were placed in such a position we should decline a career involving 13s. a week, a cottage and a garden, £3 at harvest, and occasional if useful perquisites, in spite of the moral promise of nature that health would be assured and years prolonged. The vocation of farm labourer is the only one in which upward progress is next to impossible. The miner, the collier, and the artisan, with the exercise of less skill, obtain high wages and are able to provide for the future if they choose. The railway porter, like the soldier of the imagination, carries position in his waistcoat pocket; the trader can commence business with a very small capital; but the labourer, who lives where successful shopkeeping is impossible, affords no analogy to either of these individuals. There are no prizes in the service of which he is a member, while the smallness of the wages he usually receives practically precludes the possibility of saving money, for few among us can realise the difficulty of putting aside a weekly sixpence from the pittance which must suffice to fill many mouths and something more. Yet what often follows immigration to the town? The young, sturdy, and vigorous countryman is gladly employed by those who are always in want of strong arms and steady nerves, the wages are comparatively high, and, in spite of more costly lodgings and more extravagant rations, life swings merrily along, and the young man drinks of it to the full. He adorns his person in the orthodox style, sports an occasional cigar, joins a band of boon companions, some of whom were once precisely like himself, and gradually he is drawn into the vortex by which so many fine fellows are overwhelmed. His robust constitution, however—part of his inheritance—his frugal training, and his native air have served him well, and he survives to marry and to settle in one of those dismal, gardenless terraces which abound in our third-class suburbs, which he reaches by railway or tramcar involving a costly addition to his rent. Gradually he sinks into the usual type of an overworked, unhealthy-looking town employé, struggling to rear a still more unhealthy family. What is the result? The family circumstances and environment are such that one more group of human beings is added by the countryside to the still swelling town population with its submerged tenth, its hospitals, its workhouses, and its cemeteries. This is how human life—the very pith and marrow of our manhood—is being used up. There is after all little difference in the method by which the human machine and the mechanical machine are respectively worn out; but there is this difference in the result—the human machine is reproductive, and its offspring reduces the physical power of the average man.

LAND SETTLEMENT FOR WORKMEN.

Let us see what the picture might be if statesmen were willing to devote as much attention to the welfare of a deserving class of men who assist in planting them in office as they devote to the Derby or to those social functions which are said to soften the asperities of life. We are apt to insist that the masses are dissatisfied, but let us put ourselves in the place of the men of whom we write. Should we willingly value flesh and blood so cheaply, or should we contend that those who possess the power and the means ought, if only in gratitude for the gift of that power, at least to provide the opportunity for the acquisition of land by the thrifty, the industrious, and the prudent? No sane man would ask for more than this. The clay cannot question the wisdom of the Potter in making human vessels respectively aristocrats and proletariat; but it is not sufficient for me to say, "Thank God I am not of the proletariat," and to go my way. Men live for a purpose, and that purpose can only be fulfilled in many instances by the contribution of labour or by the sacred employment of money.

In this country we do not often legislate unless we are compelled, and, as great questions are only taken in hand by Governments when they are forced by a power behind them, it will be understood why nothing has been or is likely to be done to preserve agriculture or to encourage the countryman to remain on the countryside. Not only do we import an enormous proportion of our food, but, as a manufacturing people who are abandoning the plough and the threshing machine for the loom and the furnace, we allow more than half our wage-earners to depend for their very existence upon imported raw material—most of which we manufacture for export. In the race for wealth and in the effort to follow the flag with our wares—desirable though it may be—we forget the duties to be performed at home. Our susceptibilities are aroused by the startling accounts of the progress of American and German commerce, but how little is known of the still greater progress which each country is making in the cultivation of the soil. As one who has seen something in both countries the writer no longer hazards an opinion with regard to the British position in agriculture. In Germany, as in America, the land is in chief owned by those who till it; in both countries agricultural science is so far in advance of us that we are compelled to go to them for facts in relation to almost every department of the farm, and the writer is in almost daily touch with the results of their work.

The Continent of Europe, as we shall show, is a great hive of working bees, who are content to live unostentatious and simple, if laborious, lives upon the land, *because it is their own*. There is no such class in England, and yet it is the most stable, the most

LAND SETTLEMENT FOR WORKMEN.

conservative, and the most valuable of all. It is desirable that there should be such a class, and it happens that the newer conditions of life not only demand its institution but provide methods for its support without which small farming might not succeed. Co-operation, which has raised Denmark to the position of the richest country in the world, next to our own, for its size, is the lever which is employed by the peasant owners in every country but in Britain. Its practical absence here is owing to the non-existence of the men for whom it was primarily designed, and in consequence there are almost no Village Banks, Mutual Insurance Societies, local Cattle Breeding Clubs, nor such other organisations as the Swiss, the Danes, the Germans, and even the Luxemburgers, have established for national utilitarian purposes.

In reply to the statement that small farming will not pay—a statement which has been made so often that its authors have begun to believe in its truth—it may be pointed out that the profits of the soil depend upon two main factors—labour and skill. Within a dozen miles radius of London there are thousands of acres of land which do not return £5 per acre per annum; and yet side by side with many of its occupiers there are humbly-born as well as humbly-educated nurserymen who are able to realise nearly £1,000 an acre for their produce. It is true that this is not farming in any accepted sense, but it is crop production, and the margin between the two figures which we have quoted is as wide as the capacity of men.

The fact is that “land is idle for want of people, and people are idle for want of land,” and this is literally true. That land is idle I have been enabled to prove abundantly from actual experience, and there is not a little within twenty miles of St. Paul’s. Nor is this because it is worthless. Almost every acre to which I refer has in the memory of man borne excellent and profitable crops, while considerable areas which were in similarly poor condition have been reclaimed within the past five years, and are now bearing respectable crops. Such land in the hands of a tenant who farms on a large scale is not likely to improve very rapidly. The average farmer knows too well that the cost of reclaiming land is considerable, and that when reclaimed by his energy and labour a substantial rent will be placed upon it. It is quite another thing where such land becomes the property of an industrious and capable small owner, for the whole family combine to win prosperity. Working for themselves, they are content to labour during long hours, to practise self-denial, and to subsist in large part upon the produce of their own soil, which, indeed, they make extraordinary efforts to provide. The small holder can provide himself with bread, with potatoes, which form the principal ration of the Irish

LAND SETTLEMENT FOR WORKMEN.

peasant, and other vegetables and fruit in variety, eggs, milk, butter, pork, and bacon; and when he has accomplished this much he has reduced the list of life's necessities to a few articles of grocery. It has been authoritatively shown that a quarter of wheat weighing 480lbs. will provide 360lbs. of fine flour, which in its turn will produce 120 four-pound loaves. My friend, Mr. Robert Turnbull, finds that 500lbs. of wheat will produce 350lbs. of flour and 125 four-pound loaves. The Secretary of the Master Bakers' Association has pointed out that 92 loaves may be obtained from a sack of the best American flour, but he has admitted that 110 loaves could be obtained from fine flour. A miller and baker, according to Mr. Southall, obtained 126 loaves from 504lbs. of wheat. The small grower, on the basis of such testimony—which in part we have been able to verify from actual experiment—might with ordinary cultivation provide his family—assuming it to consist of five hearty persons—with 60lbs. of bread per week, together with a gallon of flour for pastry, from two acres of land, or, indeed, by high cultivation, from an acre and a half.

Let us, however, look at this question from another position. An acre of useful land in the occupation of a capable working man produces 36 bushels, or practically a ton, of wheat, which at 28s. per quarter is worth £6. 6s. At the higher prices which prevail at the time we write the return would be still better. If we add the value of the straw the sum quoted is increased to £8. 12s. 6d. Although we are able to base our calculation upon an actual experimental production of bread from a given quantity of flour we take the results of an inquiry which was made by the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, from which it was shown that a quarter of wheat weighing 63lbs. to the bushel yielded an average of 359lbs. of fine flour, sufficient to produce 119 four-pound loaves. The expense of milling was covered in this as in many other cases by the bran and other offals which were produced in the process. If flour from hard imported wheat were employed the bread produced would be larger in quantity owing to the moisture-absorbing power of the flour. The cost of the production of bread, for which the consumer has to pay, as well as the profit of the maker, has been placed by one expert at 27s. 10d. per sack of flour, by another at 28s. 8d., and by a third at 28s. 6d.; the totals including yeast and other necessary materials as well as labour. Let us next follow the wheat which our acre of land has produced until its final purpose is accomplished and the bread is placed upon the table. The 36 bushels should produce 1,595lbs. of flour, which at the price which we have suggested would cost .94d. per lb. This flour should produce 2,164lbs. or 541 loaves of bread, costing about 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per loaf, or but a trifle more than half the price which is charged

LAND SETTLEMENT FOR WORKMEN.

by the baker when wheat is below 28s. The supply of bread would thus be nearly 6lbs. a day, or practically sufficient for a man and his wife and three children. We may here mention that the average consumption of bread and flour in this country is equivalent to six bushels of wheat per person, so that 36 bushels should on this basis feed a father and mother and four children, but making every allowance for the fact that bread is the staple food of the working man we do not venture to place his own ration at quite so low a figure.

By such a process of self-help the most costly item in the housekeeping account would be literally wiped out; and with the wheat safe in the granary the battle of life is half won. Such a man as we have in mind would sell his straw or utilise it in such a way that it would cover a large proportion of the expense entailed in the purchase of seed and manure, in the cultivation and harvesting and the milling of the grain. What applies to the provision of bread applies equally to the production of meat, for barley and potatoes grown for the feeding of pigs would realise far more than their market price, unless where fine brewing samples of grain are grown on the one hand and early potatoes on the other. We need not, however, pursue an argument which is obviously indisputable. Mr. J. H. Jones, who read a paper before the Incorporated Law Society, and who combines the accuracy of the lawyer with the practical knowledge of the farmer, claims that an acre of land should maintain an individual, and still more under a system of intense farming; and, as he has estimated that the cultivated area of England and Wales was equivalent to $4\frac{3}{4}$ acres per household, it would appear that our people ought to be in a position to maintain themselves. That, however, is a proposition which we cannot endorse, and the reason will be found in a paper which the writer prepared for the C.W.S. "Annual" under the title of "Can the Empire Feed its People?" in the year 1893. It is, however, to be feared that with the increase in the urban, and the decrease in the rural, population, the land will become less productive for want of hands to till it. In 1891, for example, the urban population was 17,515,000, and the rural population 7,258,000, whereas in 1901 the former had increased to 20,518,000, and the latter to only 7,471,000—and this exclusive of the $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions of people in the County of London. There are decreases of population in no less than 401 of our rural districts, and in a number of those instances the decrease exceeds 1,000, whereas the increases very largely consist of persons engaged in business pursuits in our smaller country towns.

We have no desire to discuss at any length a proposition which is so frequently made upon the platform that while we import a

LAND SETTLEMENT FOR WORKMEN.

large quantity of food from our colonies and foreign countries we have a market at our doors which is of an unlimited character, and every opportunity is, therefore, afforded to the occupier of land in this country to achieve success. It will be useful, however, if we capitulate the figures showing the actual value of the imports of farm produce.

IMPORTS, 1901.

	£
Live Stock.....	9,400,033
Meat	39,326,108
Dairy Produce	29,887,083
Eggs, Lard, Poultry, &c.	11,165,903
Wheat and Flour.....	33,430,434
Grain and Meal	27,810,593
	<hr/>
	£151,030,154

The above prodigious total is exclusive of horses, sugar—on which we spend 19½ millions, and a large proportion of which could be produced in this country—hops, vegetables, and fruit, which cost us nearly 11½ millions, of which a very large proportion could also be produced in the British Islands, flax, hemp, and seeds of various kinds. We do not conceal the fact that production on a larger scale would mean the importation of very much larger quantities of artificial manures; but even so, the advantages to be gained, both to the consuming public and the tiller of the soil, are out of all proportion to the additional expense in this direction which would be involved. It is usually claimed that the small holder is unable to extract so large a yield of produce from the soil as the farmer who occupies a few hundred acres, and who is equipped with capital sufficient for his purpose, and, therefore, with stock and the implements necessary for the thorough conduct of his business. If, however, we appeal to the farmer himself we find that his chief complaint is want of capital, and that in a preponderating number of instances his equipment is confined in large part to implements and machinery which belong rather to the past than to the present. Apart from this, labour is both scarce and inferior; the soil is not tilled so well as it was, and crops in all directions are in consequence much smaller in average years than they ought to be. We hold, too, that English farms are too large for the means of the occupiers, and that larger net profits would be earned if the same capital were employed in the cultivation of half the average area, omitting small holdings from this estimate. The small holder, where he is capable as well as industrious and thrifty, occupies an altogether different position. He does not depend upon inferior or hired labour; he is aware of the importance of cultivating every square yard of land in his

LAND SETTLEMENT FOR WORKMEN.

possession, and by the help of his family he makes the most of the many branches of industry from which he attempts to extract profit. It is sometimes pointed out that either in a particular instance or in specific districts small holdings are a failure. We do not desire to dispute the fact; but we insist that such failures are not owing to the system but to the individuals, or to the conditions under which they occupy land. The small holding system is not a panacea which will convert naturally careless, indifferent, unthrifty men, who are neither industrious nor capable, into intelligent and prosperous farmers. In all departments of industry it is the majority who are more or less unsuccessful, while it is to the minority that we must look for those who succeed. This fact is not recognised by those who view such proposals as we have been induced to make from a hypercritical standpoint.

Let us now ask whether an extension of the system of small culture is desirable. In asking that question we do not confine ourselves either to the production of animals or plants, nor, as regards plants, to those which apply in particular to the farm, the market garden, or the nursery. Our question really relates to the occupation of the soil. Is it, in a word, desirable that the soil should be more generally as well as more extensively occupied by small cultivators? If these questions were put to half a dozen sympathisers with the small holdings movement it is possible that half a dozen different replies would be obtained, inasmuch as there are many reasons why small culture should be extended. In the first place, we believe that it satisfies the natural craving of men for the possession or occupation of land and the breeding and feeding of animals. There are few sane beings who do not at some time crave for land, however small its area, or who do not exhibit some desire for the possession of a domestic animal. Just as the humbler occupiers of a crowded city delight in the possession of poultry or rabbits, so do the members of the wealthy classes enjoy the breeding and exhibition of stock of the most expensive character, and their tastes and actions in these directions are emulated by the successful trader, the manufacturer, and the professional man, as their means increase and as opportunities are afforded. As we have already suggested in previous remarks, the occupation of land on any tangible scale involves a country life, and contributes to the maintenance of health and vigour, as well as to the stability and prosperity of a people. We cannot compare the life of the miner or the factory hand, the shop assistant or the office clerk, from the point of view of health or the prospect of long life—to say nothing of the vitality which is imparted to the children—with that of the worker on the land. The farmer, breathing the pure air of heaven during sixteen hours

LAND SETTLEMENT FOR WORKMEN.

out of the twenty-four, living upon simple fare, and constantly using his muscles, seldom requires either the drugs of the physician or the baths of Carlsbad for the purification of his system or the restoration of his health. The worker who toils in the fields is seldom affected by the commoner ills of man—impaired digestion, cardiac weakness, or tuberculosis of the lungs. He is enabled by the very process which his life involves to produce and maintain healthy tissue, and he is in consequence the progenitor of more or less robust children. It is practically impossible, in spite of the advances which have been made in medical science, in hygiene, and in sanitation, to claim that our sons and daughters are physically equal to the demands which have been made upon our race, and the failure of the response which is made upon them is in large measure owing to the transfer of their energies from the fields in the country to the factories and workshops of the city. The demands of the time are for people who possess both muscles and brains. We need many more pioneers than are forthcoming for the material progress of our colonies, apart from which muscle and sinew are needed in our quarries and our shipyards, in our army and our navy, to a much larger extent than is represented by the existing supply.

We are now in a position to reply to our question in the following form. Rural workmen leave the country for the town—

(1) Because they are able to obtain higher wages, although not necessarily greater purchasing power; and

(2) Because town life is more attractive.

In order to induce them to remain on the land counter attractions are demanded, such as—

(1) Higher wages, and .

(2) An equivalent to the attraction of town life, such as amusement and company.

Both, however, being next to impossible, the question arises whether any dominating influence would succeed in inducing men to remain in the country when all popular attractions have failed.

In answering this question let us seek for the factor which in Continental countries restrains the peasantry who are engaged in rural pursuits from migrating to the towns, and under which they become the most contented, thrifty, and conservative of citizens.

That factor is the possession of land.

No other definite proposal which is possible of achievement has been or, as we believe, can be suggested. If, therefore, this view is correct, it is not merely the duty of the citizen who loves his

LAND SETTLEMENT FOR WORKMEN.

country, but of the Government which is responsible for the maintenance of its high traditions, to adopt any legitimate course which will provide for the possession of land by those, necessarily capable and industrious, who desire it, and in this way to arrest the depopulation of our rural districts.

Our advocacy of a system must not be misinterpreted. It is the men who are adapted to succeed under that system who need encouragement, and we should be quite content if the Government followed the plan recently adopted by the Government of Denmark. In that country, whose agricultural growth we have watched since we made a pioneer visit nearly twenty years ago, a law has been passed which enables labourers to purchase holdings of from $2\frac{1}{4}$ acres to $10\frac{3}{4}$ acres in extent and not exceeding £222 in value. The purchaser must provide 10 per cent. of the purchase money and pay interest on the balance for five years, when payment of the instalments commences, and when 4 per cent. is charged until one-half has been paid off—the interest then falling to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The men, who must be persons of known integrity and industry, are selected by specially appointed Committees, and with their enfranchisement it may be practically said that every farmer and labourer in Denmark is in possession of, or may possess, land and farm it for himself.

DENMARK.

It is important that the thinking people of this country should learn something from authoritative figures in relation to the part played by the small holders of land in some of the agricultural countries of the Continent, at the head of which stands Denmark, small in area but great in the arts of agriculture. Denmark covers $7\frac{1}{2}$ million acres, or four-and-a-half times less than the area of Great Britain, but whereas we possess only 267,000 holdings of land over one acre in extent and under twenty acres, Denmark numbers 161,000 under one tonde hart-korn, which averages twenty-four acres in extent, and the occupiers have been described as the most enlightened peasantry in the world. It is probable that the majority of the English holdings are not peasant farms at all, for, while many are accommodation fields near the towns, a large number are in the occupation of clergymen, country residents of independent means, and those—a considerable class—who combine rural life with a business or professional occupation. There is no land question in Denmark, and it is remarkable that almost the complete ownership of the land by the agricultural classes—which was brought about by reforms during the last century—is co-existent with the prosperity of the little nation. The labourers, whose share may be gradually increased under the new law, and the large proprietors, each hold one-sixth, the

HOLLAND.

Number of Persons occupying from 2½ to 12½ Acres	79,620
" " " " " 12½ to 50 "	63,820
" more than 50 "	25,500
" Tenants of Land (43 per cent.)	72,700
" Owners of Land (57 per cent.)	96,300

It will be noticed that 85 per cent. of the farmers of Holland occupy less than fifty acres of land—sufficient to constitute the Netherlands, a country of small, as they are prosperous, holdings. We have seen how large is the proportion of owners, and ownership

LAND SETTLEMENT FOR WORKMEN.

in Holland means a great deal more than in most countries in consequence of the greater value of the land, which, when rented, realises from 40s. to 80s. an acre, whereas plenty of land can be obtained in this country at less than 10s.

BELGIUM.

We next turn to Belgium with its 5,470,000 acres, nearly five-sixths of which are under spade and plough, and its 6½ millions of people. In this country there are 829,000 distinct holdings of land, and of these 634,000 are under five acres in extent. In all, too, there are 715,000 cottage occupiers, of whom 400,000 are tenants. If we class farms of from 50 to 100 acres as large, we have in Belgium 813,000 small holdings, of which 355,000 are between 1¼ acres and 50 acres in area, which is a stupendous number for so small a country. The following figures, however, will show more clearly than words how the land is sub-divided and how it is owned. How the ownership compares with ownership in Britain we shall see later:—

SIZE OF HOLDINGS.	Occupied by Owners.	Occupied by Tenants.	Total Holdings.
	No.	No.	No.
1¼ Acres and under	109,169	305,413	458,120
1¼ to 5 Acres	27,395	70,465	176,233
5 to 10 Acres	12,089	25,006	81,308
10 to 50 Acres	10,090	28,387	97,429
50 to 100 Acres	2,021	4,517	11,350
Over 100 Acres	903	2,395	5,195

The above figures show that there are 715,000 small farmers who occupy less than ten acres of land, and that of these 400,000 are wholly tenants, the remainder—315,000—being owners or part owners. Taking the holdings or farms of all sizes, Belgian statistics show that there are 63,000, more than half of which are the property of the occupiers, and 162,000, less than half of which are owned by the occupiers. Thus we have 393,000 holdings in land wholly or partially owned by those who till them. If we may estimate a Belgian family to consist of five persons it follows that those dependent upon the 813,000 small holdings—under fifty acres in extent—omitting labourers employed upon them and their families—number 4,000,000, or 62 per cent. of the entire population. Those engaged on the land, however, actually number 1,204,000, and these figures include 187,000 servants and permanent day labourers, of whom 58,000 are women. Making every allowance for female labour, we cannot but conclude that the land claims nearly 5,000,000, or in round numbers 75 per cent. of the population. If we compare

LAND SETTLEMENT FOR WORKMEN.

these remarkable figures with those which relate to our own country we find that we have, according to the old census, only 201,000 farmers and only 774,000 labourers—probably many less now—in England and Wales. Thus a country about a fifth of the size of our own in agricultural area boasts of more small occupiers than we number labourers. We do not lose sight of the number of small holdings in England, but we claim that the vast majority are occupied by persons of an entirely different social position. Further, the holdings in Great Britain under five acres in extent cover only 1·13 per cent. of the total area, while those under twenty acres form only 6·25 per cent. It is, however, quite otherwise with our large farms. In Belgium, as we have seen, holdings above 100 acres in extent number only 5,185, whereas in Great Britain there are 100,000 such farms.

Female labour is a noteworthy feature of the Continental system of small farming, and this is the case in parts of Scotland, in the North of England, and in all parts of Ireland, and so long as the labour is proportionate to the strength of the woman and the conditions of her life it is impossible to raise any serious objection, especially as the woman's hand is often far more successful with stock and *petite* culture. She is superior to man as a milker of the cow and a feeder of swine, in raising chickens and rearing calves, and she can plant seeds and weed growing crops better than her mate. At a time when the population of our large cities is being annually increased by mothers who have been engaged in the lighter forms of labour, but which neither conduce to the maintenance of a robust constitution nor meet the claims of maternity, it would be well if the shop counter, the factory, the warehouse, and the office, with their impure and sunless atmosphere, gave place more often to the rural home and healthy environment of the countryside.

GERMANY.

Let us now turn our attention to Germany, with its 80,000,000 of cultured acres and its 5,556,000 separate holdings. The Fatherland is essentially a home of farming in a small way, but we may take it that, as there are no fewer than 1,852,000 holdings under $1\frac{1}{4}$ acres in extent, many of these, included in the figures we have quoted, are mere plots or parts of an acre owned or rented by labourers and others for mere garden purposes. Within the past twenty years the number of holdings rented has increased, although the area rented has decreased, and yet the number owned by the occupiers is no less than 2,600,000, quite apart from the large number partly owned and partly rented. This number will be more readily understood when the figures showing that only 16·4 per cent. of the holdings of all sizes are occupied by tenants are

LAND SETTLEMENT FOR WORKMEN.

examined. The following table gives the number of occupiers of holdings of different areas, the total acreage for each group, and the percentage both in number and area; and the figures help us to grasp the extent of the small farm system:—

SIZE OF HOLDINGS.	Size of Holdings.	Cultivated Area—Acres.	Percentage of Total.	
			No. of Holdings.	Area.
Under 5 Acres	3,235,169	4,465,000	58·22	5·56
5 to 12½ Acres	1,016,239	8,116,000	18·29	10·11
12½ to 60 Acres	998,701	24,011,000	17·97	29·90
50 to 247 Acres	281,734	24,375,000	5·07	30·35
247 Acres and over	25,057	19,337,000	0·45	24·08
Total.....	5,556,900	80,304,000	100	100

It will be noticed—

(1) That nearly 60 per cent. of the holdings of land in Germany are under five acres in extent, and that 94·48 per cent. are under 50 acres;

(2) That small farmers cultivate 45·57 per cent., or nearly one-half of the agricultural land; and

(3) That although there are 281,000 farms of 50 acres to 247 acres in extent—suggesting that there is after all a very large number of large farms—yet these farms average only 86 acres. Practically, therefore, small farming is conducted upon 76 per cent. of the German cultivated area. The tendency is for the large farms to decrease both in number and area, but it must be admitted that there is some decrease in the average area of the small farms.

We next come to the question of ownership, and here we find that only 12½ per cent. of the land area is occupied by tenants. The percentage of farms of different sizes occupied by owners and tenants exclusively is as follows:—

SIZE OF HOLDINGS.	Owners Exclusively.	Tenants Exclusively.
	Per cent.	Per cent.
Under 5 Acres	31·18	25·68
5 to 12½ Acres	43·62	4·84
12½ to 50 Acres	53·53	1·97
50 to 247 Acres	74·06	3·54
247 and over.....	61·46	19·91
All Holdings.....	30·68	16·43

LAND SETTLEMENT FOR WORKMEN.

Of the very considerable remainder the great majority are part tenants only. It will be noticed that the legitimately small farms are those which are in the largest degree occupied by the owners, while the tenants are chiefly found on the very small holdings, averaging less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres each, and the very large holdings, which form but 0·45 per cent. of the entire number. In Great Britain we have 117,900 holdings between one acre and five acres in extent. In Germany there are 1,382,000 holdings between $1\frac{1}{4}$ acres and five acres. If our smaller area prohibits our progress in this direction our population does not, and the evidence provided by such cases as the allotments of the Duke of Portland, occupied by the miners of Hucknall Torkard, is sufficient to prove that men other than the farm labourer are glad of a plot of land. We next compare in groups the size of the farms of Germany and Great Britain, omitting all under five acres in extent that we may the better get at the actual state of the case from a purely agricultural point of view.

SIZE OF HOLDINGS.	GERMANY.		GREAT BRITAIN.	
	No.	Acres.	No.	Acres.
5 to 50 Acres	2,014,940	32,126,000	285,481	4,533,000
50 to 500 Acres	292,982	28,191,000	161,438	23,875,000
500 Acres and over	13,809	15,522,000	5,219	3,803,000
	2,321,731	75,839,000	402,138	32,211,000
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
5 to 50 Acres	86·8	42·3	58·6	14·1
50 to 500 Acres	12·6	37·2	40·1	74·1
500 Acres and over	0·6	20·5	1·3	11·8
	100	100	100	100

Here we see the enormous preponderance of the small holder and the part he plays as the chief factor in the German Empire; indeed, the total number, not of farmers, who are much fewer, but of occupiers of land of five acres and upwards in Great Britain is insignificant when compared with the huge number of men engaged in *petite* culture, chiefly on their own land, in Germany. Again, it will be noticed that farms of 50 to 500 acres average in Germany less than 100 acres, whereas in Great Britain they average nearly 150 acres in extent.

Let us now compare the question of ownership in the two countries, retaining the same system of grouping. Here the extent of property in land is exhibited in its fullest light as regards Germany, just, indeed, as the great extent to which our farmers as tenants is exhibited in regard to Great Britain.

LAND SETTLEMENT FOR WORKMEN.

SIZE OF HOLDINGS.	GERMANY.		GREAT BRITAIN.	
	Occupied wholly or in part by Owners.	Occupied by Tenants.	Occupied wholly or in part by Owners.	Occupied by Tenants.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
5 to 50 Acres	96·5	3·5	15·8	84·2
50 to 500 Acres	95·8	4·2	14·1	85·9
500 Acres and over	77·7	22·3	30·9	69·1

Clearly the German farmer owns the land, whereas the British farmer rents it. It should be added that the figures in the first column do not absolutely correspond with those in the group relating to Great Britain, but they are sufficiently near for all practical purposes.

FRANCE.

It is not possible to speak so highly of *petite* culture in France as in Denmark or Holland, for, in spite of the many organisations which exist for the promotion of the prosperity of the small farmer, that individual is still much behind the times. Speaking as one who has often been among the French country people, the writer, while bearing testimony to individual cases of energy, is constrained to admit that the vast majority still follow a system which ought to have been forgotten; and yet these people are thrifty and lead simple and laborious lives. There are in France 85½ million acres of land under cultivation, comprising 5,618,000 holdings, of which 4,190,000 are owned by those who occupy them. These peasant farms average 10·8 acres each, a fact which speaks volumes for the wealth of rural labour. It is not surprising that agriculture embraces considerably more than one-half of the total French population. The figures defining the various areas occupied by owners, metayers, and tenants are as follows:—

	Occupied by Owners.	Occupied by Metayers.	Occupied by Tenants.	Total.
Number	4,190,795	349,338	1,078,184	5,618,317
	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
Arable	31,607,800	7,294,400	25,034,400	63,936,600
Pasture	9,116,000	1,570,400	5,509,300	16,195,700
Vineyards	3,723,500	368,000	355,700	4,447,200
Gardens	813,900	71,600	293,700	1,179,200
Total Area	45,261,200	9,304,400	31,193,100	85,758,700
Average Area ..	Per cent. 10·8	Per cent. 26·63	Per cent. 28·93	Per cent. 15·26

LAND SETTLEMENT FOR WORKMEN.

The most instructive facts exhibited by these figures are:—

That the peasantry own more than half the land ;

That 75 per cent. of the holdings are owned by their occupiers ;

That in France the owner-occupier is in possession of 45½ million acres, while in this country the owner-occupier possesses 4,640,000 acres.

In France there are 4,190,000 farms occupied by owners ; in Great Britain there are only 61,014.

In Great Britain 84·5 per cent. of our farms are occupied by tenants ; in France tenants number only 19 per cent.

There are slightly more day labourers in France than in England, but quite one-half of these men own and occupy land. The French peasant-farmer is practically the national banker, and the stable member of the population. He is simple in his habits, and contented with his lot. His wants are few, his meals frugal, and his sympathy extended to his little live belongings. What would England be like if six occupiers of land out of every seven were small holders ; if three occupiers of land out of four were also its owners ; and with one-half the soil in the actual possession of working farmers, chiefly peasants ? As an English delegate to the International Congress on two occasions, I have seen splendid, nay, princely work, conducted on large French and Swiss estates, but never more remunerative work than upon some of the numerous small holdings of Manche, Calvados, and Loire et Cher, Seine et Marne, and Seine Inférieure, the inner working of the holding having in many cases been shown me as the guest of a neighbour of higher degree, or, as on one occasion, of the French Society of Dairy Farmers whom I was invited to join in their annual tour. The truth is that the peasant farming industry in France is prodigious, and if it were conducted with as much skill and energy as the Danes exercise our country would be flooded with French produce to the practical destruction of our dairy farming industry.

AUSTRIA AND LUXEMBURG.

In Austria, out of an area of 75,000,000 acres in round numbers, 53,000,000 acres, or 71 per cent., are in the hands of small proprietors, whereas only 8·7 per cent. of the land is owned by large proprietors. It is, however, necessary to add that a small proprietor is designated by that title only when he owns less than 500 acres and pays a direct tax of less than 100 florins. In a monograph prepared by the Austrian delegate to the Agricultural Congress held in Paris in 1900, which the writer attended as a delegate from this country, details of the systems followed on forty-seven properties were supplied, and from them it appears that there is a special reason why peasant holdings in Austria cover

LAND SETTLEMENT FOR WORKMEN.

a large area. This reason will be better explained by the following brief examples: In Styria a farm of 173 hectares included 124 hectares of forest. In Vorarlberg a farm of 25 hectares included 11 hectares of Alpine pastures and 4 hectares of forest. In Corinthia a farm of 115 hectares included 54 hectares of forest. At the conclusion of the report the delegates add: "The conditions of *petite* culture are far from flourishing, but, in spite of the financial situation, the peasant, who is the principal supporter of the State, remains profoundly attached to the soil he cultivates, and lives more happily in the bosom of his family than the members of any other class of society."

Luxemburg, next to Denmark, is giving a better account of her agricultural position than any other country in the world. With an area actually less than that of either of our fifteen largest counties—only 650,000 acres—and a population only equal to that of a leading English city, this little Duchy has raised herself by steady but distinctly advanced work to a position of such eminence that her methods, which are chiefly educational and Co-operative, deserve to be better known. The land is divided amongst no less than 80,000 separate proprietors, the average area of each farm being about $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres. In 1889 there were 76,500 persons owning less than 25 acres each, and 2,401 owning between 25 acres and 50 acres each, so that Luxemburg is essentially a country of *petite* culture. It is to the union of the peasantry that the great work which has been accomplished is owing. Since 1883 new roads, measuring 900 miles, have been created over one-fourth of the entire arable land at a cost of $2\frac{1}{4}$ million francs, and with the result that fallows have disappeared, while the whole system of cultivation has been revolutionised. Some 358 agricultural syndicates have been established, comprising 27,000 members, with the object of constructing roads and works of irrigation and drainage. There are in addition associations with meeting-rooms in 328 out of the 500 villages in Luxemburg, for the purchase of implements, tools, stock foods, seeds, and manures. Each association owns a store or barn in which farm implements owned by the association are kept, and these are placed at the disposal of the members free of cost. The farmers patronise their "club," with its little library and its newspapers, instead of the village inn or cabaret. In addition to the two large organisations to which we have referred there are in Luxemburg twenty-six societies for mutual insurance against mortality in cattle; fifty-four Co-operative Dairy Societies, which provided the finest collection of butter exhibited at the Paris Exhibition—on the authority of a friend of the writer, Major Alvord, the U.S. Juror—and a syndicate for the sale of fruit, which is now being cultivated in the public highways

LAND SETTLEMENT FOR WORKMEN.

instead of the eternal poplar. Lastly, apart from the excellent system of education for boys, ten institutions, or "*école ménagères*," have been established for the training of girls, whose future will necessarily be closely allied with that of the small farming system of the State; and this in a country which is not so large as Sussex or Kent.

EFFORTS IN ENGLAND.

Let us see what has been accomplished in this country. About a year ago the writer visited parts of three different counties with the object of seeing more of what is actually being accomplished in everyday life. In the parish and neighbourhood of Willington, in Cheshire, Mr. James Tomkinson, M.P. for Crewe, owns a handsome property upon which are some almost ideal small holdings. Mr. Tomkinson was good enough to introduce me to some of his tenants, who not only permitted an inspection of their farms but supplied answers to every question which was put to them. It is only fair to point out that Cheshire is a county in which small holdings are admittedly prosperous, but those at Willington are suggestive of the ideal rural life. Opponents of the system are prone to insist that small farms cannot succeed in this district or in that, but those who think with the writer agree that it would be folly to provide them for those who possess no experience, or where the character and the condition of the soil do not lend themselves to the work. At Willington nothing could be better. The owner is happy to be of service to the men, and the men are happy in their prosperity.

Let us now travel to the parish of Deeping St. James, in Lincolnshire, where a property owned by Lord Carrington—himself owner of 1,000 allotments and farms under twenty acres in area—has been cut up into small holdings. This property, with a farm sold by the same owner to the County Council—in all 650 acres in extent—has provided within four miles of Spalding farm holdings which are let to some 200 tenants. The promoters of the movement find the land, and an organisation known as the "Provident Allotments Club" finds the tenants. This club consists of men holding, or desirous to hold, land, who pay a very small subscription. When a member applies for a farm he may be required to show that he has a deposit in the hands of the treasurer of at least half a year's rent before he is accepted as a tenant. The Committee of the club are necessarily better able to appraise the character of the applicants than either the steward or the owner of the land, and thus they are practically a guard against the admission of improvident men. At the last rent audit, although the work has been going on for several years, less than £4 had been

LAND SETTLEMENT FOR WORKMEN.

lost by non-payment of rent. There are certain conditions which have been recognised as essential, and to the observance of these the success which has been achieved is largely due. The tenants are practical men who have neither failed as agricultural labourers nor in any other branch of industry. They have been accustomed to commence with a small acreage, and to make that a success before increasing it. The land is suitable both in character and position, and the rent paid for it is no more than is paid by the large farmers in the district. It is claimed by the secretary of the club as within his knowledge that young men who left home would have remained in the country if they could have obtained land. There is, too, a large proportion of young men in the club, and some are waiting until they have reached the necessary age in order that they may be able to ballot for a holding. Within the past year 175 acres have been added to the previous 475 acres in extent, and Mr. Diggle, the steward, informs us as we write that 500 acres are still needed to satisfy the requirements of the members, while a credit bank has recently been established in connection with the movement, the accumulated capital of the club providing a nucleus for this development. With regard to the influence of land occupation and the willingness of the men to work, it may be remarked that while the smaller holders are able to retain their regular employment, and while the larger holders supplement labour on their land by job work with their own horses and carts, the occupiers of medium-sized holdings take a good deal of piece work from the larger farmers. As an instance of what is possible in a small way we found that the man who drove Mr. Diggle and the writer was himself an occupier of an acre allotment of first-class land in another district, for which he paid a round sum of 50s., and that he had sold his crop for £21, in spite of a more than usually dry season.

The result of the "Carrington" experiment in Lincolnshire induced some Norfolk gentlemen to make an experiment in the same direction. They commenced by purchasing a farm of 133 acres near Swaffham, and to the inspection of this property we devoted another day. There are, in fact, thirty-three tenants each occupying from one to fifteen acres of land, the rents, including tithe, varying from 22s. 6d. to 27s. 6d. an acre. Here, too, there is an Allotments Club, the avowed object of which is "that persons desirous of obtaining land for allotments or small holdings may assist each other by combination and organisation." The subscription must not be less than 9d. a month, of which 1d. only is retained for working expenses. The rules of the club, like the agreement which tenants are required to sign, are simple and expedient. We walked over most of the little farms just after the

LAND SETTLEMENT FOR WORKMEN.

corn crops had been harvested, and, making allowance for first year's proceedings and the difficulties which naturally arise where so many small tenants are making a start on their own account, we were much gratified with the results. It was possible to learn the history of almost all the men, and to put one's finger, as it were, upon those who from facts explained and the work performed are apparently certain to make their mark. The promoters of the Swaffham movement have acquired two other small estates near Watton and Whissonett respectively. In the latter case the land is already let in thirty-two lots at rents varying from £1 to 27s. 6d. an acre.

We may practically assume that the word "home" is unknown, in the sense in which most of us understand it, to the family of the average working man. A property which has been the home of a family for a long period of time exerts an influence for good on almost every individual associated with it. How different is the case among the working classes who to so large an extent do not occupy even a settled residence. From this point of view, sentimental though it may be, there is much to be said for the system which enables the artisan or the labourer to acquire a home for himself. Some ten or eleven years ago an organisation known as the "Northern Allotments Society" was formed in Newcastle, in chief part by the labours of Mr. Wakinshaw, who has been good enough to pay the writer a visit and to give an address on the subject to the artisans of a neighbouring town. In ten years the members of the society, who now number some 800, have paid £176,000 for land which is divided into twelve colonies. On this land at the time of purchase there were 42 houses occupied by 101 people. Eighteen months ago 454 new houses had been built on eight colonies alone, while the population was 2,386. Here we have one of the most remarkable instances of the power of co-operation by men who, with scarcely an exception, had nothing to depend upon but their weekly wages. On this system of combined effort it is thus shown to be possible for town workmen to live on their own property some miles in the country even though, as in this case, the cost of land was considerable.

I next take an instance of a very different character and in another part of England. In a village a few miles from Dorchester, Sir Robert Edgcumb purchased 343 acres of land. Having arranged it for occupation by small holders by making roads, fences, and wells, he offered it for sale. Two hundred acres of this land were of very poor quality, but the whole of this area sold within a few days. The cost price, including the improvements and valuations, was £18 an acre, but the land was sold at prices varying from £7 to £25, and it is not surprising that the poor land

LAND SETTLEMENT FOR WORKMEN.

was sold first. Sir Robert, referring to the prevalent opinion that poor land is dear at any price, points out that to the small man who works for himself it represents only the difference between a lesser and a greater return for his labour and not a difference between profit and loss. Had there been four times as much of this land for sale it could have been sold. In almost all cases the purchasers elected to pay by instalments—half yearly for nine years—the interest charged being $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. After a few years several of the buyers asked to be permitted to pay more quickly, and on the expiration of $6\frac{1}{2}$ years only £400 remained unpaid. The average area of each of the twenty-seven holdings was eleven acres. It is worthy of notice that the better land, costing about one penny a square yard—a *yard of land for a glass of beer*—and the poor land, costing less than half a penny, has maintained twenty-six of these families, seventeen of whom were recently living upon it, having built their own houses. In only one case was there a failure. This man attempted to live upon five acres, and failing to do so he sold his interest to a better man, from whom he now rents it and is striving to make a living upon it. Sir Robert Edgcumb tells the writer that he has great faith in the system, but he complains severely of the difficulties of land transfer, for not only are there delays which are troublesome but charges which are monstrous, a fact which we can fully endorse from experience. The small holders have apparently been a great help to each other, so much so that this particular instance affords an example to colonies which will be established in the near future. Several of the small buyers prospered sufficiently to pay off their entire balance *en bloc*; indeed, Sir Robert remarks that with one exception the whole of them are a thorough success. There is something else to be said from another point of view. The tenant of the farm which was thus sub-divided became bankrupt. His rent was £240 per annum, and he employed only three men and a boy. On the basis of the rentals of small farms in the neighbourhood the present rent of the property if let to one tenant would not at the outside exceed £180, but divided among twenty-seven persons it is now rated at £313. Again, the ratable value of the rural parishes of the Union in which this property is situated fell from £80,800 in 1881 to £78,300 in 1886, and to £68,200 in 1895. Thus, whereas the ratable value of this portion of the Union fell some 13 per cent. in nine years, the ratable value of the farm rose in seven years by 34 per cent., and the next valuation is expected to show a still greater divergence.

In the adjoining county of Wilts Major Poore has been the medium of producing similarly satisfactory results. He purchased a farm of 112 acres at Winterslow, which was sold to applicants

LAND SETTLEMENT FOR WORKMEN.

under similarly convenient conditions. These people have not only paid their instalments but they have erected thirty cottages which are the homes of thirty families, and there is further a surplus to their credit as between the money paid for the land by Major Poore and that paid by the men of £800. Major Poore established another colony at Bishopstone, where we understand similar results have been achieved, and where many applicants are still awaiting opportunities for the acquisition of land.

When we read of these successes, and when we remember the fact that Dr. Barnado is training lads at a cost of £16 each per annum for an agricultural career in Canada, we are astonished that our Government should refuse to spend a sixpence in assisting the industrious and experienced members of the working classes, who have borne the brunt of the agricultural battle, to acquire a few acres of land for themselves.

In reply to the question which has been so often put that small holdings are insufficient to provide for the maintenance of a labourer's family, we would only point to such cases as the following: On the poultry farm, near Ascot, which is conducted on behalf of Mr. Walter Palmer, M.P., a net profit of £83 was realised in the past year after paying a rent of £5, £133 for labour, and £22 for skimmed milk. A friend of the writer, Mr. Rows, who is chairman of the Technical Education Committee for the county of Cornwall, realised on his experimental plot of a quarter of an acre—which we have seen on two occasions—an average return, on the basis of four years' cropping, of £56 for tomatoes and £17 for cabbage taken as a second crop. If space permitted we could refer to other instances in which humble people have realised comparatively large incomes by the manufacture of cheese, the feeding of pigs, the growing of lucerne, potatoes, and other green crops; while still smaller occupiers have realised considerable profit by the growth of roses, tomatoes, gooseberries, and black currants.

There are two other points to which reference may be made in connection with this system. It is possible for a small buyer of land on the Co-operative principle by the addition of a trifling sum for insurance to guard against difficulty and loss to his family in case of his death. A well-known London actuary has provided the writer with figures in relation to this particular point. Thus by the addition of the insurance to the annual instalment of principal and interest the land becomes absolutely the property of the relatives of a deceased small holder without any further payment whatever being required. Reference has been made to Co-operation. A colony of small holders, such as those to which we have referred, by the complete introduction of the Co-operative system as it is in large part carried out in Denmark, in Luxemburg, and in Ireland,

LAND SETTLEMENT FOR WORKMEN.

are able to purchase almost every requirement—implements, seeds, foods, manures, coals, and the like—on unique conditions both as regards price and quality. If it is not so easy to sell in the same way, the farmers of the countries mentioned have shown us that some products at least can be sold to the value of millions per annum. A group of small holders can insure their cattle, as in the case of a Cow Club; they can establish a small bank; a club, with its reading-room and library; like the Luxemburgers, they can purchase special implements, such as the drill, the manure distributor, and the roller, for common use. By mutual agreement the horse labour can be conducted for the smaller men by those who farm on a larger scale, and who may thus be enabled to keep a pair of horses. Nor are these suggestions altogether applicable to Wonderland alone. A number of gentlemen have combined to establish colonies of small holdings on the lines which have been indicated in this paper. The first colony, chiefly consisting of grass land, has been secured within thirty miles of the Metropolis. The system will receive a fair trial at the hands of its promoters, some of whom are in Parliament, for it is regarded as vital not only in the interest of a large, loyal, and deserving body of men, but of the whole country; land which is unoccupied, which is derelict, or which is not employing the labour which ought to be bestowed upon it should be brought under higher cultivation, at once adding to the country's prosperity and security and, by arresting the deplorable practice of migration to the towns, the population of our agricultural districts.

We do not conceal our recognition of the fact that the majority of our rural workmen are either unadapted to manage land with success or that they prefer town life, nor that small holdings themselves are only adapted to particular districts. Those who ridicule the system in its every phase are as unsuitable guides as those who would implant them throughout every county and enlist every labourer in the cause if they had the power. The process must be patient and sure to be successful, and the land and the men alike well chosen. If this method is followed throughout a course of years the results will be as far reaching as they will be valuable to the nation. The man who stands with folded arms and denounces any and every attempt to repopulate the country and to rehabilitate agricultural labour is an unprofitable Englishman who will die as he has lived, as ignorant of the principle he has enforced, as of the importance of the greatest problem which confronts modern statesmanship. That problem is the salvation of agriculture and the physical and intellectual dominance of a people who have beneficially influenced the moral and material welfare of the whole human race.

LAND SETTLEMENT FOR WORKMEN.

Since the foregoing was prepared the Small Holdings Association, established on the initiative of the writer, has purchased its first estate, near Newdigate, in Surrey. There suitable men will be provided with small holdings, of from five to twenty-five acres in extent, on terms of purchase by instalments which are within the means of all who are thrifty and industrious. The Trustees are Sir James Blyth, Bart., and Mr. J. H. Whitley, M.P. for Halifax, and the Directors are Mr. James Tomkinson, M.P. for Crewe, Mr. Spear, M.P. for Tavistock, Mr. S. Whitley, and Mr. James Long (Managing Director). Other properties will be acquired as each is colonised, and as financial support, for which the interest is limited to 5 per cent., is forthcoming.

EXPLANATION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS.

Figure 1 represents the front elevation of a two-storeyed cottage, the rooms in which can be arranged in accordance with the requirements of the owner or occupier. There may be two living rooms and kitchen on the ground floor, with w.c. at the back, and either two or three bedrooms overhead, the front bedroom occupying one-third of the depth of the house and the remaining two bedrooms the other two-thirds, these being made by dividing the space at command down the centre. The disadvantage in this case is that in each room there is a waste of space under the eaves.

Figures 2 and 3 represent a modification of a smaller house, but in this instance the two rooms may be built in the ordinary way, the low eaves being dispensed with. The living room is large, with plenty of window space, and both kitchen and living room are entered from doors right and left from a central porch. The scullery is entered from outside, while communication is arranged between the living room, the kitchen, and the scullery from the interior. Stairs erected in a corner of the living room lead to the three bedrooms overhead. There are stoves back to back in the kitchen and living room, and the same flues are utilised for stoves in two of the bedrooms.

Figure 4 is the front elevation of a cottage, all the rooms of which are on the ground floor. This can be made one or two bedrooms deep at will, and in Figure 5 we have shown how four bedrooms may be provided in such a cottage by building two rooms deep. Stoves are provided in both living room and kitchen and in the two bedrooms at the back of each. We may point out that where two such cottages are built end to end, and where three bedrooms are sufficient in each case, considerable economy may be effected if the third bedroom in one case is the front

LAND SETTLEMENT FOR WORKMEN.

right hand corner room as shown in the plan, while the third bedroom in the other case is the back corner bedroom. In this way the two cottages would dovetail, and occupy not only much less ground space but cost less for labour and material.

Figure 6 represents the front elevation of one of three cottages, the two ends of which are alike. These are of a more substantial character than are common, and have recently been constructed on the farm of Hall o' Coole, near Nantwich, in Cheshire, by Mr. James Tomkinson, M.P. The ground plan is shown at Figure 7, while the plan of the first floor with its three bedrooms is shown at Figure 8. These cottages have been inspected by the writer, and, with the outbuildings and the five acres of grass land which is allotted to each occupier, it is not surprising that they meet with the approval of the labourers who are their tenants. Figure 9 represents the outbuildings, which are attached to one cottage, and which are erected at the back some dozen yards from the kitchen door. It will be noticed that each labourer is provided with a pig-sty and court, a cow-house large enough for two cows, a calf-pen, a wash-house, and other necessary apartments. Overhead is a hay-loft, so that each little holding is practically self-contained. Figure 10 represents the end elevation, and it shows how the hay is passed into the loft.



LAND SETTLEMENT
FOR
WORKMEN.



ILLUSTRATIONS
OF THE PLANS.

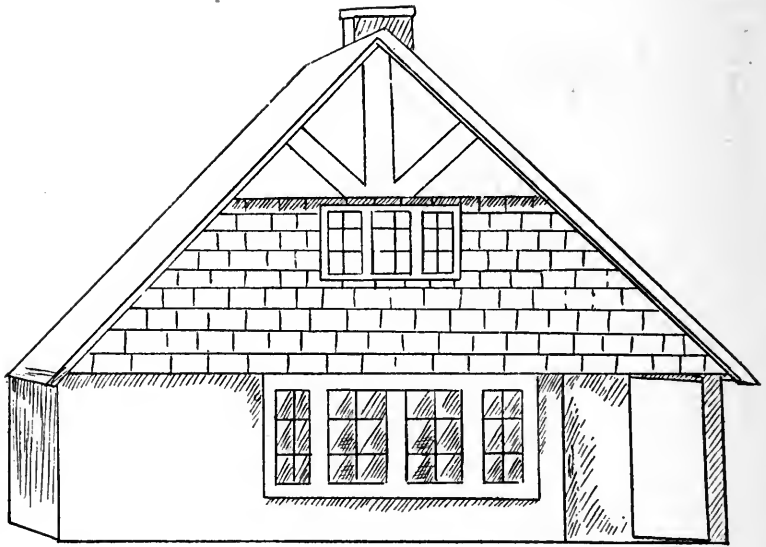


Fig 1. Front Elevation.

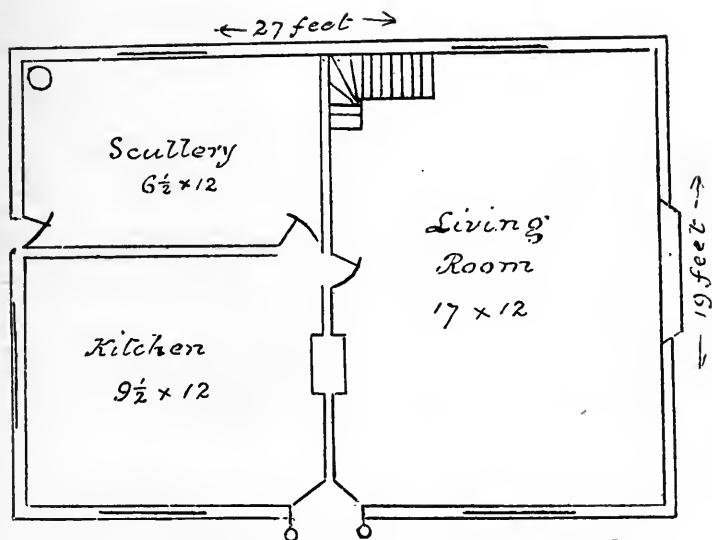


Fig 2 Cottage. Ground plan

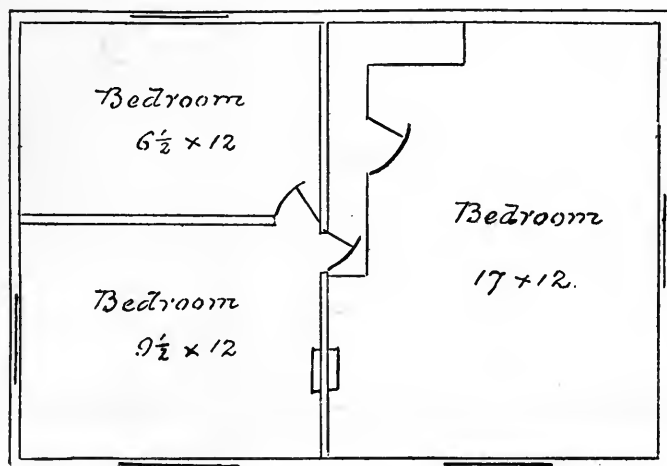


Fig 3 First floor.

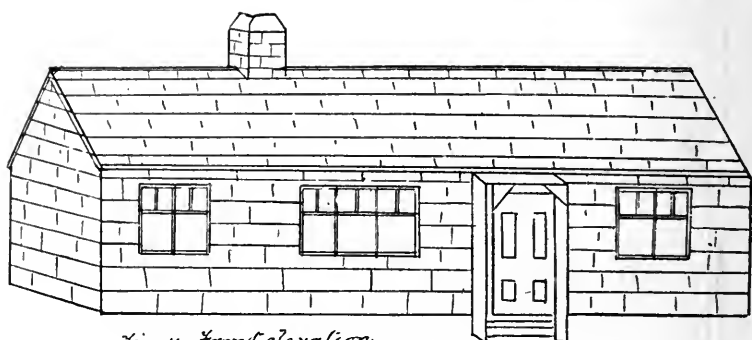


Fig. 4 Front elevation.

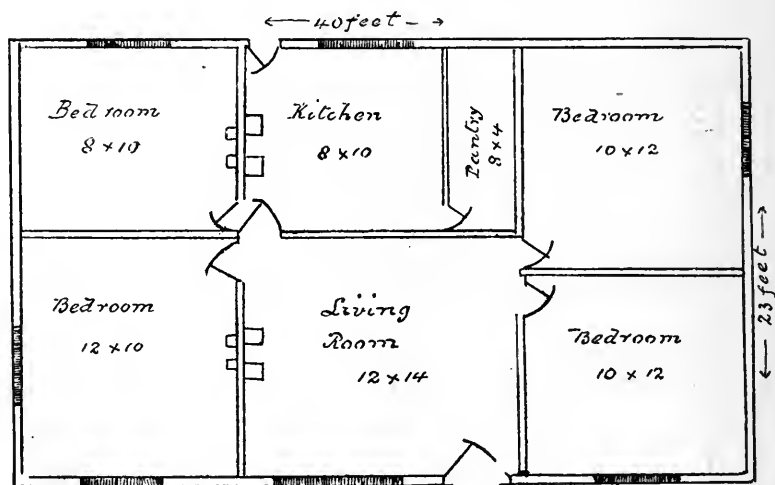


Fig. 5. Ground Plan

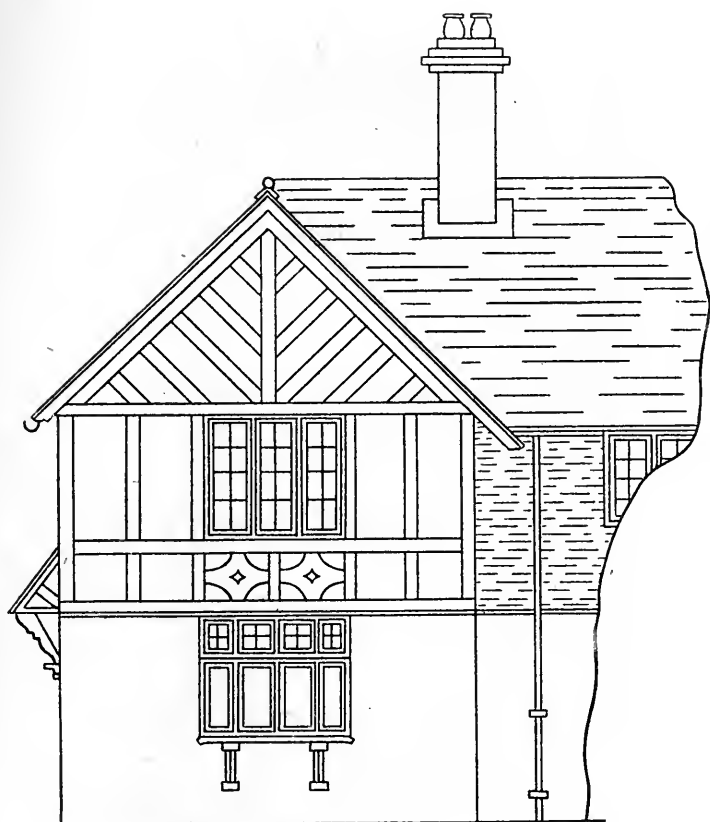


Fig. 6. Front Elevation .

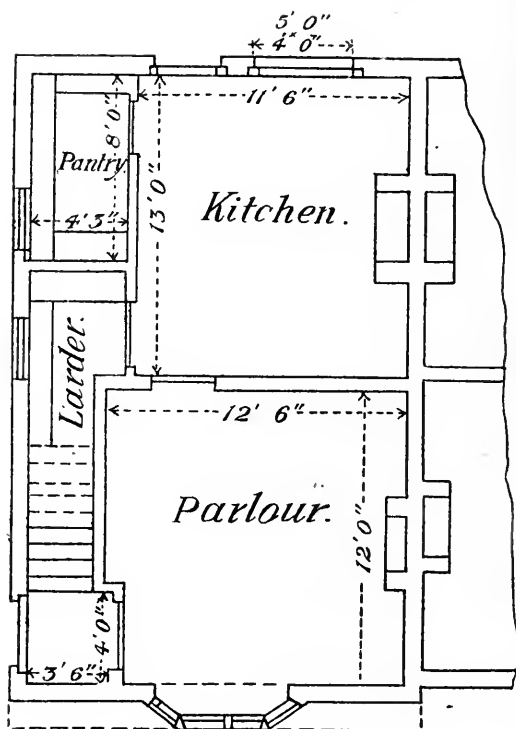


Fig. 7. Ground Plan.

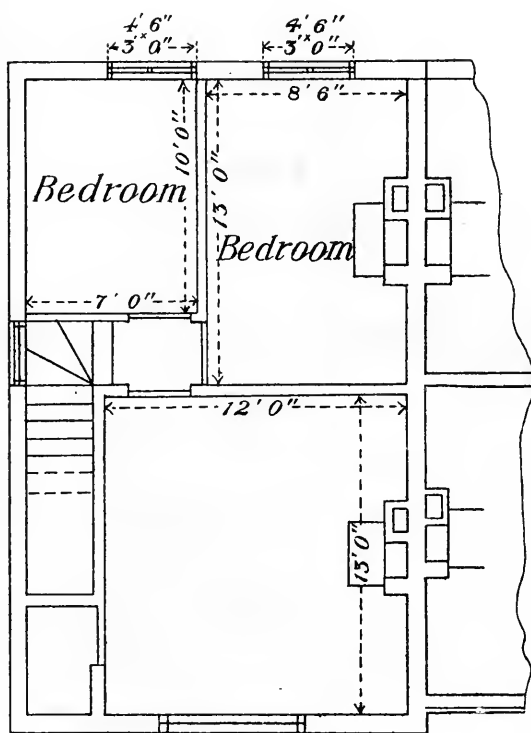


Fig. 8. First Floor Plan.

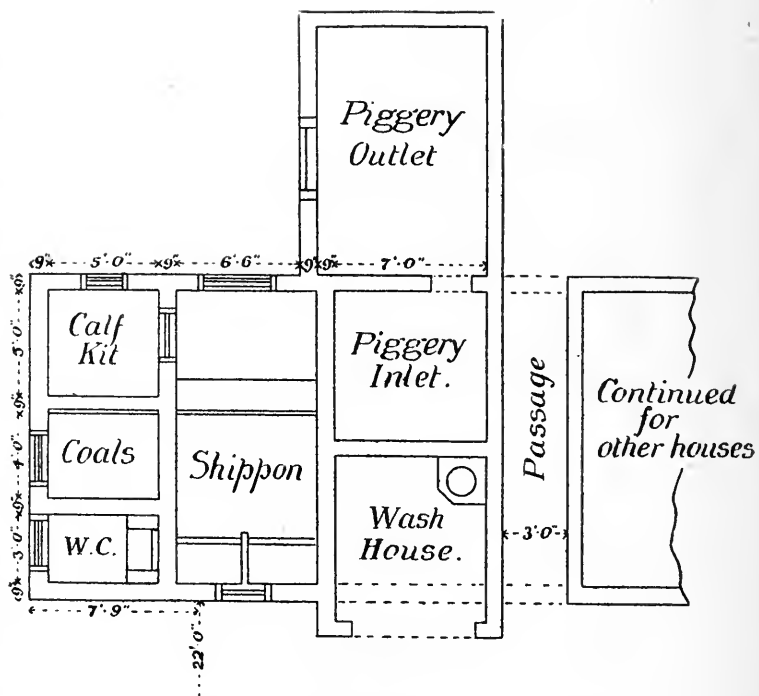


Fig. 9 Ground Plan.

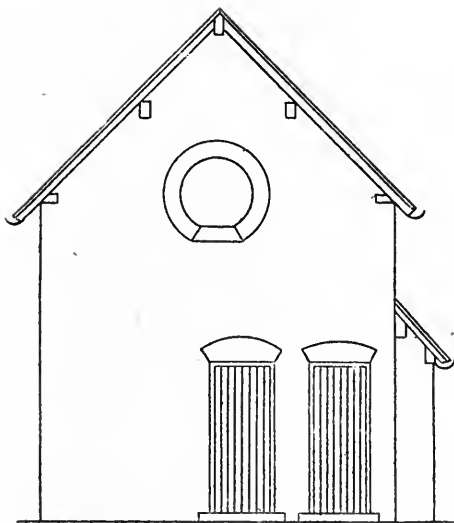


Fig. 10. End Elevation.

IN MEMORIAM.

MR. W. STOKER.

After a prolonged illness Mr. William Stoker passed away on Friday, July 4th, 1902.

Mr. Stoker belonged to what may be termed the "Old Guard" of the Northumberland and Durham miners, being for many years considered one of their leaders, together with Messrs. Burt, Fenwick, John Wilson, and others.

His connection with Co-operation dated from the time he joined the Seaton Delaval Society in 1864, of which he was one of the oldest members, and not long ago the employés of that Society made him a presentation in token of regard. It was in September, 1893, that he was elected to the Board of Directors of the C.W.S., and to the service of the Wholesale Society he earnestly devoted his abilities.

He was equally prominent in Nonconformist circles, being Chairman of the Newcastle District of the United Methodist Free Churches, and a marble tablet to his memory has been placed in the church at Seghill, Northumberland. He frequently lectured and preached for that body, in his earlier days debating with Mrs. Besant, Mr. G. J. Holyoake, and others.

His death followed an illness of ten months, and came in his sixty-eighth year. The funeral took place on Sunday, July 6th, and was numerously attended by representatives of the various bodies with which Mr. Stoker was connected.



Mr. W. STOKER.



The C.W.S. Tea Estates.



THE first remark to be made on the above subject is that the letters C.W.S. are not to be read in the singular number, as elsewhere in this "Annual," but in the plural, since the two Wholesale Societies are concerned. English and Scottish Co-operators joined hands in the tea business long ago, and, now that the buying and blending of tea no longer satisfies them, they have joined in buying tea estates in Ceylon, where they have begun to grow their own tea. The importance of the venture is to be judged not so much from its present magnitude as from its possibilities. Nowadays we know the wisdom of staking just enough at first to enable us to pick up the laws of the game.

Some of the chief considerations that have led to the purchase of the two estates of Nugawella and Wellaganga may be briefly indicated. Apart from the general desire of Co-operators to produce for themselves where possible, it has been felt that the importance of tea in our domestic budget makes it necessary to be prepared for a possible attack of the Trust fever on our chief sources of supply. It is again felt that Co-operation has reached a phase of development at which it may be as well to have other outlets for capital than those at present available. Furthermore, we are not too diffident to wish to study for ourselves some of the economic problems of Colonial government.

The two deputations from the Tea Committee of the Wholesales that have already visited India and Ceylon came home deeply impressed by the gravity and intricacy of the labour question on the tea plantations. In accepting the responsibility of managing tea estates the Tea Committee are determined to study the question for themselves, so that when the time comes they may be able to communicate the results to the general body of Co-operators by whom they are appointed. They do not mean to adopt ready-made either of the extreme and opposite views of the matter so generally held. For the present they will neither cry with the optimist that everything is for the best in the best of all possible worlds, nor are they prepared on the other hand to assert that the lot of the coolie is one of hard labour and starvation imposed by a cruel Government.

A general account of the present method of tea cultivation in Ceylon may therefore be of interest to our readers.

THE C.W.S. TEA ESTATES.

We do not propose to give a history of tea drinking, or of the tea trade. Most people know that it used to come from China alone, then India began to grow it, and that some twenty years ago Ceylon started. It was almost by accident that it was discovered that certain districts in Ceylon were extraordinarily suited for tea growing. Ceylon used to be noted for coffee growing until a leaf disease attacked the trees and almost ruined the whole of the planters. About 1880, at the most critical period, several of them turned their attention to tea, which had only been slightly successful up to that time. The immediate success that rewarded them led to the complete conversion of coffee estates into tea estates, and since that time Ceylon has sprung by leaps and bounds into the position of premier supplier of the English market.

The tea estates lie in a central mountainous district, ranging from 100 to 7,000 feet above sea level. Steep hills, intersected by narrow and irregular valleys, formerly clothed with forests, are the staple features of the landscape. Now most of the forests are cleared, and tea bushes are planted in thousands. Whether on the level, as rarely, on gentle, or on steep slopes, they run in orderly lines, so set as to catch the sun and air. Here and there a picturesque bungalow stands in a commanding spot, whence the Manager can survey his dominions. We look for the factory, and find it on a good stream with power enough to drive the machinery. Not far from the factory may be seen long rows of huts where the labourers live.

The requirements of the tea plant in the matter of soil and climate seem to be met in the most perfect way in these hills. The soil, though partly formed by the trees that once covered them, is chiefly made up of the natural rock of the district broken down and made ready by the agency of the combined heat and moisture of the climate. The rainfall must lie between 100 and 130 inches per annum, and the average temperature in the shade should be between 60° and 70° Fahrenheit.

Perhaps the most surprising fact about the tea plant is that it yields its leaves all the year round. Situated in a tropical region, where autumn, winter, and spring have no existence, and where perpetual summer is enjoyed, the vegetation does not go through the annual stages familiar to us here. Therefore, the work of a tea estate is not seasonal, but remains constant all through the year. Plucking is always going on, as well as the factory operations. Each plant is plucked about every ten days, that interval being enough to produce a fresh show of leaves. The plants are specially grown and pruned so as to yield as large a supply of leaves as possible.

THE C.W.S. TEA ESTATES.

The actual process of plucking is an extremely skilled one. The quality of the tea depends entirely on the pluckers and the supervision of them. The younger the leaf the finer the tea, but as pluckers are human, and as they are paid according to the weight they gather, the temptation to take more leaves from a bush than they ought to is very great. If a very fine quality of tea is desired the young bud and the two leaves nearest to it are nipped off; if a larger crop, though lower in quality, is desired, the bud and the next four leaves are taken. When a leaf is taken the eye or bud in the axil of the leaf, that is, where the leaf joins the twig, must be left uninjured, since the fresh growth starts there.

From this it will be seen that not only has the greatest care to be taken of the plants in a general way, but the pluckers must be skilled and also must be carefully supervised. Yet many of them are mere children. To watch the plucking casually, one might think it the most hurried and haphazard of operations, but a careful eye will soon learn that the speed has come of practice, and that only the special leaves required are taken.

The daily round of work on an estate is easily followed. At 6 a.m. comes the "muster" of all hands. The Manager attends it as well as his two right-hand men, the conductor or superintendent of the estate and the "tea-maker," who looks after the factory. These two are men with complete practical knowledge, the one of tea growing and gathering, the other of tea making as far as the factory operations go.

At the muster all the coolies attend in groups under their cangany or taskmasters. After the count the Manager sends the different gangs to their work, entering in a book the numbers assigned to various tasks. Each cangany takes his gang to their place of work, whether in the fields or the factory. Pluckers are the most numerous, others are engaged in pruning, weeding, draining, and the other work necessary. The pluckers carry deep baskets hanging on their backs and supported by a cord passing over their heads. As they gather the buds and leaves they throw them over the shoulder into the basket. The cangany keeps a sharp eye on all his company to see that none are shirking or plucking coarse leaves. Each basket holds about 14lbs., and is filled two or three times in the course of the day. The leaves are taken into the factory, where each plucker's lot is laid on a piece of matting. At 4 p.m. the last lots are carried in, and each plucker sits by his or her mat until the superintendent examines it for coarse leaves and enters the weight in a book.

When the leaves have been plucked and brought into the factory the "making of the tea" begins. The operations are few

THE C.W.S. TEA ESTATES.

in number and simple to describe. They are withering, rolling, fermenting, sunning, and firing. The withering of the leaf is merely the natural process that takes place after the leaf is torn from the tree and the flow of sap interrupted. Knowing the agencies that control the withering, however, we are able to hasten the process and carry it out even in weather when nature would postpone it somewhat. Sun, light, heat, and air are the essential factors. When the heat of the sun cannot be had artificial heat will do as well. The freshly gathered leaves are spread out the same evening they come in, usually in large airy glass-roofed rooms if the weather is not perfectly fine, and the withering is complete next morning. The leaves are turned over during the night. When withered the leaves are limp and soft, and have lost their crispness and elasticity. When crushed in the hand the leaves no longer recover themselves on release. When withering is complete the leaves are ready for rolling, which should be done without delay. The object of the rolling is to break up the juice cells in the leaves, so that when the leaves come to be fermented the action may take place uniformly, and later on the tea may infuse more readily and give a stronger liquor. Rolling is done either by hand or machine. In hand rolling large handfuls of leaves adhere together, the juice expressed being mopped up again so as not to be lost. In the machines used for rolling the hand action is imitated, the breaking up of the leaf cells being more certain and rapid. The soft, mashy balls of leaves resulting from the rolling are next allowed to stand while fermentation takes place. When this has proceeded far enough, judged by the inside of each ball, it is stopped by breaking up the balls and spreading the leaves loosely and very thin on mats. The next work is to dry the leaves, and this is best done in two stages, sunning and firing, though in wet weather the former may have to be omitted. An hour in the sun is usually thought sufficient, after which the leaves are spread thinly on network trays or drawers. These are slid into the firing or drying machine, sometimes called a "sirocco," where hot air is passed through and through the trays until the leaf is quite dry and crisp. When this is done the tea is made. All that remains is to pack it tightly while quite dry in lead-lined boxes, a lead sheet being soldered round the top so that air, and especially moisture, may not get at it. The quality of the tea depends almost entirely on the judgment used in the manufacture, and especially on stopping the fermentation at the right moment and beginning to dry immediately after.

A tea is judged by three things, the tea, the liquor, and the out-turn or leaves left after infusion. The tea itself should be a good colour and uniform. The colour and taste of the liquor are

THE C.W.S. TEA ESTATES.

carefully considered. The colour of the out-turn is important because it will show any burnt leaves black amidst the "new penny" tinge of the rest.

Nowadays very few original teas are sold in this country. When a manager of an estate has a good parcel of tea of one make and character he marks it with a special number and sends the whole lot to the London tea market, where it is put up to auction. Buyers have lists furnished to them of the various lots of tea with the quantity and trade description of each. Likely parcels are marked, and a messenger sent round to obtain samples. The messenger takes with him an equal amount of a similar quality of tea which he leaves behind in exchange for the sample he takes. The samples are next examined and tasted. The buyer then makes up his mind as to the values of the different teas and decides how much he will bid. He attends the auction and buys in open market the teas he wants.

The blending, mixing, and packeting are done so as to secure a standard and uniform tea, while in many cases special care is taken to blend the tea so as to suit the water of the district and the palates of the consumers.

The C.W.S. receives now regular consignments of tea from the Nugawella and Wellaganga estates. So far the yield has been entirely satisfactory in quality and quantity.

A visit to a tea estate is attended by one very serious drawback, especially in damp weather or after a shower of rain. The plants and ground are infested with small leeches, which seem able, in spite of some care, to penetrate one's clothing and stockings. They are about an inch and a half long, and when hungry as slender as a lady's hat pin. When fed, that is, in fact, when discovered on returning to the bungalow and undressing, they reach the size of a lead pencil. Europeans are peculiarly attractive to the little beasts, while the coolies seem to escape their attentions. It is said that anointing oneself with cocoanut oil will keep them off. Perhaps our readers will make a note of it in case they ever go to Ceylon. For our own part we think the biggest fisherman's rubber boots obtainable would be safer and pleasanter.

The life of the coolies on most of the tea estates in India and Ceylon is one of great hardship. Hard as it is in respect of work, wages, food, and housing, it is far better than that of the average Indian peasant or agricultural labourer, who has to face months of famine almost every year. Comparatively speaking, the coolies in Ceylon enjoy a happy life secure from this care, since they have

THE C.W.S. TEA ESTATES.

steady work, steady wages, cheap, wholesome food, and a roof to shelter them. But we cannot suppose that their present lot is the best that Providence designed for them, nor that the interference of Europeans, either as rulers or employers, has always been disinterested. On the C.W.S. estates the welfare of the coolies will be steadily promoted, and the experience gained therein will be used to direct the political action of Societies at home in the near future. We hope later on, when detailed information and possibly photographs come to hand, to give accounts of the people engaged on our own and other tea estates. Till then Co-operators may rest assured that their own estates will be conducted with every care for the native labourers.



Co-operative Societies in the United Kingdom.

STATISTICS SHOWING THE POSITION AND PROGRESS OF THE
CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT FROM 1862 TO 1900.

THESE tables have been brought up to date on the basis of the Annual Returns by Societies to the Registrar of Friendly Societies, and corrected by the more recent returns to the Co-operative Union.

The tables refer to the United Kingdom, England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, and give the comparison between the figures of 1890 and those of ten years ago. We have also inserted below the figures relating to profits devoted to Education.

CO-OPERATION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM DURING 1890 AND 1900.

	1890.		1900.		INCREASE PER CENT.
Societies (making returns) ..No.	1,647	..	2,174	..	32
Members.....No.	1,140,573	..	1,886,252	..	65
Capital (share and loan)	£15,952,784	..	36,167,081	..	126
Sales	£43,731,669	..	81,020,428	..	85
Profits	£ 4,275,617	..	8,177,822	..	91
Profits devoted to Education...£	27,587	..	65,699	..	137

CO-OPERATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES DURING 1890 AND 1900.

	1890.		1900.		INCREASE PER CENT.
Societies (making returns) ..No.	1,290	..	1,656	..	28
Members.....No.	955,393	..	1,547,772	..	62
Capital (share and loan)	£13,576,574	..	29,018,685	..	113
Sales	£35,367,102	..	62,923,437	..	77
Profits	£ 3,393,991	..	6,208,116	..	82
Profits devoted to Education...£	24,919	..	53,684	..	115

CO-OPERATION IN SCOTLAND DURING 1890 AND 1900.

	1890.		1900.		INCREASE PER CENT.
Societies (making returns) ..No.	341	..	350	..	2
Members.....No.	183,387	..	313,686	..	71
Capital (share and loan)	£ 2,368,947	..	6,975,160	..	194
Sales	£ 9,304,321	..	17,200,832	..	84
Profits	£ 933,044	..	1,955,274	..	109
Profits devoted to Education...£	2,891	..	11,984	..	314

CO-OPERATION IN IRELAND DURING 1890 AND 1900.

	1890.		1900.		INCREASE PER CENT.
Societies (making returns) ..No.	16	..	168	..	168
Members.....No.	1,793	..	24,794	..	24,794
Capital (share and loan)	£ 7,263	..	173,236	..	173,236
Sales	£ 64,306	..	896,109	..	896,109
Profits	£ 2,607	..	14,432	..	14,432
Profits devoted to Education...£	..	..	31	..	31

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES,
TABLE (1).—GENERAL SUMMARY of RETURNS
(Compiled from Official

YEAR.	NO. OF SOCIETIES			Number of Members.	CAPITAL AT END OF YEAR.		Sales.	Net Profit.
	Registered in the Year.	Not Making Returns.	Making Returns.		Share.	Loan.		
					£	£	£	£
1862	a454	f68	332	90,341	428,376	54,499	2,333,523	165,562
1863	51	73	381	111,163	579,902	76,738	2,673,778	216,005
1864	146	110	394	b129,429	684,182	89,122	2,836,606	224,460
1865	101	182	403	b124,659	819,367	107,263	3,373,847	279,226
1866	163	240	441	b144,072	1,046,310	118,023	4,462,676	372,307
1867	137	192	577	171,897	1,475,199	136,734	6,001,153	398,578
1868	190	93	673	211,781	1,711,643	177,706	7,122,360	424,420
1869	65	133	754	229,861	1,816,672	179,054	7,353,363	438,101
1870	67	153	748	248,108	2,035,626	197,029	8,201,685	553,435
1871	56	235	746	262,188	2,305,951	215,453	9,463,771	666,399
1872	141	113	935	330,550	2,969,573	371,541	13,012,120	936,715
1873	226	138	983	387,765	3,581,405	496,830	15,639,714	1,110,658
1874	130	232	1,031	412,733	3,905,093	587,342	16,374,053	1,228,038
1875	117	285	1,170	480,076	4,403,547	849,990	18,499,901	1,429,090
1876	82	177	1,167	508,067	5,141,390	919,772	19,921,054	1,743,980
1877	67	246	1,148	529,081	5,445,449	1,073,275	21,390,447	1,924,551
1878	52	121	1,185	560,993	5,647,443	1,145,717	21,402,219	1,837,660
1879	52	146	1,151	572,621	5,755,522	1,496,343	20,382,772	1,857,790
1880	69	100	1,183	604,063	6,232,093	1,341,290	23,248,314	c1,868,599
1881	66	..	1,240	643,617	6,940,173	1,483,583	24,945,063	1,981,109
1882	67	115	1,288	687,158	7,591,241	1,622,431	27,541,212	2,155,398
1883	55	170	1,291	729,957	7,921,356	1,577,086	29,336,028	2,434,996
1884	78	63	1,400	797,950	8,646,188	1,830,836	30,424,101	2,723,794
1885	84	50	1,441	850,659	9,211,259	1,945,834	31,305,910	2,988,690
1886	83	65	1,486	894,488	9,747,452	2,160,090	32,730,745	3,070,111
1887	87	145	1,516	967,828	10,344,216	2,253,576	34,483,771	3,190,309
1888	100	140	1,592	1,011,258	10,946,219	2,452,887	37,793,903	3,454,974
1889	93	123	1,621	1,071,089	11,687,912	2,923,711	40,674,673	3,734,546
1890	122	159	1,647	1,140,573	12,783,629	3,169,155	43,731,669	4,275,617
1891	117	122	1,684	1,207,511	13,847,705	3,393,394	49,024,171	4,718,532
1892	127	24	1,791	1,284,843	14,647,707	3,773,616	51,060,854	4,743,352
1893	106	59	1,825	1,340,318	15,318,665	3,874,954	51,803,836	4,610,657
1894	113	61	1,930	1,373,004	15,756,064	4,064,681	52,110,800	4,928,838
1895	123	113	1,966	1,430,340	16,749,826	4,581,573	55,100,249	5,389,071
1896	128	134	2,010	1,534,824	18,236,040	4,786,331	59,951,635	5,990,023
1897	126	165	2,065	1,627,135	19,510,007	h9,137,077	64,956,049	6,535,861
1898	182	227	2,130	1,703,098	20,671,110	h9,914,226	68,523,969	6,939,276
1899	152	298	2,183	1,787,576	22,340,533	h11,025,341	73,533,686	7,529,477
1900	117	356	2,174	1,886,252	24,156,310	h12,010,771	81,020,428	8,177,822
					Totals ..		1,163,746,108	107,248,027

a The Total Number Registered to the end of 1862. b Reduced by 18,278 for 1864, 23,927 for 1865, and were included in the returns from the Retail Societies. c Estimated on the basis of the returns made to sum to be Investments other than in Trade. f Estimated. g Investments and other Assets. h Loans

UNITED KINGDOM.

for each Year, from 1862 to 1900 inclusive.

Sources, and Corrected.)

Trade Expenses.	Trade Stock.	CAPITAL INVESTED IN		Profit Devoted to Education.	Amount of Reserve Fund.	YEAR.
		Industrial and Provident Societies, and other than Trade.	Joint-stock Companies.			
£	£	£	£	£	£	
127,749	....	....	....	....	....	1862
167,620	....	....	....	....	....	1863
163,147	....	....	....	....	....	1864
181,766	....	....	....	....	....	1865
219,746	....	....	....	....	....	1866
255,923	583,539	d494,429	....	3,203	32,629	1867
294,451	671,165	137,397	166,398	3,636	33,109	1868
280,116	784,847	117,586	178,367	3,814	38,630	1869
311,910	912,102	126,736	204,876	4,275	52,990	1870
346,415	1,029,446	145,004	262,594	5,097	66,631	1871
479,130	1,383,063	318,477	382,846	6,696	93,601	1872
556,540	1,627,402	370,402	449,039	7,107	102,722	1873
594,455	1,781,053	418,301	522,081	7,949	116,829	1874
686,178	2,095,675	667,825	553,454	10,879	241,930	1875
1,279,856	2,664,042	....	....	....	....	1876
1,381,961	2,648,282	....	....	....	....	1877
1,494,607	2,609,729	....	....	....	....	1878
1,537,138	2,857,214	....	....	....	....	1879
1,429,160	2,880,076	e3,447,347	....	13,910	....	1880
....	3,053,333	....	....	13,825	....	1881
1,690,107	3,452,942	e4,281,264	....	14,778	....	1882
1,826,804	3,709,555	e4,497,718	....	16,788	....	1883
1,936,485	3,575,836	e4,550,890	....	19,154	....	1884
2,082,539	3,729,492	e5,433,120	....	20,712	....	1885
1,800,347	4,072,765	e3,858,940	....	19,878	....	1886
1,960,374	4,360,836	e4,491,483	....	21,380	....	1887
2,045,391	4,556,593	e5,233,859	....	24,245	....	1888
2,182,775	4,795,132	e5,833,278	....	25,455	....	1889
2,361,319	5,141,750	e6,958,787	....	27,587	....	1890
2,621,091	5,838,370	e6,394,867	....	30,087	....	1891
2,902,994	6,175,287	e6,952,906	....	32,753	....	1892
3,181,818	6,314,715	e7,089,689	....	32,677	....	1893
3,267,288	5,905,442	e7,174,736	....	36,553	....	1894
3,478,036	6,333,102	e7,880,602	....	41,491	....	1895
3,786,063	6,844,018	g13,929,329	....	46,895	....	1896
j3,074,420	7,602,211	g14,278,094	....	50,302	....	1897
j3,218,102	7,506,686	g15,753,086	....	52,129	....	1898
j3,461,508	8,400,099	g17,203,236	....	56,562	....	1899
j3,814,209	9,284,663	g18,788,895	....	65,699	....	1900

30,921 for 1866, being the number of "Individual Members" returned by the Wholesale Society, and which the Central Co-operative Board for 1881. d Includes Joint-stock Companies. e The return states this and other Creditors. j Exclusive of Share Interest.

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES,
TABLE (2).—GENERAL SUMMARY of RETURNS
(Compiled from Official

YEAR.	NO. OF SOCIETIES			Number of Members.	CAPITAL AT END OF YEAR.		Sales.	Net Profit.
	Registered in the Year.	Not Making Returns.	Making Returns.		Share.	Loan.		
					£	£	£	£
1862	a454	f68	332	90,341	428,376	54,499	2,333,523	165,562
1863	51	73	381	111,163	579,902	76,738	2,673,778	216,005
1864	146	110	394	b129,429	684,182	89,122	2,836,606	224,460
1865	101	182	403	b124,659	819,367	107,263	3,373,847	279,226
1866	163	240	441	b144,072	1,046,310	118,023	4,462,676	372,307
1867	137	192	577	171,897	1,475,199	136,734	6,001,153	398,578
1868	190	93	673	211,781	1,711,643	177,706	7,122,360	424,420
1869	65	133	754	229,861	1,816,672	179,054	7,353,363	438,101
1870	67	153	748	248,108	2,035,626	197,029	8,201,685	553,435
1871	56	235	746	262,188	2,305,951	215,453	9,463,771	666,399
1872	138	104	927	339,986	2,968,758	371,531	12,992,345	935,551
1873	225	135	978	387,301	3,579,962	496,740	15,623,553	1,109,795
1874	128	227	1,026	412,252	3,903,608	586,972	16,358,278	1,227,226
1875	116	283	1,163	479,284	4,793,909	844,620	18,484,382	1,427,365
1876	82	170	1,165	507,857	5,140,219	919,762	19,909,699	1,742,501
1877	66	240	1,144	528,576	5,437,959	1,073,265	21,374,013	1,922,361
1878	52	119	1,181	560,703	5,645,883	1,145,707	21,385,646	1,836,371
1879	51	146	1,145	573,084	5,747,907	1,496,143	20,365,602	1,856,308
1880	67	100	1,177	603,541	6,224,271	1,341,190	23,231,677	c1,866,839
1881	62	..	1,230	642,783	6,937,284	1,483,583	24,926,005	1,979,576
1882	66	113	1,276	685,981	7,581,739	1,622,253	27,509,055	2,153,699
1883	55	165	1,282	728,905	7,912,216	1,576,845	29,303,441	2,432,621
1884	76	57	1,391	896,845	8,636,960	1,830,624	30,392,112	2,722,103
1885	84	47	1,431	849,616	9,202,138	1,945,508	31,273,156	2,986,155
1886	82	62	1,474	893,153	9,738,278	2,159,746	32,684,244	3,067,436
1887	84	140	1,504	966,403	10,333,069	2,252,672	34,437,879	3,187,902
1888	100	130	1,579	1,009,773	10,935,031	2,452,158	37,742,429	3,451,577
1889	89	118	1,608	1,069,396	11,677,286	2,923,506	40,618,060	3,731,966
1890	110	151	1,631	1,138,780	12,776,733	3,168,788	43,667,363	4,273,010
1891	95	108	1,656	1,205,244	13,832,158	3,390,076	48,921,697	4,714,298
1892	118	14	1,753	1,282,103	14,627,570	3,766,737	50,902,681	4,739,771
1893	98	42	1,784	1,336,731	15,297,470	3,867,305	51,577,727	4,606,811
1894	101	43	1,880	1,368,944	15,732,061	4,054,172	51,846,349	4,923,027
1895	78	70	1,895	1,423,632	16,726,623	4,570,116	54,758,400	5,382,862
1896	92	87	1,908	1,525,283	18,197,828	4,766,244	59,461,852	5,983,655
1897	73	99	1,930	1,613,038	19,466,155	h9,081,368	64,362,943	6,529,136
1898	73	98	1,955	1,682,286	20,618,822	h9,837,103	67,869,094	6,931,704
1899	84	116	1,994	1,763,430	22,276,641	h10,928,770	72,743,708	7,516,114
1900	63	98	2,006	1,861,458	24,088,713	h11,905,132	80,124,319	8,163,390
						Totals ..	1,158,670,471	107,139,623

a The Total Number Registered to the end of 1862. b Reduced by 18,278 for 1864, 23,927 for 1865, and were included in the returns from the Retail Societies. c Estimated on the basis of the returns made to sum to be Investments other than in Trade. f Estimated. g Investments and other Assets. h Loans

GREAT BRITAIN.

for each Year, from 1862 to 1900 inclusive.

Sources, and Corrected.)

Trade Expenses.	Trade Stock.	CAPITAL INVESTED IN		Profit Devoted to Education.	Amount of Reserve Fund.	YEAR.
		Industrial and Provident Societies, and other than Trade.	Joint-stock Companies.			
£	£	£	£	£	£	
127,749	....	....	....	....	....	1862
167,620	....	....	....	....	....	1863
163,147	....	....	....	....	....	1864
181,766	....	....	....	....	....	1865
219,746	....	....	....	....	....	1866
255,923	583,539	d494,429	....	3,203	32,629	1867
294,451	671,165	137,397	166,398	3,636	33,109	1868
280,116	784,847	117,586	178,367	3,814	38,630	1869
311,910	912,102	126,736	204,876	4,275	52,990	1870
346,415	1,029,446	145,004	262,594	5,097	66,631	1871
477,846	1,383,063	318,477	382,846	6,696	93,601	1872
555,766	1,627,402	370,402	449,039	7,107	102,722	1873
593,548	1,781,053	418,301	522,081	7,949	116,829	1874
685,118	2,094,325	667,825	553,454	10,879	241,930	1875
1,279,392	2,664,042	....	....	....	....	1876
1,381,285	2,647,309	....	....	....	....	1877
1,493,842	2,609,729	....	....	....	....	1878
1,536,282	2,857,214	....	....	....	....	1879
1,428,303	2,878,832	e3,429,935	17,407	13,910	....	1880
....	3,051,665	....	....	13,822	....	1881
1,689,823	3,450,481	e4,281,243	....	14,778	....	1882
1,818,880	3,706,978	e4,490,477	....	16,788	....	1883
1,933,297	3,572,226	e4,543,388	....	19,154	....	1884
2,080,427	3,726,756	e5,425,319	....	20,712	....	1885
1,797,696	4,068,831	e3,858,451	....	19,878	....	1886
1,957,873	4,354,857	e4,490,674	....	21,380	....	1887
2,041,566	4,550,743	e5,233,349	....	24,238	....	1888
2,178,961	4,789,170	e5,832,435	....	25,455	....	1889
2,357,647	5,136,580	e6,958,131	....	27,587	....	1890
2,617,200	5,832,573	e6,390,827	....	30,087	....	1891
2,897,117	6,168,947	e6,946,321	....	32,753	....	1892
3,174,460	6,309,624	e7,076,071	....	32,677	....	1893
3,256,156	5,898,804	e7,169,710	....	36,553	....	1894
3,465,905	6,323,781	e7,876,837	....	41,491	....	1895
3,767,651	6,828,943	g13,895,043	....	46,895	....	1896
j3,061,934	7,582,623	g14,246,571	....	50,299	....	1897
j3,201,894	7,490,945	g15,699,161	....	52,118	....	1898
j3,443,627	8,380,722	g17,136,035	....	56,528	....	1899
j3,791,397	9,264,705	g18,714,549	....	65,668	....	1900

30,921 for 1866, being the number of "Individual Members" returned by the Wholesale Society, and which the Central Co-operative Board for 1881. d Includes Joint-stock Companies. e The return states this and other Creditors. j Exclusive of Share Interest.

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES,
TABLE (3).—GENERAL SUMMARY of RETURNS
(Compiled from Official

YEAR.	NO. OF SOCIETIES			Number of Members.	CAPITAL AT END OF YEAR.		Sales.	Net Profit.
	Registered in the Year.	Not Making Returns.	Making Returns.		Share.	Loan.		
					£	£	£	£
1862	454	68	332	90,341	428,376	54,499	2,333,523	165,562
1863	51	73	381	111,163	579,902	76,738	2,673,778	216,005
1864	146	110	394	129,429	684,182	89,122	2,836,606	224,460
1865	101	182	403	124,659	819,367	107,263	3,373,847	279,226
1866	163	240	441	144,072	1,046,310	118,023	4,462,676	372,307
1867	137	192	577	171,897	1,475,199	136,734	6,001,153	398,578
1868	190	93	673	211,781	1,711,643	177,706	7,122,360	424,420
1869	65	133	754	229,861	1,816,672	179,054	7,353,363	438,101
1870	67	153	748	248,108	2,035,626	197,029	8,201,685	553,485
1871	56	235	746	262,188	2,305,951	215,453	9,463,771	666,399
1872	113	66	749	301,157	2,786,965	344,509	11,397,225	809,237
1873	186	69	790	340,930	3,344,104	431,808	13,651,127	959,493
1874	113	177	810	357,821	3,653,582	498,052	14,295,762	1,072,139
1875	98	237	926	420,024	4,470,857	742,073	16,206,570	1,250,570
1876	72	113	937	444,547	4,825,642	774,809	17,619,247	1,541,384
1877	58	186	896	461,666	5,092,958	916,955	18,697,788	1,680,370
1878	48	65	963	490,584	5,264,855	965,499	18,719,081	1,583,925
1879	40	106	937	504,117	5,374,179	1,324,970	17,816,037	1,598,156
1880	53	62	953	526,686	5,806,545	1,124,795	20,129,217	1,600,000
1881	50	..	971	552,353	6,431,553	1,205,145	21,276,850	1,657,564
1882	51	82	1,012	593,262	7,058,025	1,293,595	23,607,809	1,814,375
1883	42	158	990	622,871	7,281,448	1,203,764	24,776,980	2,036,826
1884	64	48	1,079	672,780	7,879,686	1,359,007	25,600,250	2,237,210
1885	73	47	1,114	717,019	8,364,367	1,408,941	25,858,065	2,419,615
1886	67	61	1,141	751,117	8,793,068	1,551,989	26,747,174	2,476,651
1887	73	139	1,170	813,537	9,269,422	1,598,420	28,221,988	2,542,884
1888	94	125	1,244	850,020	9,793,852	1,743,890	30,350,048	2,766,131
1889	81	112	1,268	897,841	10,424,169	2,098,100	33,016,341	2,981,543
1890	103	149	1,290	955,393	11,380,210	2,196,364	35,367,102	3,393,991
1891	88	108	1,313	1,008,448	12,253,427	2,260,686	39,617,376	3,781,254
1892	106	12	1,404	1,073,739	12,848,024	2,487,499	40,827,931	3,701,402
1893	92	40	1,432	1,119,210	13,400,837	2,453,723	41,483,346	3,592,856
1894	96	41	1,525	1,139,535	13,668,938	2,520,779	41,731,223	3,841,723
1895	68	69	1,530	1,191,766	14,511,314	2,803,917	44,003,888	4,194,876
1896	88	84	1,554	1,264,763	15,620,803	2,952,740	47,331,384	4,569,782
1897	68	98	1,573	1,336,985	16,654,107	3,659,493	50,693,526	4,989,589
1898	71	96	1,606	1,399,819	17,659,826	3,990,007	53,256,725	5,333,221
1899	75	108	1,645	1,467,158	18,999,477	3,860,518	57,134,086	5,742,523
1900	54	91	1,656	1,547,772	20,514,300	3,504,385	62,923,437	6,208,116
Totals ..							£956,180,345	£86,115,899

a Loans and other Creditors.

ENGLAND AND WALES.

*for each Year, from 1862 to 1900 inclusive.**Sources, and Corrected.)*

Trade Expenses.	Trade Stock.	CAPITAL INVESTED, IN		Profit Devoted to Education.	Amount of Reserve Fund.	YEAR.
		Industrial and Provident Societies, and other than Trade.	Joint-stock Companies.			
£	£	£	£	£	£	
127,749	....	....	....	....	....	1862
167,620	....	....	....	....	....	1863
163,147	....	....	....	....	....	1864
181,766	....	....	....	....	....	1865
219,746	....	....	....	....	....	1866
255,923	583,539	494,429	....	3,203	32,629	1867
294,451	671,165	137,397	166,398	3,636	33,109	1868
280,116	784,847	117,586	178,367	3,814	38,630	1869
311,910	912,102	126,736	204,876	4,275	52,990	1870
346,415	1,029,446	145,004	262,594	5,097	66,631	1871
419,567	1,219,092	300,712	380,043	6,461	79,292	1872
488,464	1,439,137	337,811	443,724	6,864	83,149	1873
517,445	1,572,264	386,640	510,057	7,486	98,732	1874
598,080	1,852,437	636,400	538,140	10,454	220,011	1875
1,137,053	2,377,380	....	....	....	....	1876
1,222,664	2,310,041	....	....	....	....	1877
1,315,364	2,286,795	....	....	....	....	1878
1,353,832	2,486,704	....	....	....	....	1879
1,285,875	2,512,039	†3,226,370	....	13,262	....	1880
....	2,585,443	....	....	13,314	....	1881
1,499,633	2,969,957	†3,919,455	....	14,070	....	1882
1,606,424	3,160,569	†4,113,995	....	15,903	....	1883
1,684,070	2,932,817	†4,118,751	....	18,062	....	1884
1,825,717	3,044,534	†4,811,819	....	19,374	....	1885
1,525,194	3,323,450	†3,475,319	....	18,440	....	1886
1,670,290	3,512,626	†4,112,807	....	19,707	....	1887
1,743,838	3,687,394	†4,868,141	....	22,391	....	1888
1,849,811	3,856,498	†5,386,444	....	23,388	....	1889
1,996,438	4,121,400	†6,407,701	....	24,919	....	1890
2,207,143	4,691,801	†5,749,811	....	27,196	....	1891
2,420,270	4,947,231	†6,154,426	....	29,105	....	1892
2,645,989	5,032,623	†6,234,093	....	29,151	....	1893
2,687,388	4,763,953	†6,054,847	....	32,503	....	1894
2,881,742	5,108,794	†6,625,724	....	36,433	....	1895
3,097,516	5,535,227	†11,303,924	....	40,269	....	1896
2,469,953	6,068,803	†11,670,057	....	42,791	....	1897
2,549,753	6,017,205	†12,816,168	....	44,495	....	1898
2,733,022	6,714,611	†13,998,278	....	48,214	....	1899
2,992,995	7,393,378	†15,151,574	....	53,684	....	1900

Exclusive of Share Interest. † Investments other than in Trade. ‡ Investments and other Assets.

CO-OPERATIVE

TABLE (4).—GENERAL SUMMARY of RETURNS

(Compiled from Official Returns)

YEAR.	NUMBER OF SOCIETIES			Number of Members.	CAPITAL AT END OF YEAR.	
	Registered.	Not Making Returns.	Making Returns.		Share.	Loan.
					£	£
1872.....	25	38	178	38,829	181,793	27,022
1873.....	39	66	188	46,371	235,858	64,932
1874.....	15	50	216	54,431	250,026	88,920
1875.....	18	46	237	59,260	323,052	102,547
1876.....	10	57	228	63,310	314,577	144,953
1877.....	8	54	248	66,910	345,001	156,310
1878.....	4	54	218	70,119	381,028	180,208
1879.....	11	*40	208	68,967	373,728	171,173
1880.....	14	38	224	76,855	417,726	216,395
1881.....	12	9	259	90,430	505,731	278,438
1882.....	15	31	264	92,719	523,714	328,658
1883.....	13	7	292	106,034	630,768	373,081
1884.....	12	9	312	124,065	757,274	471,617
1885.....	11	..	317	132,597	837,771	536,567
1886.....	15	1	333	142,036	945,210	607,757
1887.....	11	1	334	152,866	1,063,647	654,252
1888.....	5	5	335	159,753	1,141,179	708,268
1889.....	8	6	340	171,555	1,253,117	825,406
1890.....	7	2	341	183,387	1,396,523	972,424
1891.....	7	..	343	196,796	1,578,731	1,129,390
1892.....	12	2	349	208,364	1,779,546	1,279,238
1893.....	6	2	352	217,521	1,896,633	1,413,582
1894.....	5	2	355	229,409	2,063,123	1,533,393
1895.....	10	1	365	231,866	2,215,309	1,766,199
1896.....	4	3	354	260,520	2,577,025	1,813,504
1897.....	5	1	357	276,053	2,812,048	2,511,875
1898.....	2	2	349	282,467	2,958,996	2,847,096
1899.....	9	8	349	296,272	3,277,164	3,068,252
1900.....	9	7	350	313,686	3,574,413	3,400,747
					Totals...	

* Not stated, but estimated at about 40.

a Loans and other Creditors.

SOCIETIES, SCOTLAND.

for each Year, from 1872 to 1900 inclusive.

Sources, and Corrected.)

Sales.	Net Profit.	Trade Expenses.	Trade Stock.	CAPITAL INVESTED IN		Profit Devoted to Education.	Amount of Reserve Fund.	YEAR.
				Industrial and Provident Societies, and other than Trade.	Joint-stock Companies.			
£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	
1,595,120	126,314	58,279	163,971	17,765	2,803	235	14,309	1872
1,972,426	150,302	67,302	188,265	32,591	5,315	243	19,573	1873
2,062,516	155,087	76,103	208,789	31,661	12,024	463	18,097	1874
2,277,812	176,795	87,038	241,888	31,425	15,314	425	21,919	1875
2,290,452	201,117	142,339	286,662	..	..	..	..	1876
2,676,225	241,991	158,621	337,268	..	..	..	..	1877
2,666,565	252,446	178,478	322,934	..	..	..	..	1878
2,549,565	258,152	182,450	370,510	..	..	..	..	1879
3,102,460	266,839	142,428	366,793	203,565	17,407	648	..	1880
3,649,155	322,012	..	466,222	..	..	508	..	1881
3,901,246	339,324	190,190	480,524	†361,788	..	708	..	1882
4,526,461	395,795	212,456	546,409	†376,482	..	885	..	1883
4,791,862	484,893	249,227	639,409	†424,637	..	1,092	..	1884
5,415,091	566,540	254,710	682,222	†613,500	..	1,338	..	1885
5,937,070	590,785	272,502	745,381	†383,132	..	1,438	..	1886
6,215,891	645,018	287,583	842,231	†377,867	..	1,673	..	1887
7,392,381	685,446	297,728	863,349	†365,208	..	1,847	..	1888
7,601,719	750,423	329,150	932,672	†445,991	..	2,067	..	1889
8,300,261	879,019	361,209	1,015,180	†550,430	..	2,668	..	1890
9,304,321	933,044	410,057	1,140,772	†641,016	..	2,891	..	1891
10,074,750	1,038,369	476,847	1,221,716	†791,895	..	3,648	..	1892
10,094,381	1,013,955	528,471	1,277,001	†841,978	..	3,526	..	1893
10,115,126	1,081,304	568,768	1,134,851	†1,114,863	..	4,050	..	1894
10,754,512	1,187,986	584,163	1,214,987	†1,251,063	..	5,058	..	1895
12,130,468	1,413,873	670,135	1,293,716	†2,591,119	..	6,626	..	1896
13,669,417	1,539,547	659,191	1,513,820	†2,576,514	..	7,508	..	1897
14,612,369	1,598,483	665,141	1,473,740	†2,882,993	..	7,623	..	1898
15,609,622	1,773,591	6710,605	1,666,111	†3,137,757	..	8,314	..	1899
17,200,882	1,955,274	6798,402	1,871,327	†3,562,975	..	11,984	..	1900
20,490,126	21,023,724							

b Exclusive of Share Interest. † Investments other than in Trade. ‡ Investments and other Assets.

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES, IRELAND.
TABLE (5).—GENERAL SUMMARY of RETURNS for each Year, from 1874 to 1900 inclusive.
(Compiled from Official Sources, and Corrected.)

YEAR.	NUMBER OF SOCIETIES			Number of Members.	CAPITAL AT END OF YEAR.			Sales.	Net Profit.	Trade Expenses.	CAPITAL	Profit De- voted to Education.	Amount of Reserve Fund.
	Registered.	Not Making Returns.	Making Returns.		Share.	Loan.	£						
1874	2	5	5	1,485	370	15,775	812	907	..	1,350	..	..	67
1875	1	2	7	9,688	5,370	15,519	1,725	1,060	1,350	..	..	..	..
1876	..	7	2	1,171	10	11,355	1,479	464	978	..	..	..	..
1877	1	6	4	7,490	10	16,434	2,190	676	..	..	..	..	15
1878	..	2	..	1,560	10	16,573	1,289	705	..	..	..	..	71
1879	1	..	6	7,615	200	17,170	1,482	856	..	..	..	45	..
1880	2	..	6	7,822	100	16,637	1,760	857	1,244	..	..	..	..
1881	1	..	10	2,889	..	19,058	1,533	1,039	1,668	..	..	3	..
1882	4	2	12	9,502	178	32,157	1,699	2,284	2,461	..	..	..	..
1883	..	5	9	9,140	241	32,587	2,375	1,924	2,577	7,241	..	..	..
1884	2	6	9	9,228	212	31,989	1,691	3,188	8,610	*7,502	..	..	..
1885	..	3	10	9,121	326	32,754	2,535	2,112	7,366	*7,901	..	..	..
1886	1	3	12	9,174	344	46,501	2,675	2,651	3,934	..	..	..	..
1887	3	5	12	11,147	904	45,892	2,407	2,501	5,979	*809	..	..	..
1888	1	10	13	11,188	729	51,474	3,397	3,825	5,850	*510	..	7	..
1889	4	5	13	10,626	205	56,613	2,580	3,814	5,962	*843	..	..	..
1890	12	8	16	6,896	367	64,306	2,607	3,672	5,170	*656	..	..	..
1891	22	14	28	15,547	3,318	102,474	4,234	3,891	5,797	*4,040	..	..	..
1892	9	10	38	20,137	6,879	158,173	3,581	5,877	6,340	*6,585	..	..	..
1893	8	17	41	21,195	7,649	226,109	3,846	7,358	5,091	*13,618	..	..	..
1894	12	18	50	24,003	10,509	264,451	5,811	11,132	9,321	*5,026	..	..	..
1895	45	43	71	33,208	11,457	341,849	6,209	12,131	9,321	*3,765	..	..	..
1896	36	47	102	38,212	20,087	489,783	6,368	18,412	15,075	+34,286	..	..	..
1897	53	66	135	43,852	a55,709	593,106	6,725	512,486	19,588	+31,523	..	3	..
1898	109	129	175	52,288	a77,123	654,875	7,572	616,208	15,741	+53,925	..	11	..
1899	68	182	189	63,892	a96,371	789,978	13,363	617,881	19,377	+67,201	..	84	..
1900	54	258	168	67,597	a105,639	896,109	14,432	622,812	19,958	+74,346	..	81	..
				Totals...	£	5,039,701	106,377						

SALES OF CIVIL SERVICE SUPPLY STORES.

	Civil Service Supply.	Civil Service (Haymarket).	New Civil Service.
	£	£	£
1871	625,305	....	....
1872	712,399	....	....
1873	819,428	....	....
1874	896,094	....	....
1875	925,332	....	....
1876	983,545	....	....
1877	946,780	....	....
1878	1,384,042	....	....
1879	1,474,923	....	....
1880	1,420,619	514,399	....
1881	1,488,507	520,155	139,367
1882	1,603,670	497,650	....
1883	1,682,655	329,805	149,478
1884	1,691,455	481,560	148,975
1885	1,758,648	468,992	150,948
1886	1,743,306	465,096	150,383
1887	1,732,483	469,456	155,000
1888	1,763,814	473,817	158,028
1889	1,775,500	481,120	158,317
1890	1,789,397	481,352	164,160
1891	1,817,779	475,066	178,761
1892	1,749,384	471,133	168,582
1893	1,675,848	448,171	158,313
1894	1,663,970	439,283	154,541
1895	1,670,849	442,942	149,185
1896	1,707,780	448,129	143,289
1897	1,694,710	437,638	138,836
1898	1,672,520	424,588	127,392
1899	1,741,769	420,471	118,252
1900	1,769,655	423,610	109,297
1901	1,756,199	414,146	98,174

Above we give the Sales of the Civil Service Supply Stores as distinct from the ordinary distributive societies appearing in the previous tables.

NATIONAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURE.

An Account of the Public Income and Expenditure of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in the Year ended March 31, 1902, presented to Parliament pursuant to Act 17 and 18 Vict., c. 94, s. 2.

INCOME.

	£	s.	d.
Balance in Exchequer, April 1, 1901	5,596,917	10	5
Customs	30,993,000	0	0
Excise	31,600,000	0	0
Estate, &c., Duties	14,200,000	0	0
Stamps (excluding Fee, &c., Stamps)	7,800,000	0	0
Land Tax	725,000	0	0
House Duty	1,775,000	0	0
Property and Income Tax	34,800,000	0	0
Post Office	14,300,000	0	0
Telegraph Service	3,490,000	0	0
Crown Lands (Net)	455,000	0	0
Suez Canal Shares—Receipts, &c.	869,633	12	11
Miscellaneous (including, Fee, &c., Stamps)	1,990,365	9	2

EXPENDITURE.

CONSOLIDATED FUND SERVICES.

NATIONAL DEBT SERVICES—

Inside the Permanent or Fixed Annual Charge.

Funded Debt—	£	s.	d.
Interest	15,076,032	13	3
Terminable Annuities	2,754,424	10	8
Interest on Unfunded Debt	314,751	0	6
Management of the Debt	173,617	7	2
	18,318,815	11	7

Outside the Permanent or Fixed Annual Charge.

Interest, &c., on Debt created under War	3,366,716	3	9
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Loan Acts

OTHER CONSOLIDATED FUND SERVICES—

Civil List	£	s.	d.
Annuities and Pensions	487,746	6	8
Salaries and Allowances	258,707	17	1
Courts of Justice	78,916	1	3
Miscellaneous Services	515,428	9	0
	302,992	4	11

1,643,790 18 11

1,153,891 19 9

Payments to Local Taxation Account....

SUPPLY SERVICES.

Army	92,262,000	0	0
Ordnance Factories	280,000	0	0
Navy	31,030,000	0	0
Miscellaneous Civil Services	30,500,000	0	0
Customs and Inland Revenue Departments...	2,955,000	0	0
Post Office	9,240,000	0	0
Telegraph Service	4,010,000	0	0
Post Office Packet Service	762,000	0	0

171,039,000 0 0

Total Expenditure 195,522,214 14 0

Deficiency of Income over Expenditure..... 46,927,298 1 6

£148,594,916 12 6

Total Income £148,594,916 12 6

CUSTOMS TARIFF OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

ARTICLES subject to IMPORT and EXPORT DUTIES in the UNITED KINGDOM, and the RATE of DUTY levied upon each ARTICLE, distinguishing the Duties levied as ordinary Import Duties and those levied to countervail Excise and other Inland Revenue Duties upon British Productions, according to the Tariff in operation at 1st August, 1902.

ARTICLES.		Rates of Duty.		
EXPORT DUTY.			£	s. d.
COAL	per ton.		0	1 0
ORDINARY IMPORT DUTIES.				
COCOA :				
Raw	per lb.		0	0 1
Husks and Shells	per cwt.		0	2 0
Cocoa or Chocolate, ground, prepared, or in any way manufactured	per lb.		0	0 2
(For additional duty, if Spirit has been used in the manufacture, see page 379.)				
Cocoa Butter	„		0	0 1
COFFEE :				
Raw	per cwt.		0	14 0
Kiln-dried, roasted, or ground	per lb.		0	0 2
CHICORY :				
Raw or kiln-dried	per cwt.		0	13 3
Roasted or ground	per lb.		0	0 2
Chicory (or other vegetable substances) and Coffee roasted and ground, mixed	„		0	0 2
CORN AND GRAIN :				
Wheat, Barley, Oats, Rye, Buckwheat, Peas and Beans (not fresh), Lentils, Rice (other than whole and cleaned)	per cwt.		0	0 3
Maize	„		0	0 1½
Offals of the above mentioned articles	„		0	0 1½
Flour, meal or milled products of above mentioned articles (other than offals) except Maize	„		0	0 5
Maize Meal or milled products of Maize, other than Offals	„		0	0 2½
Starch, Arrowroot, Cassava Powder and Tapioca, Potato Flour, Sago, Malt, Pearl'd Barley and Rice (whole and cleaned)	„		0	0 5
FRUIT—Dried :—				
Currants	„		0	2 0
Figs, Fig Cake, Plums preserved, Prunes, and Raisins ..	„		0	7 0
MOLASSES :				
Containing 70 per cent. or more of sweetening matter ..	„		0	2 9
Containing less than 70 per cent., and more than 50 per cent. of sweetening matter	„		0	2 0
Containing not more than 50 per cent. of sweetening matter	„		0	1 0
SUGAR :				
Tested by the polariscope, of a polarisation exceeding 98°	„		0	4 2

CUSTOMS TARIFF OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

ARTICLES.		Rates of Duty.
SUGAR:		£ s. d.
Of a polarisation not exceeding 76°	per cwt.	0 2 0
Intermediate rates of duty are levied on Sugar of a polarisation not exceeding 98°, but exceeding 76°.		
TEA	per lb.	0 0 6
TOBACCO—Unmanufactured:—		
Containing 10lbs. or more of moisture in every 100lbs. weight thereof	per lb.	0 3 0
Containing less than 10lbs. of moisture in every 100lbs. weight thereof	"	0 3 4
TOBACCO—Manufactured:—		
Cigars	"	0 5 6
Cavendish or Negro-head	"	0 4 4
Snuff containing more than 13lbs. of moisture in every 100lbs. weight thereof	"	0 3 7
Snuff not containing more than 13lbs. of moisture in every 100lbs. weight thereof	"	0 4 4
Other Manufactured Tobacco, and Cavendish or Negro- head Manufactured in Bond from Unmanufactured Tobacco	"	0 3 10
WINE:—		
Not exceeding 30° of Proof Spirit	per gallon.	0 1 3
Exceeding 30° but not exceeding 42° of Proof Spirit....	"	0 3 0
Every degree or part of a degree beyond the highest above charged, an additional duty of	"	0 0 3
Degree not to include fractions of the next higher degree.		
Wine includes Lees of Wine.		
Additional duty on Sparkling Wine imported in Bottle	"	0 2 6
" " Still " " "	"	0 1 0
<hr/>		
Import Duties to countervail Excise Duty upon British Beer, Glucose, and Saccharin.		
BEER called Mum, Spruce, or Black Beer, and Berlin White Beer and other preparations, whether fermented or not fermented, of a character similar to Mum, Spruce, or Black Beer, the worts of which were, before fermentation, of a specific gravity—		
Not exceeding 1,215°	{ per every 36 galls. }	1 12 0
Exceeding 1,215°	"	1 17 6
Beer of any other description, the worts of which were, before fermentation, of a specific gravity of 1,055°....	"	0 8 0
And so on in proportion for any difference in gravity.		
GLUCOSE:		
Solid	per cwt.	0 3 3
Liquid	"	0 2 6
SACCHARIN (including substances of a like nature or use) ..	per oz.	0 1 3

CUSTOMS TARIFF OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

ARTICLES.		Rates of Duty.
Import Duties to countervail Excise Duty upon British Spirits.		£ s. d.
SPIRITS AND STRONG WATERS:		
For every gallon, computed at hydrometer proof, of Spirits of any description (except Perfumed Spirits), including Naphtha or Methylic Alcohol, purified so as to be potable, and mixtures and preparations containing Spirits	per proof gallon. }	0 11 4
Additional on Spirits imported in bottle, enumerated and tested, and Sweetened Spirits imported in bottle, unenumerated and tested	„	0 1 0
Sweetened, tested for strength, additional to the Spirit Duty, in respect of the Sugar used therein	„	0 0 2
Additional Imitation Rum, Geneva and unenumerated Spirits sweetened and not sweetened, tested	„	0 0 1
Liqueurs, Cordials, or other preparations containing Spirits, in Bottle, entered in such a manner as to indicate that the strength is not to be tested	per gallon. }	0 16 4
Perfumed Spirits	„	0 18 1
Additional if imported in bottle	„	0 1 0
Spirits, Methylated, in Bond	per proof gallon. }	0 0 4
CHLOROFORM	per lb.	0 3 3
CHLORAL HYDRATE	„	0 1 4
COCOA or CHOCOLATE, in the manufacture of which Spirit has been used, in addition to any other duty to which such Cocoa or Chocolate is at present liable	„	0 0 0½*
COLLODION	per gallon.	1 6 3
CONFECTIONERY, in the manufacture of which Spirit has been used, in addition to any other duty to which such Confectionery is at present liable	per lb.	0 0 0½*
ETHER, Acetic	„	0 1 11
„ Butyric	per gallon.	0 16 5
„ Sulphuric	„	1 7 5
ETHYL, Bromide	per lb.	0 1 1
„ Chloride	per gallon.	0 16 5
„ Iodide of	„	0 14 3
METHYLIC ALCOHOL { purified so as to be potable—see NAPHTHA „ Spirits and Strong Waters.		
SOAP, TRANSPARENT, in the manufacture of which Spirit has been used	per lb.	0 0 3
PLAYING CARDS (Import Duty to countervail Stamp Duty).	doz. packs.	0 3 9

* Or such additional spirit duty rate as analysis may show to be necessary.

NOTE AS TO ARTICLES CHARGED WITH IMPORT DUTIES:—In this Return, sub-divisions of Articles of a similar nature, and subject to the same rate of duty, are classed under one head.

INCOME TAX RATES

FROM ITS FIRST IMPOSITION IN 1842 TO THE PRESENT TIME.

From and to April 5th.	Income free under.	On £100 to £150.	On £100 and upw'ds.	Chancellor of the Exchequer.	Premier.
		Rate in the £.			
		£			
1842 to 1846..	150	—	7d.	Henry Goulburn.	Sir Robert Peel.
1846 " 1852..	Do.	—	7d.	Sir Charles Wood.	Lord John Russell.
1852 " 1853..	Do.	—	7d.	Benjamin Disraeli.	Earl of Derby.
1853 " 1854..	100	5d.	7d.	William E. Gladstone.	Earl of Aberdeen.
1854 " 1855..	Do.	10d.	1s. 2d.	Do.	Do.
1855 " 1857..	Do.	11½d.	1s. 4d.	Sir G. Cornewell Lewis.	Viscount Palmerston.
1857 " 1858..	Do.	5d.	7d.	Do.	Do.
1858 " 1859..	Do.	5d.	5d.	Do.	Do.
1859 " 1860..	Do.	6½d.	9d.	Benjamin Disraeli.	Earl of Derby.
1860 " 1861..	Do.	7d.	10d.	William E. Gladstone.	Viscount Palmerston.
1861 " 1863..	*100	6d.	9d.	Do.	Do.
1863 " 1864..	Do.		7d.	Do.	Do.
1864 " 1865..	Do.		6d.	Do.	Do.
1865 " 1866..	Do.		4d.	Do.	Do.
1866 " 1867..	Do.		4d.	Do.	Ear Russell.
1867 " 1868..	Do.		5d.	Benjamin Disraeli.	Earl of Derby.
1868 " 1869..	Do.		6d.	George Ward Hunt.	Benjamin Disraeli.
1869 " 1870..	Do.		5d.	Robert Lowe.	William E. Gladstone.
1870 " 1871..	Do.		4d.	Do.	Do.
1871 " 1872..	Do.		6d.	Do.	Do.
1872 " 1873..	Do.		4d.	Do.	Do.
1873 " 1874..	Do.		3d.	Do.	Do.
1874 " 1876..	Do.		2d.	Sir Stafford Northcote.	Benjamin Disraeli.
1876 " 1878..	150		3d.	Do.	Earl of Beaconsfield.
1878 " 1880..	Do.		5d.	Do.	Do.
1880 " 1881..	Do.		6d.	William E. Gladstone.	William E. Gladstone.
1881 " 1882..	Do.		5d.	Do.	Do.
1882 " 1883..	Do.		6½d.	Do.	Do.
1883 " 1884..	Do.		5d.	Hugh C. E. Childers.	Do.
1884 " 1885..	Do.		6d.	Do.	Do.
1885 " 1886..	Do.		8d.	Sir M. Hicks-Beach.	Marquis of Salisbury.
1886 " 1887..	Do.		8d.	Sir William Harcourt.	William E. Gladstone.
1887 " 1888..	Do.		8d.	Lord Rand. Churchill.	Marquis of Salisbury.
1888 " 1889..	Do.		7d.	G. J. Goschen.	Do.
1889 " 1892..	Do.		6d.	Do.	Do.
1892 " 1893..	Do.		6d.	Sir W. Harcourt.	William E. Gladstone.
1893 " 1894..	Do.		7d.	Do.	Do.
1894 " 1895..	160		8d.	Do.	Earl Rosebery.
1895 " 1898..	Do.		8d.	Sir M. Hicks-Beach.	Marquis of Salisbury.
1898 " 1900..	§Do.		8d.	Do.	Do.
1900 " 1901..	§Do.		1s.	Do.	Do.
1901 " 1902..	§Do.		1s. 2d.	Do.	Do.
1902 " 1903..	§Do.		1s. 3d.	Do.	Do.
1902 " 1903..	§Do.		1s. 3d.	C. T. Ritchie.	A. J. Balfour.

* Differential rate upon scale of incomes abolished. Incomes under £100 are exempt; and incomes of £100 and under £199 per annum have an abatement from the assessment of £60;—thus, £100 pays on £40; £160 upon £100; £199 upon £139; but £200 pays on £200.

† Under £150 exempt; if under £400 the tax is not chargeable upon the first £120.

‡ Under £160 exempt; if under £400 the tax is not chargeable upon the first £160; above £400 and up to £500, an abatement of £100.

§ Exemption may be claimed when the income from all sources does not exceed £160 per annum. Abatement of duty on £160 may be claimed when the income exceeds £160, but does not exceed £400; on £150 when the income exceeds £400, but does not exceed £500; on £120 when the income exceeds £500, but does not exceed £600; and on £70 when the income exceeds £600, but does not exceed £700.

AVERAGE PRICE PER £100 OF THE THREE PER CENT CONSOLIDATED STOCK OF THE PUBLIC FUNDS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, in EACH MONTH in EACH YEAR from 1886 to 1888, and of the NEW TWO-AND-THREE-QUARTER PER CENT CONSOLIDATED STOCK MONTHLY from MARCH, 1888, to DECEMBER, 1901.

New 2½ per cent Consolidated Stock.																
MONTHS.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
January....	99½	100½	102½	98½	97½	96½	95½	98½	98½	104½	107	112	112½	111	100½	96½
February ..	100½	100½	102½	99	97½	97½	95½	98½	99½	104½	108½	112½	112½	111½	101	97½
March	100½	101½	101½	97½	97½	97½	95½	98½	99½	104½	109½	111½	111½	110½	101½	96½
April	100½	102½	101	98½	98	96½	96½	99	100	105½	111½	112	110½	110½	100½	95½
May	101½	103½	101½	99	98½	95½	97½	98½	100½	105½	112½	113½	110½	110½	101½	94½
June	100½	101½	100½	99½	97½	95½	96½	99	101½	106½	113	112½	111½	108½	101½	93½
July	101½	101½	100½	98½	96½	95½	96½	99	101½	107½	113½	112½	111½	106½	98½	92½
August	101½	101½	100½	98½	96½	96	97½	98	102½	107½	113½	112½	110½	105½	98½	94½
September..	100½	101½	100½	97	95½	94½	97	98½	102½	107½	110½	111½	109½	104½	98½	93½
October	100½	102½	100½	97½	94½	94½	97	98½	101½	107½	108½	111½	109½	103½	98½	92½
November..	101½	103½	101	97	94½	95	97½	98½	102½	106½	110½	112½	110½	99½	98½	91½
December ..	100½	101½	99½	97½	95½	95½	97½	98½	103½	106½	111½	112½	110½	100½	97½	93½
Average for the year...	100½	101½	101	98	96½	95½	96½	98½	101½	106½	110½	112½	110½	106½	99½	94½

AVERAGE MINIMUM RATE PER CENT OF DISCOUNT CHARGED BY THE BANK OF ENGLAND IN EACH MONTH
IN EACH YEAR FROM 1886 TO 1901.

MONTHS.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.	MONTHS.
Jan.	3½	5	3½	4½	6	4	3½	2½	3	2	2	3½	3	3½	4½	4½	Jan.
Feb.	2½	4	2½	3	5½	3	3	2½	2½	2	2	3½	3	3	4	4½	Feb.
March.	2	3½	2½	3	4½	3	3	2½	2	2	2	3	3	3	4	4	March.
April.	2	2½	2	2½	3½	3½	2½	2½	2	2	2	2½	3½	3	4	4	April.
May.	2½	2	2½	2½	3	4½	2	3½	2	2	2	2½	3½	3	3½	4	May.
June.	2½	2	2½	2½	3½	3½	2	3	2	2	2	2	3	3	3½	3½	June.
July.	2½	2	2½	2½	4	2½	2	2½	2	2	2	2	2½	3½	3½	3	July.
August.	2½	2½	2½	3	4½	2½	2	4	2	2	2	2	2½	3½	4	3	August.
Sept.	3½	4	3½	4½	4½	2½	2	4½	2	2	2½	2½	2½	3½	4	3	Sept.
Oct.	3½	4	5	5	5	3	2½	3	2	2	3½	2½	3½	4½	4	3	October.
Nov.	4	4	5	5	5½	4	3	3	2	2	4	3	4	5	4	4	Nov.
Dec.	4½	4	5	5	5½	3½	3	3	2	2	4	3	4	6	4	4	Dec.
Average for the year...	3	3½	3½	3½	4½	3½	2½	3½	2½	2	2½	2½	3½	3½	3½	3½	Average for the year.

DEALINGS WITH LAND.

SCALE OF LAW COSTS ON THE SALE, PURCHASE, OR MORTGAGE OF
REAL PROPERTY, HOUSES, OR LAND.

	For the 1st £1,000.	For the 2nd and 3rd £1,000.	For the 4th and each subsequent £1,000 up to £10,000.	For each subsequent £1,000 up to £100,000.*
	Per £100. £ s. d.	Per £100. £ s. d.	Per £100. £ s. d.	Per £100. £ s. d.
Vendor's solicitor for negotiating a sale of property by private contract	1 0 0	1 0 0	0 10 0	0 5 0
Do., do., for conducting a sale of pro- perty by public auction, including the conditions of sale—				
When the property is sold† ...	1 0 0	0 10 0	0 5 0	0 2 6
When the property is not sold, then on the reserve price† ..	0 10 0	0 5 0	0 2 6	0 1 3
Do., do., for deducing title to freehold, copyhold, or leasehold property, and perusing and completing conveyance (including preparation of contract or conditions of sale, if any)	1 10 0	1 0 0	0 10 0	0 5 0
Purchaser's solicitor for negotiating a pur- chase of property by private contract..	1 0 0	1 0 0	0 10 0	0 5 0
Do., do., for investigating title to free- hold, copyhold, or leasehold property, and preparing and completing con- veyance (including perusal and com- pletion of contract, if any)	1 10 0	1 0 0	0 10 0	0 5 0
Mortgagor's solicitor for deducing title to freehold, copyhold, or leasehold property, perusing mortgage, and completing....	1 10 0	1 0 0	0 10 0	0 5 0
Mortgagee's solicitor for negotiating loan	1 0 0	1 0 0	0 5 0	0 2 6
Do., do., for investigating title to freehold, copyhold, or leasehold property, and preparing and completing mortgage ..	1 10 0	1 0 0	0 10 0	0 5 0

Vendor's or mortgagor's solicitor for procuring execution and acknowledgment of deed by a married woman, £2. 10s. extra.

Where the prescribed remuneration would amount to less than £5 the prescribed remuneration is £5, except on transactions under £100, in which case the remuneration of the solicitor for the vendor, purchaser, mortgagor, or mortgagee is £3.

* Every transaction exceeding £100,000 to be charged for as if it were for £100,000.

† A minimum charge of £5 to be made whether a sale is effected or not.

DEALINGS WITH LAND.

Scale of Law Costs as to Leases, or Agreements for Leases, at Rack Rent (other than a Mining Lease, or a Lease for Building Purposes, or Agreement for the same).

LESSOR'S SOLICITOR FOR PREPARING, SETTLING, AND COMPLETING
LEASE AND COUNTERPART.

Where the rent does not exceed £100, £7. 10s. per cent. on the rental, but not less in any case than £5.

Where the rent exceeds £100, and does not exceed £500, £7. 10s. in respect of the first £100 of rent, and £2. 10s. in respect of each subsequent £100 of rent.

Where the rent exceeds £500, £7. 10s. in respect of the first £100 of rent, £2. 10s. in respect of each £100 of rent up to £500, and £1 in respect of every subsequent £100.

Lessee's solicitor for perusing draft and completing—one-half of the amount payable to the lessor's solicitor.

Scale of Law Costs as to Conveyances in Fee, or for any other Freehold Estate reserving rent, or Building Leases reserving rent, or other Long Leases not at Rack Rent (except Mining Leases), or Agreements for the same respectively.

VENDOR'S OR LESSOR'S SOLICITOR FOR PREPARING, SETTLING, AND COM-
PLETING CONVEYANCE AND DUPLICATE, OR LEASE AND COUNTERPART.

Amount of Annual Rent.	Amount of Remuneration.
Where it does not exceed £5..	£5.
Where it exceeds £5, and does not exceed £50	The same payment as on a rent of £5, and also 20 per cent. on the excess beyond £5.
Where it exceeds £50, but does not exceed £150	The same payment as on a rent of £50, and 10 per cent. on the excess beyond £50.
Where it exceeds £150	The same payment as on a rent of £150, and 5 per cent. on the excess beyond £150.

Where a varying rent is payable the amount of annual rent is to mean the largest amount of annual rent.

Purchaser's or lessee's solicitor for perusing draft and completing—one-half of the amount payable to the vendor's or lessor's solicitor.

RAILWAY ACCIDENTS.—PROPORTION OF PASSENGERS KILLED AND INJURED FROM CAUSES BEYOND THEIR OWN CONTROL.

The Following Statement shows the Proportion of Passengers Returned as Killed and Injured from Causes beyond their own Control, in Passenger Journeys, for the Years 1877 to 1901:—

YEAR.	Number of Passengers Killed and Injured from causes beyond their own control, from Accidents to Trains.		Number of Passenger Journeys (exclusive of Journeys by Season-ticket Holders).†	Proportion returned as Killed and Injured (from causes beyond their own control) to number carried.	
	Killed.	Injured.		Killed.	Injured.
1877.....	11	664	551,593,654	1 in 50,144,876	1 in 830,713
1878.....	24	1,173	565,024,455	1 in 23,542,685	1 in 481,692
1879.....	*75	602	562,732,890	1 in 7,503,105	1 in 934,772
1880.....	29	904	603,885,025	1 in 20,823,586	1 in 668,013
1881.....	23	987	622,160,000	1 in 27,050,435	1 in 630,354
1882.....	18	803	654,838,295	1 in 36,379,905	1 in 815,489
1883.....	11	662	683,718,137	1 in 62,156,194	1 in 1,032,806
1884.....	31	864	694,991,860	1 in 22,419,092	1 in 804,338
1885.....	6	436	697,213,031	1 in 116,202,171	1 in 1,599,112
1886.....	8	615	725,584,390	1 in 90,938,049	1 in 1,179,812
1887.....	25	538	733,670,000	1 in 29,346,800	1 in 1,363,699
1888.....	11	594	742,830,000	1 in 67,530,000	1 in 1,250,555
1889.....	+88	+1,016	775,183,073	1 in 8,808,875	1 in 762,975
1890.....	18	496	817,744,046	1 in 45,430,224	1 in 1,648,677
1891.....	5	875	845,463,668	1 in 169,092,733	1 in 966,244
1892.....	21	601	864,435,388	1 in 41,163,589	1 in 1,438,328
1893.....	17	484	873,177,052	1 in 51,363,356	1 in 1,804,084
1894.....	16	347	911,412,926	1 in 56,963,307	1 in 2,626,550
1895.....	5	399	929,770,909	1 in 185,954,182	1 in 2,330,253
1896.....	5	388	980,339,433	1 in 196,067,887	1 in 2,526,648
1897.....	18	324	1,030,420,201	1 in 57,245,567	1 in 3,180,309
1898.....	25	362	1,062,911,116	1 in 42,516,445	1 in 2,936,219
1899.....	14	638	1,106,691,991	1 in 79,049,428	1 in 1,596,958
1900.....	16	863	1,142,276,686	1 in 71,392,293	1 in 1,323,611
1901.....	—	476	1,172,395,900	....	1 in 2,463,017

* Including 73 persons lost in the Tay Bridge disaster in the year 1879.
 † Including 80 killed and 262 injured in a collision near Armagh. ‡ Number of season tickets issued in 1901, 1,870,136.

THE DEATH DUTIES.

ESTATE DUTY.

THIS duty, which in the case of persons dying after the 1st August, 1894, takes the place of the old Probate Account and Estate Duties, is now regulated by the Finance Acts, 1894, 1896, 1898, and 1900.

It is payable on the principal value of all property (save in a few exceptional cases), whether real or personal, settled or not settled, which passes on death.

The rates of duty (which in case of real estate may be paid by instalments) are as follow:—

PRINCIPAL NET VALUE OF ESTATE.				RATE PER CENT.
Above	£100, but not above	£500	.....	1
"	500	"	" 1,000	2
"	1,000	"	" 10,000	3
"	10,000	"	" 25,000	4
"	25,000	"	" 50,000	4½
"	50,000	"	" 75,000	5
"	75,000	"	" 100,000	5½
"	100,000	"	" 150,000	6
"	150,000	"	" 250,000	6½
"	250,000	"	" 500,000	7
"	500,000	"	" 1,000,000	7½
"	1,000,000	.....		8

Where the net value of the estate (real and personal) does not exceed £100, no duty is payable.

Where the gross value of the estate (real and personal) exceeds £100, but does not exceed £300, the duty is only 30s., and where it exceeds £300, but does not exceed £500, only 50s.

Where the property is settled, an extra duty known as Settlement Estate Duty is in certain cases payable at the rate of 1 per cent.

Debts and funeral expenses are deducted before calculating the duty, except where the gross value of the estate does not exceed £500, and it is desired to pay the fixed duty of 30s. or 50s., as the case may be, instead of the *ad valorem* duty.

THE DEATH DUTIES.

LEGACY DUTY.

This duty is regulated by 55 Geo. III., cap. 184, 51 Vict., cap. 8, and the Finance Act, 1894, and is payable in respect of personal estate (including proceeds of sale of real estate) passing on death, either under a will or in case of intestacy.

The rates of duty are as follow:—

DESCRIPTION OF LEGATEE.	RATE OF DUTY.
Children of the deceased and their descendants, or the father or mother or any lineal ancestor of the deceased or the husbands or wives of any such persons	£1 per cent.
Brothers and sisters of the deceased and their descendants, or the husbands or wives of any such persons	£3 „
Brothers and sisters of the father or mother of the deceased and their descendants, or the husbands or wives of any such persons	£5 „
Brothers and sisters of a grandfather or grandmother of the deceased and their descendants, or the husbands or wives of any such persons	£6 „
Any person in any other degree of collateral consanguinity or strangers in blood to the deceased	£10 „

SUCCESSION DUTY.

This duty is regulated by 16 and 17 Vict., cap. 51, 51 Vict., cap. 8, and the Finance Acts, 1894 and 1896, and is payable in respect of real estate (including leaseholds) passing on death, and in certain cases in respect of settled personal estate.

The rates of duty are as follow:—

DESCRIPTION OF SUCCESSOR.	RATE OF DUTY.
Lineal issue or lineal ancestor of the predecessor, or the husband or wife of any such person	£1 per cent.
Brothers and sisters of the predecessor and their descendants, or the husbands or wives of any such persons	£3 „
Brothers and sisters of the father or mother of the predecessor and their descendants, or the husbands or wives of any such persons	£5 „
Brothers and sisters of a grandfather or grandmother of the predecessor and their descendants, or the husbands or wives of any such persons	£6 „
Persons of more remote consanguinity, or strangers in blood..	£10 „

THE DEATH DUTIES.

NOTE.—Where the duty under the foregoing tables is at the rate of £1 per cent., an extra duty at the rate of 10s. per cent., and in all other cases an extra duty at the rate of £1. 10s. per cent., is leviable in respect of legacies payable out of or charged on real estate (not including leaseholds) and of successions to real estate (not including leaseholds) on deaths between the 1st July, 1888, and the 2nd August, 1894.

The husband or wife of deceased is exempt from legacy or succession duty.

Legacy duty is payable on the capital value, while succession duty is in certain cases payable on the capital value, and in other cases payable on the value of an annuity equal to the net income of the property, calculated according to the age of the successor.

Where the whole net value of the estate does not exceed £1,000, no legacy, succession, or settlement estate duty is payable.

All pecuniary legacies, residues, or shares of residue, although not of the amount of £20, are subject to duty.

In case of persons dying leaving issue, the estate duty covers all legacy and succession duty which would formerly have been paid by such issue.

In case of persons dying domiciled in the United Kingdom, legacy duty is payable on all movable property wherever situate.

In case of persons dying domiciled abroad, no legacy duty is payable on movable property.



RULES BY WHICH THE PERSONAL ESTATES OF PERSONS DYING INTESTATE ARE DISTRIBUTED.

If the Intestate die, leaving

His representatives take in the proportion following:—

Wife and child, or children	{ One-third to wife, rest to child or children; and if children are dead, then to the representatives (that is, their lineal descendants), except such child or children, not heirs-at-law, who had estate by settlement of intestate, or were advanced by him in his lifetime, equal to other shares.
Wife only, no relations	{ Up to £500, all to wife; all above the first £500, in each case, half to wife, rest to Crown.
Wife, no near relations	{ Up to £500, all to wife; all above the first £500, in each case, half to wife, rest to next-of-kin in equal degree to intestate, or their legal representatives.
No wife or child	{ All to next-of-kin and their legal representatives.
No wife, but child, children, or representatives of them, whether such child or children by one or more wives	{ All to him, her, or them.
Children by two wives	{ Equally to all.
If no child, children, or representatives of them	{ All to next-of-kin in equal degree to intestate.
Child, and grandchild by deceased child	{ Half to child, half to grandchild, who takes by representation.
Husband	{ Whole to him.
Father, and brother or sister	{ Whole to father.
Mother, and brother or sister	{ Whole to them equally.
Wife, mother, brothers, sisters, and nieces (daughters of deceased brother or sister)	{ Up to £500, all to wife; all above the first £500, in each case, half to wife, residue to mother, brothers, sisters, and nieces.
Wife, and father	{ Up to £500, all to wife; all above the first £500, in each case, half to wife, and half to father.
Wife, brothers or sisters, and mother	{ Up to £500, all to wife; all above the first £500, in each case, half to wife, half to brothers or sisters and mother.
Mother, but no wife, child, father, brother, sister, nephew, or niece	{ The whole to mother.
Wife, and mother	{ Up to £500, all to wife; all above the first £500, in each case, half to wife, half to mother.

RULES BY WHICH THE PERSONAL ESTATES OF PERSONS DYING INTESTATE ARE DISTRIBUTED—continued.

If the Intestate die, leaving

His representatives take in the proportion following:—

Brother or sister of whole blood, and brother or sister of half blood.....	Equally to both.
Posthumous brother or sister, and mother	Equally to both.
Posthumous brother or sister, and brother or sister born in lifetime of father	Equally to both.
Father's father and mother's mother	Equally to both.
Uncle or aunt's children, and brother or sister's grandchildren.....	Equally to all.
Grandmother uncle, or aunt	All to grandmother.
Two aunts, nephew and niece	Equally to all.
Uncle, and deceased uncle's child	All to uncle.
Uncle by mother's side, and deceased uncle or aunt's child	All to uncle.
Nephew by brother, and nephew by half-sister	Equally <i>per capita</i> .*
Nephew by deceased brother, and nephews and nieces by deceased sister	Each in equal shares <i>per capita</i> , and not <i>per stirpes</i> .
Brother, and grandfather	Whole to brother.
Brother's grandson, and brother or sister's daughter	All to brother.
Brother, and two aunts	All to brother.
Brother, and wife	{ Up to £500, all to wife; all above the first £500, in each case, half to brother, half to wife.
Wife, mother, and children of a deceased brother (or sister)	{ Up to £500, all to wife; all above the first £500, in each case, half to wife, a fourth to mother, and a fourth <i>per stirpes</i> to deceased brother's or sister's children.
Wife, brother, or sister, and children of a deceased brother or sister	{ Up to £500, all to wife; all above the first £500, in each case, half to wife, one-fourth to brother or sister, one-fourth to deceased brother's or sister's children <i>per stirpes</i> .
Brother or sister, and children of a deceased brother or sister.....	{ Half to brother or sister, half to children of deceased brother or sister <i>per stirpes</i> .
Grandfather, no nearer relation.....	All to grandfather.

* That is, taking individually, and not by representation. Thus, if A die, leaving three brothers or sisters, they each take an equal part of his effects in his or her own right. But if either of them die, leaving children, his children would take his share *per stirpes*, that is *through him*, and not in their own rights.

By the Act 19 and 20 Vict., cap. 94, all special *local* customs relating to the estates of intestates are abolished so far as they affect personal property.

RULES OF DIVISION, ACCORDING TO THE LAW OF SCOTLAND, OF THE MOVABLE ESTATE OF A PERSON WHO HAS DIED INTESTATE.

If a person die, leaving

His movable estate is divided in the following proportions:—

Wife.....	Half to wife, other half to deceased's next-of-kin.
Wife and child, or children	{ One-third to wife, remaining two-thirds to child, or among children equally.
Wife and children, and issue of predeceasing children	{ One-third to wife, one-third to children equally, and the remaining third between the children and the issue of the predeceasing children—the children taking <i>per capita</i> , the latter <i>per stirpes</i> .*
Wife and grandchildren.....	Half to wife, and half to grandchildren equally among them.
Wife, and his children by former marriages.....	One-third to wife, two-thirds to children equally.
Wife, and her children by last and prior marriages.....	One-third to wife, remaining two-thirds to deceased's children.
Children	Whole to children.
Children, and issue of predeceasing children	{ Half to children, remaining half between children <i>per capita</i> , and issue <i>per stirpes</i> .
Grandchildren	Equally to all.
Children by two or more marriages	Equally to all.
Father	Whole to father.
Mother	One-third to mother, other two-thirds to next-of-kin.

* *Per capita*, i.e., by the head; *per stirpes* (by descent), i.e., through their parent and not in their own right. Where property divides *per capita*, it is divided into as many shares as there are children; where *per stirpes*, the share which would have fallen to the predeceasing parent if alive is divided equally among his children.

RULES OF DIVISION, ACCORDING TO THE LAW OF SCOTLAND, OF THE MOVABLE
ESTATE OF A PERSON WHO HAS DIED INTESTATE—*continued.*

If a person die, leaving

His movable estate is divided in the following proportions:—

Father and mother.....	Whole to father.
Father and mother, and brothers and sisters.....	Half to father, half to brothers and sisters equally.
Mother, and brothers and sisters.....	One-third to mother, remaining two-thirds to brothers and sisters.
Father, mother, brothers, or sisters, and issue of deceased brothers or sisters.....	{ Half to father, half to brothers and sisters <i>per capita</i> , and issue <i>per stirpes</i> .
Mother, brothers, or sisters, and issue of deceased brothers or sisters.....	One-third to mother, remaining two-thirds as in last example.
Father and mother, and their grandchildren.....	Half to father, other half to grandchildren equally.
Mother, and her grandchildren.....	One-third to mother, other two-thirds to grandchildren equally.
Father, mother, children, and grandchildren of deceased brothers or sisters.....	{ Half to father, other half between children <i>per capita</i> , and grandchildren <i>per stirpes</i> .
Mother, children, and grandchildren of deceased brothers or sisters.....	{ One-third to mother, other two-thirds among children <i>per capita</i> , and grandchildren <i>per stirpes</i> .
Brothers or sisters.....	Equally among them.
Brothers or sisters, and nephews or nieces.....	Brothers or sisters <i>per capita</i> , nephews or nieces <i>per stirpes</i> .
Nephews or nieces.....	Equally.
Grandnephews or nieces.....	Equally.
Brothers or sisters of full blood, and brothers or sisters of half-blood.....	Whole to brothers and sisters of full blood.
Brothers or sisters consanguinean (that is, by same father but not same mother) and brothers or sisters uterine (that is, by same mother but not by same father).....	Whole to brothers and sisters consanguinean.

RULES OF DIVISION, ACCORDING TO THE LAW OF SCOTLAND, OF THE MOVABLE ESTATE OF A PERSON WHO HAS DIED INTESTATE—*continued.*

If a person die, leaving

His movable estate is divided in the following proportions:—

Brothers or sisters consanguinean, and uncles or aunts	Whole to brothers and sisters.
Brothers and sisters uterine, and uncles or aunts	Half to brothers and sisters, other half to uncles and aunts.
Father, mother, and uncles and aunts	Whole to father.
Father, and cousins of full blood	Whole to father.
Mother, and uncles or aunts	One-third to mother, two-thirds to uncles and aunts.
Mother, and cousins of full blood	One-third to mother, two-thirds to cousins equally.
Grandfather, and uncles and aunts	Whole to uncles and aunts.
Grandfather, grandmother, and mother	One-third to mother, two-thirds to grandfather.

Where a wife dies, survived by

Her movable estate is divided in the following proportions:—

Husband	Half to husband, other half to next-of-kin.
Husband and children	One-third to husband, rest to children.
Children only	Whole to children.
Children, and issue of deceased children	{ Half to children, other half among children <i>per capita</i> , and issue <i>per stirpes</i> .
Children by two or more marriages	Equally to all.

Illegitimate children do not succeed to their father and mother, when the latter leave no will in their favour. When an illegitimate child dies without a will, and leaves neither wife nor children, his estate falls to the Crown.

EXPECTATION OF LIFE.

EXPECTATION OF LIFE TABLES were constructed by the late Dr. Farr, of the General Register Office, and were calculated on the death-rates of 1838-54; but since that time very important changes have occurred in the death-rates at different ages; and, consequently, new tables have been constructed by Dr. W. Ogle, who succeeded Dr. Farr, on the basis of the death-rates of 1871-80. The following table gives the results both of the older and the later calculations; the first two columns in the male and female parts, respectively, giving the survivors at each year of life out of a million born of the corresponding sex, by the older and the newer calculation, and the two other columns giving similarly the expectation of life at each year.

AGE.	MALES.				FEMALES.				AGE.
	OF 1,000,000 BORN, THE NUMBER SURVIVING AT THE END OF EACH YEAR OF LIFE.		MEAN AFTER-LIFETIME (EXPECTATION OF LIFE).		OF 1,000,000 BORN, THE NUMBER SURVIVING AT THE END OF EACH YEAR OF LIFE.		MEAN AFTER-LIFETIME (EXPECTATION OF LIFE).		
	1838-54.	1871-80.	1838-54.	1871-80.	1838-54.	1871-80.	1838-54.	1871-80.	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Column.									Column.
0	1,000,000	1,000,000	39-91	41-35	1,000,000	1,000,000	41-85	44-62	0
1	836,405	841,417	46-65	48-05	865,288	871,266	47-31	50-14	1
2	782,626	790,201	48-83	50-14	811,711	820,480	49-40	52-22	2
3	754,849	763,737	49-61	50-86	782,990	793,359	50-20	52-99	3
4	736,845	746,587	49-81	51-01	764,060	775,427	50-43	53-20	4
5	723,716	734,068	49-71	50-87	750,550	762,622	50-33	53-08	5
6	713,881	726,815	49-39	50-38	740,584	755,713	50-00	52-56	6
7	706,156	721,103	48-92	49-77	732,771	750,276	49-53	51-94	7
8	699,688	716,309	48-37	49-10	726,116	745,631	48-98	51-26	8
9	694,346	712,337	47-74	48-37	720,537	741,727	48-35	50-53	9
10	689,857	708,990	47-05	47-60	715,769	738,382	47-67	49-76	10
11	685,982	706,146	46-31	46-79	711,581	735,405	46-95	48-96	11
12	682,512	703,595	45-54	45-96	707,770	732,697	46-20	48-13	12
13	679,256	701,200	44-76	45-11	704,155	730,122	45-44	47-30	13
14	676,057	698,840	43-97	44-26	700,581	727,571	44-66	46-47	14

15	673,776	696,419	43-18	43-41	696,917	724,956	43-90	45-63	15
16	689,296	693,695	42-40	42-58	693,050	722,084	43-14	44-81	16
17	685,529	690,746	41-64	41-76	688,894	718,993	42-40	44-00	17
18	661,402	687,507	40-90	40-96	684,378	715,622	41-67	43-21	18
19	656,868	683,941	40-17	40-17	679,463	711,946	40-97	42-43	19
20	651,903	680,033	39-48	39-40	674,119	707,949	40-29	41-66	20
21	646,502	675,769	38-80	38-64	668,345	703,616	39-63	40-92	21
22	641,028	671,344	38-13	37-89	662,474	699,141	38-98	40-18	22
23	635,486	666,754	37-46	37-15	656,509	694,521	38-33	39-44	23
24	629,882	661,997	36-79	36-41	650,463	689,759	37-68	38-71	24
25	624,221	657,077	36-12	35-68	644,342	684,858	37-04	37-98	25
26	618,503	651,398	35-44	34-96	638,148	679,822	36-39	37-26	26
27	612,731	646,757	34-77	34-24	631,891	674,661	35-75	36-54	27
28	606,906	641,353	34-10	33-52	625,575	669,372	35-10	35-83	28
29	601,026	635,778	33-43	32-81	619,201	663,959	34-46	35-11	29
30	595,089	630,038	32-76	32-10	612,774	658,418	33-81	34-41	30
31	589,094	624,124	32-09	31-40	606,296	652,747	33-17	33-70	31
32	583,086	618,056	31-42	30-71	599,769	646,957	32-53	33-00	32
33	576,912	611,827	30-74	30-01	593,196	641,045	31-88	32-30	33
34	570,716	605,430	30-07	29-33	586,575	635,003	31-23	31-60	34
35	564,441	598,860	29-40	28-64	579,908	628,842	30-59	30-90	35
36	558,083	592,107	28-73	27-96	573,192	622,554	29-94	30-21	36
37	555,167	585,167	28-06	27-29	566,431	616,144	29-29	29-52	37
38	545,084	578,019	27-39	26-62	559,619	609,599	28-64	28-83	38
39	538,428	570,656	26-72	25-96	552,758	602,924	27-99	28-15	39
40	531,657	563,077	26-06	25-30	545,844	596,113	27-34	27-46	40
41	524,761	555,254	25-39	24-65	538,876	589,167	26-69	26-78	41
42	517,784	547,288	24-73	24-00	531,849	582,104	26-03	26-10	42
43	510,567	539,161	24-07	23-35	524,765	574,919	25-38	25-42	43
44	503,247	530,858	23-41	22-71	517,617	567,612	24-72	24-74	44

EXPECTATION OF LIFE—continued.

EXPECTATION OF LIFE—continued.									
AGE.	MALES.				FEMALES.				AGE.
	OF 1,000,000 BORN, THE NUMBER SURVIVING AT THE END OF EACH YEAR OF LIFE.		MEAN AFTER-LIFETIME (EXPECTATION OF LIFE).		OF 1,000,000 BORN, THE NUMBER SURVIVING AT THE END OF EACH YEAR OF LIFE.		MEAN AFTER-LIFETIME (EXPECTATION OF LIFE).		
	1898-54.	1871-80.	3	4	1898-54.	1871-80.	5	6	
	1	2							
Column.									Column.
45	495,770	522,374	22-76	22-07	510,403	560,174	24-06	24-06	45
46	488,126	513,702	22-11	21-44	503,122	552,602	23-40	23-38	46
47	480,308	504,836	21-46	20-80	495,768	544,892	22-74	22-71	47
48	472,306	495,761	20-82	20-18	488,339	537,043	22-08	22-03	48
49	464,114	486,479	20-17	19-55	480,833	529,048	21-42	21-36	49
50	455,727	476,980	19-54	18-93	473,245	520,901	20-75	20-68	50
51	447,139	467,254	18-90	18-31	465,572	512,607	20-09	20-01	51
52	438,099	457,022	18-28	17-71	457,814	504,188	19-42	19-34	52
53	428,801	446,510	17-67	17-12	449,966	495,645	18-75	18-66	53
54	419,256	435,729	17-06	16-53	442,047	486,973	18-08	17-98	54
55	409,460	424,677	16-45	15-95	433,331	477,440	17-43	17-33	55
56	399,408	413,351	15-86	15-37	424,239	467,443	16-79	16-69	56
57	389,088	401,740	15-26	14-80	414,761	456,932	16-17	16-06	57
58	378,481	389,827	14-68	14-24	404,895	446,079	15-55	15-45	58
59	367,570	377,591	14-10	13-68	394,636	434,695	14-94	14-84	59
60	356,330	365,011	13-53	13-14	383,974	422,835	14-34	14-24	60
61	344,744	352,071	12-96	12-60	372,895	410,477	13-75	13-65	61
62	332,789	338,820	12-41	12-07	361,387	397,644	13-17	13-08	62
63	320,451	325,256	11-87	11-56	349,436	384,319	12-60	12-51	63
64	307,720	311,368	11-34	11-05	337,031	370,495	12-05	11-96	64
65	294,588	297,156	10-82	10-55	324,165	356,165	11-51	11-42	65
66	281,064	282,638	10-32	10-07	310,833	341,326	10-98	10-90	66
67	267,160	267,829	9-83	9-60	297,048	325,988	10-47	10-39	67
68	252,901	252,763	9-36	9-14	282,819	310,170	9-97	9-89	68
69	238,328	237,487	8-90	8-70	268,177	293,899	9-48	9-41	69

70	223,490	222,056	845	827	253,161	277,225	902	895	70
71	208,453	206,539	808	785	237,822	260,207	857	850	71
72	193,297	190,971	762	745	222,280	242,934	813	807	72
73	178,114	175,449	722	707	206,464	225,497	771	765	73
74	163,003	160,074	685	670	190,620	208,003	731	725	74
75	148,076	144,960	649	634	174,800	190,566	693	687	75
76	133,453	130,227	615	600	150,126	173,316	656	651	76
77	119,251	115,986	582	568	143,722	156,392	621	616	77
78	105,592	102,359	551	537	128,711	139,927	588	582	78
79	92,587	89,449	521	507	114,223	124,065	556	550	79
80	80,343	77,354	493	479	100,394	108,935	526	520	80
81	68,946	66,153	466	451	87,323	94,662	498	490	81
82	58,471	55,842	441	426	75,119	81,305	471	463	82
83	48,970	46,489	417	401	63,862	68,966	445	437	83
84	40,471	38,132	395	378	53,615	57,723	421	412	84
85	32,979	30,785	373	356	44,419	47,631	398	388	85
86	26,476	24,486	353	336	36,284	38,710	376	366	86
87	20,926	19,054	334	317	29,202	30,958	356	346	87
88	16,268	14,576	316	299	23,135	24,388	336	326	88
89	12,428	10,926	300	282	18,027	18,788	318	308	89
90	9,321	8,015	284	266	13,802	14,225	301	290	90
91	6,859	5,748	269	251	10,376	10,553	285	274	91
92	4,946	4,025	255	237	7,650	7,658	270	258	92
93	3,492	2,749	241	224	5,526	5,429	255	244	93
94	2,411	1,823	229	212	3,908	3,756	242	230	94
95	1,628	1,183	217	201	2,704	2,533	229	217	95
96	1,071	742	206	190	1,827	1,661	217	211	96
97	688	452	195	181	1,204	1,057	206	203	97
98	430	266	185	172	774	658	196	183	98
99	262	151	176	165	483	389	186	173	99
100	154	82	168	161	295	225	176	162	100

THE KING AND ROYAL FAMILY.

THE KING.—EDWARD VII., of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, &c., King, Defender of the Faith. His Majesty was born November 9, 1841, and married, March 10, 1863, Alexandra of Denmark, born December 1, 1844; succeeded to the throne, January 22, 1901, on the death of his mother, Queen Victoria. The children of His Majesty are:—

1. His Royal Highness Prince Albert Victor, Duke of Clarence and Avondale, born January 8, 1864; died January 14, 1892.

2. His Royal Highness George Frederick Ernest Albert, PRINCE OF WALES, born June 3, 1865, married his cousin Princess Victoria May (Princess of Wales), only daughter of the Duke of Teck, July 6, 1893; has four children—Edward, born June 23, 1894; Albert, December 14, 1895; Victoria Alexandra, April 25, 1897; and Henry William Frederick Albert, March 31, 1900.

3. Her Royal Highness Louisa Victoria Alexandra Dagmar, born February 20, 1867, married, July 27, 1889, Alexander William George, Duke of Fife; has two daughters, born October 3, 1891, and April 3, 1893.

4. Her Royal Highness Victoria Alexandra Olga Mary, born July 6, 1868.

5. Her Royal Highness Maud Charlotte Mary Victoria, born November 26, 1869, married H.R.H. Prince Charles of Denmark, 1896.

6. His Royal Highness Alexander John Charles Albert, born April 6, 1871; died April 7, 1871.

PARLIAMENTS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

	Assembled.	Dissolved.	Duration.		Assembled.	Dissolved.	Duration.
			Yrs. m. d.				Yrs. m. d.
	GEORGE III.				VICTORIA.		
1	Sept. 27, 1796*	June 23, 1802	5 9 2	13	Nov. 15, 1837	June 23, 1841	3 7 8
2	Oct. 29, 1802	Oct. 25, 1806	3 11 27	14	Aug. 19, 1841	July 23, 1847	5 11 4
3	Dec. 15, 1806	April 23, 1807	0 4 14	15	Nov. 18, 1847	July 1, 1852	4 7 13
4	June 22, 1807	Sept. 29, 1812	5 3 7	16	Nov. 4, 1852	Mar. 21, 1857	4 4 17
5	Nov. 24, 1812	June 10, 1818	5 6 16	17	April 30, 1857	April 23, 1859	1 11 23
6	Jan. 14, 1819	Feb. 29, 1820	1 1 15	18	May 31, 1859	July 6, 1865	6 1 6
				19	Feb. 1, 1866	Nov. 11, 1868	2 9 10
	GEORGE IV.			20	Dec. 10, 1868	Jan. 26, 1874	5 1 16
7	April 23, 1820	June 2, 1826	6 1 9	21	Mar. 5, 1874	Mar. 25, 1880	6 0 20
8	Nov. 14, 1826	July 24, 1830	3 8 10	22	April 29, 1880	Nov. 18, 1885	5 6 20
				23	Jan. 12, 1886	June 25, 1886	0 5 5
	WILLIAM IV.			24	Aug. 5, 1886	June 23, 1892	5 10 24
9	Oct. 26, 1830	April 22, 1831	0 5 27	25	Aug. 4, 1892	July 24, 1895	2 11 20
10	June 14, 1831	Dec. 3, 1832	1 5 9	26	Aug. 12, 1895	Sept. 25, 1900	5 1 13
11	Jan. 29, 1833	Dec. 30, 1834	1 11 1		Dec. 3, 1900		
12	Feb. 19, 1835	July 17, 1837	2 4 28	27	Jan. 22, 1901		
					EDWARD VII.		
					Jan. 22, 1901		

* Parliament first met after the Union with Ireland, January 22, 1801.

LIST OF ADMINISTRATIONS IN THE LAST CENTURY.

Date.	Prime Minister.	Duration.	Chancellor.	Exchequer.	Home Secretary.	Foreign Sec.
Dec. 23, 1783	William Pitt	Yrs. Dys. 17 84	{Thurlow .. {Loughboro	William Pitt ..	Portland	Grenville.
Mar. 17, 1801	Hy. Addington ..	3 59	Eldon	H. Addington..	{Portland, Pel {ham, C. Yorke	Hawkesbury.
May 15, 1804	William Pitt	1 272	Eldon	William Pitt ..	Hawkesbury ..	{Harrowby. {Mulgrave.
Feb. 11, 1806	Lord Grenville ..	1 48	Erskine....	Lord H. Petty.	Spencer ..	{Chas. J. Fox. {Visct. Howick.
Mar. 31, 1807	Duke of Portland.	2 246	Eldon	S. Perceval ..	Hawkesbury ..	G. Canning.
Dec. 2, 1809	Spencer Perceval.	2 190	Eldon	S. Perceval ..	R. Ryder	{Bathurst. {Wellesley.
June 9, 1812	Earl of Liverpool.	14 319	Eldon	{N. Vansittart. {F. J. Robinson.	Sidmouth	Castlereagh. G. Canning.
Apr. 24, 1827	George Canning ..	0 134	Lyndhurst.	G. Canning ..	{Sturges Bourne. {Lansdowne	Dudley.
Sept. 5, 1827	Visct. Goderich ..	0 142	Lyndhurst.	J. C. Herries ..	Lansdowne	Dudley.
Jan. 25, 1828	D. of Wellington..	2 301	Lyndhurst.	H. Goulburn ..	Robert Peel....	{Dudley. {Aberdeen.
Nov. 22, 1830	Earl Grey.....	3 238	Brougham.	Althorp	Melbourne	Palmerston.
July 18, 1834	Visct. Melbourne.	0 161	Brougham.	Althorp	Duncannon	Palmerston
Dec. 26, 1834	Sir Robert Peel ..	0 113	Lyndhurst.	Sir R. Peel....	H. Goulburn ..	Wellington
Apr. 18, 1835	Visct. Melbourne.	6 141	{In Comm.. {Cottenham.	T. S. Rice..... F. T. Barrington.	Lord J. Russell ..	Palmerston.
Sept. 6, 1841	Sir Robert Peel ..	4 303	Lyndhurst.	H. Goulburn ..	Sir J. Graham ..	Aberdeen.
July 6, 1846	Ld. John Russell.	5 236	{Cottenham. {Truro.....	Sir C. Wood ..	Sir George Grey	{Palmerston. {Granville.
Feb. 27, 1852	Earl of Derby....	0 305	St Leonards	B. Disraeli	S. H. Walpole..	Malmesbury.
Dec. 28, 1852	Earl of Aberdeen.	2 44	Cranworth..	W. Gladstone..	Palmerston	{Lord J. Russell. {Clarendon.
Feb. 10, 1855	Lord Palmerston.	3 15	Cranworth..	{W. Gladstone.. {Sir G. C. Lewis.	Sir George Grey	Clarendon.
Feb. 25, 1858	Earl of Derby....	1 113	Chelmsford.	B. Disraeli	S. H. Walpole..	Malmesbury
June 18, 1859	Lord Palmerston.	6 141	{Campbell .. {Westbury..	W. Gladstone..	{Sir G. C. Lewis.. {Sir George Grey	Russell.
Nov. 6, 1865	Earl Russell	0 242	Cranworth..	W. Gladstone.	Sir George Grey	Clarendon.
July 6, 1866	Earl of Derby....	1 236	Chelmsford.	B. Disraeli	{S. H. Walpole.. {Gathorne Hardy	Stanley.
Feb. 27, 1868	Benjamin Disraeli	0 285	Cairns	G. W. Hunt ..	G. Hardy	Stanley.
Dec. 9, 1868	W. E. Gladstone..	5 74	{Hatherley.. {Selborne ..	Robert Lowe .. W. E. Gladstone.	H. A. Bruce	Clarendon. Granville.
Feb. 21, 1874	{Benjamin Disraeli {Earl Beaconsfield.	6 67	Cairns	S. Northcote ..	R. A. Cross	{Derby. {Salisbury.
Apr. 28, 1880	W. E. Gladstone..	5 57	Selborne ..	{W. Gladstone.. {H.C.E. Childers	Sir W. Harcourt	Granville.
June 24, 1885	Marq. of Salisbury	0 227	Halsbury ..	Hicks-Beach..	R. A. Cross	Salisbury.
Feb. 7, 1886	W. E. Gladstone..	0 139	Herschel ..	W. V. Harcourt	H. C. E. Childers	Rosebery.
July 24, 1886	Marq. of Salisbury	6 17	Halsbury ..	{Lord Churchill {G. J. Goschen..	H. Matthews ..	{Idesleigh. {Salisbury.
Aug. 15, 1892	W. E. Gladstone..	2 313	Herschel ..	W. V. Harcourt	H. H. Asquith..	{Rosebery. {Kimberley
Mar. 3, 1894	Earl of Rosebery..					
June 24, 1895	Marq. of Salisbury	..	Halsbury ..	Hicks-Beach..	{Sir M. W. Ridley {C. T. Ritchie ..	{Salisbury. {Lansdowne.
July 12, 1902	A. J. Balfour ....	..	Halsbury ..	C. T. Ritchie..	A. Akers Douglas	Lansdowne.

HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTERS.

Prime Minister and Lord Privy Seal	} Rt. Hon. A. J. BALFOUR.
First Lord of the Treasury	
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs	MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE.
Lord President of the Council	DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.
Lord Chancellor	LORD HALSBURY.
Secretary for India	LORD G. HAMILTON.
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Rt. Hon. C. T. RITCHIE.
Home Secretary	Rt. Hon. AKERS DOUGLAS.
Secretary for the Colonies	Rt. Hon. J. CHAMBERLAIN.
Secretary for War	Rt. Hon. ST. JOHN BRODRICK.
Secretary for Scotland	LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH.
First Lord of the Admiralty	EARL OF SELBORNE.
President of the Board of Trade	Rt. Hon. G. BALFOUR.
President of the Board of Education	MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.
President of the Local Government Board	Rt. Hon. W. H. LONG.
Lord Chancellor of Ireland	LORD ASHBOURNE.
Chief Secretary for Ireland	Rt. Hon. G. WYNDHAM.
President of the Board of Agriculture	Rt. Hon. R. W. HANBURY.
Postmaster-General	Rt. Hon. A. CHAMBERLAIN.

The above form the Cabinet.

Lord Lieutenant of Ireland	EARL OF DUDLEY.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	Rt. Hon. Sir W. WALROND.
First Commissioner of Works	LORD WINDSOR.
Junior Lords of the Treasury	{ H. T. ANSTRUTHER.
	{ H. W. FORSTER.
	{ AILWYN FELLOWES.
Financial Secretary to the Treasury	W. HAYES FISHER.
Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury	Sir A. ACLAND HOOD.
Under Secretary for the Home Department	Hon. J. COCHRANE.
Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs	VISCOUNT CRANBOURNE.
Under Secretary for the Colonies	EARL OF ONSLOW.
Under Secretary for India	EARL PERCY.
Parliamentary Secretary of the Board of Trade	A. BONAR LAW.
Parliamentary Secretary of the Local Govern- ment Board	} GRANT LAWSON.
Parliamentary Secretary of the Board of Education	
Secretary to the Admiralty	H. O. ARNOLD-FOSTER.

HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTERS—*continued.*

Under Secretary for the War Office	EARL OF HARDWICKE.
Financial Secretary to the War Office	LORD STANLEY.
Civil Lord to the Admiralty	CAPT. E. G. PRETYMAN.
Attorney-General.....	SIR R. B. FINLAY.
Solicitor-General	SIR E. CARSON.
Lord Advocate for Scotland	RT. HON. A. G. MURRAY.
Solicitor-General for Scotland	C. SCOTT DICKSON.
Attorney-General for Ireland	RT. HON. JOHN ATKINSON.
Solicitor-General for Ireland.....	J. H. M. CAMPBELL.
Paymaster-General	DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.
Naval Lords of the Admiralty	(VICE-ADMIRAL LORD W. T. KERR.
	SIR J. FISHER.
	REAR-ADMIRAL W. H. MAY.
	REAR-ADMIRAL J. DURNFORD.

PRIME MINISTERS SINCE 1834.

Sir Robert Peel....	December 15, 1834	Mr. Gladstone.....	December 9, 1868
Viscount Melbourne....	April 18, 1835	Earl Beaconsfield ..	February 21, 1874
Sir Robert Peel.....	August 31, 1841	Mr. Gladstone	April 29, 1880
Lord John Russell	July 6, 1846	and Ch. of Ex. to April, 1883.	
Earl of Derby	February 27, 1852	Marquis of Salisbury ..	June 24, 1885
Earl of Aberdeen..	December 28, 1852	Mr. Gladstone	February 2, 1886
Viscount Palmerston	February 26, 1855	Marquis of Salisbury..	August 3, 1886
Earl of Derby	February 26, 1858	Mr. Gladstone	August 15, 1892
Viscount Palmerston ..	June 18, 1859	Earl Rosebery	March 3, 1894
Earl Russell	October 28, 1865	Marquis of Salisbury ..	June 25, 1895
Earl of Derby	July 8, 1866	Mr. A. J. Balfour	July 12, 1902
Mr. Disraeli.	March to December, 1868		

Twenty-one changes of Governments have taken place since the beginning of 1834, but in that time only ten men have been Premiers, and of these the Marquis of Salisbury and Earl Rosebery are the sole survivors. Mr. Gladstone had been Premier longer than any other statesman since the Earl of Liverpool, who held office nearly fifteen years in succession.

In 1885 the number of members of the Lower House was finally fixed at 670, as against 658 in previous years; England returning 465, Wales 30, Scotland 72, and Ireland 103 members. The previous distribution had been—England 469, Wales 30, Scotland 60, and Ireland 103 seats. There are now 377 county members, as against 283; 284 borough members, as against 360; and 9 University members, as against 9.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

AS ELECTED OCTOBER, 1900,

WITH CORRECTIONS TO NOVEMBER 20th, 1902.

Constituencies.	Members.	Politics.		Population in 1901.	Total Number of Electors in 1902.
		Conservative	Liberal.		
BEDFORD (3).					
<i>County Divisions (2).</i>					
Biggleswade, or N.	Lord A. Compton.....	1	..	62,496	13,734
Luton, or S.	T. G. Ashton.....	..	1	73,609	13,529
		1	1	136,105	27,263
<i>Borough (1).</i>					
Bedford	C. G. Pym.....	1	..	35,144	5,081
		2	1	171,249	32,344
BERKS. (5).					
<i>County Divisions (3).</i>					
Abingdon, or N.	A. K. Lloyd	1	..	45,999	8,705
Newbury, or S.	W. G. Mount	1	..	55,240	10,588
Wokingham, or E.	Ernest Gardiner	1	..	67,634	11,652
		3	..	168,873	30,945
<i>Boroughs (2).</i>					
Reading	G. W. Palmer .....	..	1	65,468	10,484
Windsor (New).....	Sir F. T. Barry	1	..	21,477	3,103
		4	1	255,818	44,532
BUCKS. (3).					
<i>County Divisions (3).</i>					
Aylesbury, or M.	Hon. Lionel Rothschild	1	..	56,742	11,459
Buckingham, or N.	W. W. Carlile	1	..	59,303	11,898
Wycombe, or S.	W. H. Grenfell.....	1	..	76,244	13,679
		3	..	192,289	37,036
CAMBRIDGE (4).					
<i>County Divisions (3).</i>					
Chesterton, or W.....	Capt. W. R. Green	1	..	43,813	10,397
Newmarket, or E.	Col. H. Mc.Calmont	1	..	48,350	9,538
Wisbech, or N.....	Hon. A. Brand .....	..	1	51,287	10,357
		2	1	142,950	30,292
<i>Borough (1).</i>					
Cambridge	R. U. P. Fitzgerald	1	..	47,737	8,413
		3	1	190,687	38,705

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Constituencies.	Members.	Politics.		Population in 1901.	Total Number of Electors in 1902.
		Conservative	Liberal.		
CHESTER (13). <i>County Divisions (8).</i>					
Altrincham.	C. R. Disraeli	1	..	78,796	14,064
Crewe	J. Tomkinson .....	..	1	74,545	13,905
Eddisbury	H. J. Tollemache.....	1	..	54,292	10,488
Hyde.	E. Chapman	1	..	60,931	10,690
Knutsford.....	Hon. A. de T. Egerton ..	1	..	60,199	10,339
Macclesfield	W. Bromley-Davenport	1	..	51,700	8,472
Northwich.....	Sir J. T. Brunner .....	..	1	69,099	12,240
Wirral.....	J. Houlst	1	..	100,830	16,414
		6	2	550,392	96,612
<i>Boroughs (5).</i>					
Birkenhead	Sir Elliot Lees.....	1	..	110,926	15,555
Chester	R. A. Yerburgh.....	1	..	46,204	7,549
Stalybridge.....	M. White Ridley.....	1	..	46,558	7,565
Stockport (2)..... {	Sir J. Leigh .....	..	1	78,871	12,551
	B. V. Melville	1	..		
		10	3	832,951	139,832
CORNWALL (7). <i>County Divisions (6).</i>					
Bodmin, or S.E.	Sir L. W. Molesworth	1	..	55,480	10,386
Camborne, or N.W.	W. S. Caine .....	..	1	52,925	8,605
Launceston, or N.E.	F. Moulton .....	..	1	45,391	9,881
St. Austell, or M.	W. A. McArthur .....	..	1	51,971	10,038
St. Ives, or W.	E. Hain.....	1	..	51,318	8,452
Truro	Sir E. Lawrence	1	..	49,576	9,441
		3	3	306,661	56,803
<i>Borough (1).</i>					
Penryn and Falmouth..	F. J. Horniman .....	..	1	16,296	2,799
		3	4	322,957	59,602
CUMBERLAND (6). <i>County Divisions (4).</i>					
Cockermouth.....	J. S. Randles	1	..	62,121	11,116
Egremont, or W.	J. R. Bain	1	..	52,604	9,368
Eskdale, or N.	C. W. Lowther.....	1	..	46,310	10,132
Penrith, or M.	J. W. Lowther	1	..	43,369	8,797
		4	..	204,404	39,413
<i>Boroughs (2).</i>					
Carlisle	*W. C. Gully, K.C.....	..	..	43,687	7,065
Whitehaven	A. Heider	1	..	18,830	3,038
		5	..	266,921	49,516

* Speaker.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Constituencies.	Members.	Politics.		Population in 1901.	Total Number of Electors in 1902.
		Conservative	Liberal.		
DERBY (9).					
County Divisions (7).					
Chesterfield	T. Bayley .....	..	1	82,486	13,159
High Peak	O. Partington .....	..	1	63,272	10,593
Ilkeston	Sir W. B. Foster .....	..	1	84,914	15,255
Mid	J. A. Jacoby .....	..	1	67,384	11,811
North-Eastern	T. D. Bolton .....	..	1	81,187	13,848
Southern	J. Gretton	1	..	76,493	15,153
Western	V. C. Cavendish	1	..	58,675	10,954
		2	5	514,411	90,773
Boroughs (2).					
Derby (2)..... {	Sir T. Roe.....	..	1	105,785	18,963
	R. Bell (Labour) .....	..	1		
		2	7	620,196	109,736
DEVON (13).					
County Divisions (8).					
Ashburton, or M	C. Seale Hayne.....	..	1	53,315	9,904
Barnstaple, or N.W. ..	E. J. Soares .....	..	1	62,695	12,180
Honiton, or E.	Sir J. Kennaway.....	1	..	51,518	9,299
South Molton, or N. ..	G. Lambert .....	..	1	42,627	8,628
Tavistock, or W.	F. W. Spear	1	..	56,934	12,382
Tiverton, or N.E.	Sir W. Walrond	1	..	50,562	8,943
Torquay	F. L. Barratt .....	..	1	59,405	9,702
Totnes, or S.	F. B. Mildmay	1	..	46,784	8,950
		4	4	423,840	79,988
Boroughs (5).					
Devonport (2)..... {	Hudson Kearley .....	..	1	78,059	8,946
	J. Lockie	1	..		
Exeter.....	Sir E. Vincent	1	..	53,141	8,875
Plymouth (2)..... {	H. E. Duke	1	..	105,404	14,116
	Hon. Ivor Guest	1	..		
		8	5	660,444	111,925
DORSET (4).					
County Divisions (4).					
Eastern	Hon. H. N. Sturt.....	1	..	62,799	11,930
Northern	J. K. Wingfield Digby	1	..	43,099	8,217
Southern	W. E. Brymer	1	..	61,056	9,543
Western	Lieut.-Colonel R. Williams..	1	..	36,008	7,159
		4	..	202,962	36,849

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Constituencies.	Members.	Politics.		Population in 1901.	Total Number of Electors in 1902.
		Conservative	Liberal.		
DURHAM (16).					
<i>County Divisions (8).</i>					
Barnard Castle	Sir J. W. Pease	1	..	60,497	11,112
Bishop Auckland	J. M. Paulton	1	..	66,223	11,976
Chester-le-Street	Sir J. Joicey, Bt.	1	..	93,175	17,573
Houghton-le-Spring ...	R. Cameron	1	..	79,887	14,708
Jarrow	Sir C. M. Palmer	1	..	92,043	16,360
Mid	J. Wilson	1	..	74,743	13,055
North-Western	L. Atherley-Jones	1	..	82,579	14,449
South-Eastern	Hon. F. W. Lambton	1	..	70,166	15,531
		1	7	619,313	114,764
<i>Boroughs (8).</i>					
Darlington	Pike Pease	1	..	44,496	7,799
Durham	Hon. A. R. D. Elliot	1	..	14,935	2,595
Gateshead	William Allan	1	..	109,887	17,427
Hartlepool	Sir C. Furness	1	..	86,310	13,633
South Shields	W. S. Robson	1	..	97,267	17,204
Stockton	Colonel Ropner	1	..	71,812	11,960
Sunderland (2)	W. T. Doxford	1	..	159,359	25,863
	T. S. G. Pemberton	1	..		
		6	10	1,203,379	211,245
ESSEX (11).					
<i>County Divisions (8).</i>					
Chelmsford, or M.	Major Rasch	1	..	62,647	10,817
Epping, or W.	Colonel A. R. M. Lockwood ..	1	..	58,805	10,368
Harwich, or N.E.	J. Round	1	..	62,691	12,338
Maldon, or E.	Hon. C. H. Strutt	1	..	53,148	10,200
Romford, or S.	L. Sinclair	1	..	217,030	35,948
Saffron Walden, or N. ..	J. A. Pease	1	..	43,042	8,631
South-Eastern	Colonel E. Tufnell	1	..	96,987	16,399
Walthamstow, or S.W. ..	D. J. Morgan	1	..	185,567	28,160
		7	1	779,917	132,861
<i>Boroughs (3).</i>					
Colchester	Sir W. D. Pearson	1	..	38,351	5,837
West Ham, North	E. Gray	1	..	105,722	16,289
„ South	Major G. E. Banes	1	..	161,586	22,490
		9	2	1,085,576	177,477
GLOUCESTER (11).					
<i>County Divisions (5).</i>					
Cirencester, or E.	Hon. A. B. Bathurst	1	..	49,555	9,394
Forest of Dean	Rt. Hon. Sir C. Dilke	1	..	53,258	10,260
Stroud, or M.	C. P. Allen	1	..	54,520	10,389
Tewkesbury, or N.	Sir J. E. Dorington	1	..	51,256	12,271
Thornbury, or S.	C. E. H. A. Colston	1	..	72,727	13,043
		3	2	281,316	55,357

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Constituencies.	Members.	Politics.		Population in 1901.	Total Number of Electors in 1902.
		Conservative	Liberal.		
GLOUCESTER—con.					
<i>Boroughs (6).</i>					
Bristol, East	C. E. Hobhouse .....	..	1	86,553	13,896
„ North	Sir F. Wills	1	..	81,310	12,394
„ South	W. Long	1	..	83,196	13,661
„ West	Sir M. Hicks-Beach	1	..	70,849	8,499
Cheltenham	J. T. Agg-Gardner	1	..	52,858	7,669
Gloucester	R. Rea .....	..	1	45,145	7,686
		7	4	701,227	119,162
HANTS (12).					
<i>County Divisions (6).</i>					
Andover, or W	E. Beckett Faber.....	1	..	52,233	9,493
Basingstoke, or N.	A. F. Jeffreys	1	..	82,968	10,606
Fareham, or S.	Colonel Lee	1	..	81,593	16,442
Isle of Wight.....	Captain Seely	1	..	82,387	14,613
New Forest	Hon. J. Scott Montagu	1	..	52,870	10,403
Petersfield, or E.	W. Nicholson	1	..	50,366	9,040
		6	..	402,417	70,597
<i>Boroughs (6).</i>					
Christchurch.....	K. R. Balfour	1	..	67,924	8,622
Portsmouth (2)	J. A. H. Majendie	1	..	189,122	28,022
	R. Lucas	1	..		
Southampton (2)	T. Chamberlayne.....	1	..	120,302	16,967
	Sir J. B. Simeon	1	..		
Winchester	W. H. Myers	1	..	18,991	2,731
		12	..	798,756	126,939
HEREFORD (3).					
<i>County Divisions (2).</i>					
Leominster, or N.....	Sir J. J. Rankin, Bt.	1	..	44,629	9,461
Ross, or S.	Captain P. Clive	1	..	48,390	10,301
		2	..	93,019	19,762
<i>Borough (1).</i>					
Hereford.....	J. S. Arkwright	1	..	21,382	3,620
		3	..	114,401	23,382
HERTFORD (4).					
<i>County Divisions (4).</i>					
Hertford, or E.....	A. H. Smith	1	..	59,419	10,700
Hitchin, or N.	G. B. Hudson	1	..	47,490	9,525
St. Albans, or M.	Hon. Vicary Gibbs	1	..	63,243	11,358
Watford, or W.	T. F. Halsey.....	1	..	80,198	14,315
		4	..	250,350	45,898

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Constituencies.	Members.	Politics.		Population in 1901.	Total Number of Electors in 1902.
		Conservative	Liberal.		
HUNTINGDON (2). <i>County Divisions (2).</i>					
Huntingdon, or S.	G. Montagu	1	..	22,918	5,189
Ramsey, or N.	Hon. A. E. Fellowes	1	..	31,091	6,958
KENT (19). <i>County Divisions (8).</i>		2	..	54,009	12,147
Ashford, or S.	L. Hardy	1	..	66,913	12,888
Dartford, or N.W.	Rt. Hon. Sir W. Hart-Dyke	1	..	109,896	17,281
Faversham, or N.E.	Captain J. Howard	1	..	76,745	13,793
Isle of Thanet.	Rt. Hon. J. Lowther	1	..	71,518	10,627
Medway, or M.	Col. C. E. Warde	1	..	65,957	13,917
Sevenoaks, or W.	H. W. Forster	1	..	94,799	15,420
St. Augustine's, or E.	Rt. Hon. A. Akers-Douglas ..	1	..	76,250	14,975
Tunbridge, or S.W.	A. Griffith Boscawen	1	..	80,290	13,670
<i>Boroughs (11).</i>		8	..	642,368	112,571
Canterbury.	J. Henniker-Heaton	1	..	24,229	4,010
Chatham	H. D. Davies	1	..	78,746	11,557
Deptford.	A. H. A. Morton	1	..	110,181	14,884
Dover	G. Wyndham	1	..	39,558	6,444
Gravesend	G. Parker	1	..	39,766	5,823
Greenwich	Lord H. Cecil	1	..	95,620	12,657
Hythe.	Sir E. A. Sassoon	1	..	46,663	5,883
Lewisham	J. Penn	1	..	128,313	17,370
Maidstone	Sir Francis Evans .....	..	1	33,516	5,358
Rochester.	Viscount Cranborne	1	..	30,730	5,226
Woolwich.	Lord C. Beresford	1	..	117,157	15,376
LANCASTER (57). <i>County Divisions (23).</i> <i>Northern Part (4).</i>		18	1	1,386,847	217,159
Blackpool.	Worsley Taylor	1	..	111,611	18,237
Chorley.	Lord Balcarras	1	..	77,057	12,663
Lancaster.	N. W. Helme .....	..	1	78,657	13,363
North Lonsdale	R. Cavendish	1	..	50,430	9,762
<i>N.-Eastern Part (4).</i>					
Accrington.	Sir J. F. Leese, K.C. ....	..	1	84,878	14,651
Clitheroe.	D. J. Shackleton .....	..	1	110,864	19,461
Darwen.	J. Rutherford	1	..	78,793	15,639
Rossendale.	W. Mather .....	..	1	71,480	12,361
<i>S.-Eastern Part (8).</i>					
Eccles.	O. L. Clare	1	..	92,812	15,388
Gorton	E. F. G. Hatch	1	..	95,615	15,202
Heywood.	G. Kemp	1	..	57,896	10,161
Middleton	E. B. Fielden	1	..	74,713	13,985
Prestwich	F. Cawley .....	..	1	103,001	17,008
Radcliffe-c'm-Farnworth	T. C. Taylor .....	..	1	78,298	12,606
Stretford.	A. C. Cripps, K.C.	1	..	96,174	20,842
Westhoughton.	Lord Stanley	1	..	97,307	16,574

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Constituencies.	Members.	Politics.		Population in 1901.	Total Number of Electors in 1902.
		Conservative	Liberal.		
LANCASTER—con.					
<i>S.-Western Part (7).</i>					
Bootle	Colonel Sandys	1	..	121,090	18,531
Ince	Colonel Blundell	1	..	79,344	12,503
Leigh	C. P. Scott .....	..	1	79,465	12,611
Newton	Colonel Pilkington	1	..	80,372	12,556
Ormskirk	Hon. A. Stanley	1	..	75,142	11,635
Southport	E. Marshall Hall	1	..	90,224	13,678
Widnes	Col. W. H. Walker	1	..	67,269	9,826
<i>Boroughs (34).</i>					
Ashton-under-Lyne	H. Whiteley	1	..	51,080	7,978
Barrow-in-Furness	Sir C. W. Cayzer	1	..	57,584	7,972
Blackburn (2)	C. H. Hornby	1	..	127,527	19,876
	Sir W. Coddington	1	..		
Bolton (2)	H. Shepherd Cross	1	..	130,602	20,055
	G. Harwood .....	..	1		
Burnley	W. Mitchell	1	..	95,816	15,189
Bury	G. Toulmin .....	..	1	56,408	8,786
Liverpool, Abercromby ..	W. F. Lawrence	1	..	52,418	7,898
" East Toxteth ..	Austin Taylor	1	..	70,425	9,485
" Everton	Sir J. A. Willox	1	..	83,572	10,347
" Exchange	C. M. McArthur	1	..	41,999	6,450
" Kirkdale	David MacIver	1	..	83,257	10,816
" Scotland	T. P. O'Connor (Nationalist) ..	..	1	52,992	6,097
" Walton	J. H. Stock	1	..	89,873	12,884
" West Derby ..	S. W. Higginbottom	1	..	86,694	11,982
" West Toxteth ..	R. P. Houston	1	..	65,800	8,519
Manchester, East	Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour	1	..	94,497	12,816
" North	C. E. Schwann .....	..	1	82,508	10,779
" North-East ..	Rt. Hon. Sir J. Fergusson ..	1	..	71,770	9,858
" North-West ..	Sir W. H. Houldsworth	1	..	68,054	11,146
" South	Hon. W. R. W. Peel	1	..	91,710	12,450
" South-West ..	W. J. Galloway	1	..	66,916	8,782
Oldham (2)	A. Emmott .....	..	1	194,197	30,725
	W. Churchill	1	..		
Preston (2)	R. W. Hanbury	1	..	118,220	17,711
	W. E. M. Tomlinson	1	..		
Rochdale	C. M. Royds	1	..	76,122	13,321
Salford, North	F. Platt-Higgins	1	..	69,750	9,485
" South	J. G. Groves	1	..	65,054	8,781
" West	Lees Knowles	1	..	86,152	12,956
St. Helens	H. Seton-Karr	1	..	80,722	11,246
Warrington	R. Pierpoint	1	..	64,702	9,797
Wigan	Sir F. S. Powell	1	..	60,770	8,481
		45	11	4,389,683	681,911

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Constituencies.	Members.	Politics.		Population in 1901.	Total Number of Electors in 1902.
		Conservative	Liberal.		
LEICESTER (6).					
<i>County Divisions (4).</i>					
Bosworth, or W.	C. B. Mc.Laren .....	..	1	66,892	12,121
Harborough, or S.	J. W. Logan .....	..	1	73,074	16,511
Loughborough, or M. ..	M. Levy .....	..	1	66,162	12,197
Melton, or E.	Lord C. Manners	1	..	76,382	14,532
		1	3	282,510	55,361
<i>Boroughs (2).</i>					
Leicester (2)	H. Broadhurst .....	..	1	151,484	25,575
	Sir J. Rolleston	1	..		
		2	4	433,994	80,936
LINCOLN (11).					
<i>County Divisions (7).</i>					
Brigg, or N. Lindsey ..	H. J. Reckitt .....	..	1	52,307	11,019
Gainsboro', or W. Lindsey	S. Ormsby-Gore	1	..	52,323	12,499
Horncastle, or S. Lindsey	Lord Willoughby de Eresby.	1	..	43,565	9,486
Louth, or E. Lindsey ..	R. W. Perks .....	..	1	43,220	9,654
Sleaford, or N. Kesteven	Rt. Hon. H. Chaplin	1	..	45,680	9,953
Spalding, or Holland ..	H. R. Mansfield .....	..	1	47,975	12,659
Stamford, or S. Kesteven	W. Younger	1	..	45,305	9,478
		4	3	330,375	74,748
<i>Boroughs (4).</i>					
Boston	W. Garfitt	1	..	20,456	3,557
Grantham	A. Priestley .....	..	1	18,001	3,054
Great Grimsby	George Doughty	1	..	78,198	13,981
Lincoln	C. H. Seeley	1	..	51,751	9,324
		7	4	498,781	104,664
MIDDLESEX (47).					
<i>County Divisions (7).</i>					
Brentford	J. Bigwood	1	..	90,637	13,449
Ealing	Rt. Hon. Lord G. Hamilton.	1	..	101,325	15,688
Enfield	Lieut-Col. H. F. Bowles....	1	..	123,826	18,619
Harrow	Irwin Cox	1	..	167,394	23,027
Hornsey	C. B. Balfour	1	..	111,453	17,257
Tottenham	Joseph Howard	1	..	136,702	20,596
Uxbridge	Sir F. D. Dixon Hartland, Bt.	1	..	83,111	14,943
		7	..	814,448	123,579
<i>Boroughs (40).</i>					
Bethnal Green, N.E. ..	M. M. Bownaggree	1	..	63,786	8,089
" " S.W. ..	S. F. Ridley	1	..	65,926	8,093
Chelsea	C. A. Whitmore	1	..	93,841	12,616
City of London (2) ..	Sir J. Dimsdale	1	..	26,897	33,028
	A. G. H. Gibbs	1	..		
Finsbury, Central	M. Mainwaring	1	..	64,086	8,295

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Constituencies.	Members.	Politics.		Population in 1901.	Total Number of Electors in 1902.
		Conservative	Liberal.		
MIDDLESEX—con.					
Finsbury, East	H. C. Richards	1	..	39,830	5,719
Fulham	W. H. Fisher	1	..	137,249	17,778
Hackney, Central	A. H. Allhusen	1	..	67,612	8,808
" North	W. R. Bonsfield, K.C.	1	..	84,253	11,675
" South	T. H. Robertson	1	..	101,350	12,314
Hammersmith	W. J. Bull	1	..	111,976	13,132
Hampstead	T. Milvain	1	..	82,329	10,280
Holborn	J. F. Remnant	1	..	61,949	10,494
Islington, East	B. L. Cohen	1	..	89,080	10,221
" North	G. C. T. Bartley	1	..	99,841	11,662
" South	Sir Albert Rollit	1	..	71,826	8,185
" West	T. Lough .....	..	1	74,159	9,001
Kensington, North	W. T. Sharpe	1	..	87,697	9,685
" South	Earl Percy	1	..	85,372	9,138
Marylebone, East	E. Boulnois	1	..	58,887	6,627
" West	Sir Samuel Scott	1	..	73,436	8,606
Paddington, North	John Aird	1	..	72,200	8,620
" South	Sir G. Fardell	1	..	55,106	5,870
Shoreditch, Haggerston ..	W. R. Cremer .....	..	1	55,437	6,783
" Hoxton	Hon. Claude Hay	1	..	62,461	7,681
St. George's, Hanover-sq. .	Hon. H. Legge	1	..	77,989	9,952
St. Pancras, East	T. Wrightson	1	..	60,248	7,064
" North	E. R. Moon	1	..	59,374	7,414
" South	Capt. H. M. Jessel	1	..	55,491	5,332
" West	H. R. Graham	1	..	59,769	7,287
Strand	Hon. W. F. D. Smith	1	..	53,237	9,191
Tower Hamlets:					
Bow and Bromley	W. M. Guthrie	1	..	91,081	11,426
Limehouse	H. S. Samuel	1	..	55,996	6,805
Mile End	Spencer Charrington	1	..	48,348	5,738
Poplar	Sidney Buxton .....	..	1	78,430	10,254
St. George	T. R. Dewar	1	..	51,071	3,426
Stepney	Major W. E. Gordon	1	..	63,689	5,796
Whitechapel	S. M. Samuel .....	..	1	78,624	4,692
Westminster	W. Burdett-Coutts	1	..	50,758	7,223
		43	4	3,585,139	487,579
MONMOUTH (4).					
County Divisions (3).					
Northern	R. Mc.Kenna .....	..	1	68,668	12,235
Southern	Hon. F. C. Morgan	1	..	73,415	14,519
Western	Sir W. V. Harcourt .....	..	1	82,190	13,829
		1	2	224,273	40,583
Borough (1).					
Monmouth Group.	Joseph Lawrence	1	..	68,054	10,298
		2	2	292,327	50,881

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Constituencies.	Members.	Politics.		Population in 1901.	Total Number of Electors in 1902.
		Conservative	Liberal.		
NORFOLK (10).					
<i>County Divisions (6).</i>					
Eastern	R. J. Price .....	..	1	50,651	11,013
Midland	F. W. Wilson .....	..	1	46,150	9,235
Northern	Sir W. B. Gurdon .....	..	1	53,729	10,483
North-Western	G. White .....	..	1	51,384	10,900
Southern	A. W. Soames .....	..	1	46,610	9,762
South-Western	T. L. Hare	1	..	43,495	8,878
<i>Boroughs (4).</i>					
Great Yarmouth	Sir J. C. Colomb	1	..	292,019	60,271
King's Lynn	T. Gibson Bowles	1	..	51,250	8,640
Norwich (2)	S. Hoare	1	..	111,728	19,325
	Sir H. Bullard	1	..		
		5	5	475,286	91,680
NORTHAMPTON (7).					
<i>County Divisions (4).</i>					
Eastern	F. A. Channing .....	..	1	87,219	15,853
Mid	Hon. C. R. Spencer .....	..	1	55,288	12,676
Northern	Col. S. G. Stopford-Sackville	1	..	47,294	10,317
Southern	Hon. E. A. Fitzroy	1	..	43,751	8,966
<i>Boroughs (3).</i>					
Northampton (2) {	H. Labouchere .....	..	1	76,073	12,487
	J. G. Shipman .....	..	1		
Peterborough	R. Purvis	1	..	32,203	5,693
		3	4	341,828	65,992
NORTHUMBERLAND (8).					
<i>County Divisions (4).</i>					
Berwick-on-Tweed	Sir Edward Grey, Bart. ....	..	1	50,208	9,259
Hexham	W. C. B. Beaumont .....	..	1	54,658	10,649
Tyneside	H. C. Smith	1	..	101,039	20,586
Wansbeck	C. Fenwick .....	..	1	80,668	15,303
<i>Boroughs (4).</i>					
Morpeth	Thomas Burt	1	3	286,573	55,797
Newcastle-on-Tyne (2) {	W. R. Plummer .....	..	1	214,803	35,983
	G. Renwick	1	..		
Tynemouth	L. Harris	1	..	51,514	8,504
		4	4	602,859	109,122
NOTTINGHAM (7).					
<i>County Divisions (4).</i>					
Bassetlaw	Sir F. Milner	1	..	57,113	10,652
Mansfield	A. B. Markham .....	..	1	86,510	15,264
Newark	Sir Chas. Welby	1	..	50,960	10,504
Rushcliffe	J. E. Ellis .....	..	1	80,201	15,746
		2	2	274,784	52,166

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Constituencies.	Members.	Politics.		Population in 1901.	Total Number of Electors in 1902.
		Conservative	Liberal.		
NOTTINGHAM—con.					
<i>Boroughs (3).</i>					
Nottingham, East	E. Bond	1	..	73,203	12,244
" South	Lord H. Bentinck	1	..	73,203	13,003
" West	J. H. Yoxall .....	..	1	93,347	15,620
		4	3	514,537	93,034
OXFORD (4).					
<i>County Divisions (3).</i>					
Banbury, or N.	A. Brassey	1	..	40,612	7,722
Henley, or S.	R. Hermon Hodge	1	..	48,630	9,124
Woodstock, or M.	G. H. Morrell	1	..	46,471	9,716
		3	..	135,713	26,562
<i>Borough (1).</i>					
Oxford	Viscount Valentia	1	..	49,413	8,310
		4	..	185,126	34,872
RUTLAND (1).					
<i>County Division (1).</i>					
Rutland	G. H. Finch	1	..	19,708	4,165
SALOP (5).					
<i>County Divisions (4).</i>					
Ludlow, or S.	R. J. More	1	..	55,909	10,521
Newport, or N.	Colonel Kenyon Slaney	1	..	52,391	10,603
Oswestry, or W.	Hon. G. Ormsby-Gore	1	..	53,984	10,022
Wellington, or M.	A. H. Brown	1	..	48,641	8,464
		4	..	210,925	39,610
<i>Borough (1).</i>					
Shrewsbury	H. D. Greene, K.C.	1	..	28,396	4,750
		5	..	239,321	44,360
SOMERSET (10).					
<i>County Divisions (7).</i>					
Bridgwater	E. J. Stanley	1	..	48,490	10,015
Eastern	H. Hobhouse	1	..	47,435	9,121
Frome	J. E. Barlow .....	..	1	56,678	11,867
Northern	E. H. Llewellyn	1	..	59,143	10,847
Southern	Edward Strachey .....	..	1	49,535	9,361
Wellington, or W.	Sir A. Acland-Hood, Bart. ..	1	..	48,182	9,707
Wells	R. E. Dickenson	1	..	59,615	11,129
		5	2	369,078	72,047
<i>Boroughs (3).</i>					
Bath (2)	Colonel Wyndham Murray..	1	..	52,751	7,378
	E. R. Wodehouse	1	..		
Taunton	Lieut.-Colonel Welby	1	..	19,714	3,314
		8	2	441,543	82,739

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Constituencies.	Members.	Politics.		Population in 1901.	Total Number of Electors in 1902.
		Conservative	Liberal.		
STAFFORD (17).					
<i>County Divisions (7).</i>					
Burton	Q. F. Ratcliffe	1	..	61,787	11,128
Handsworth	Sir H. Meysey Thompson ..	1	..	126,254	22,465
Kingswinford	Col. G. Webb	1	..	52,378	12,614
Leek	Charles Bill	1	..	61,853	11,113
Lichfield	Thos. Courtenay Warner ..	..	1	56,697	9,732
North-Western	James Heath	1	..	68,969	14,794
Western	Alex. Henderson	1	..	60,449	10,816
		6	1	488,387	92,662
<i>Boroughs (10).</i>					
Hanley	A. H. Heath	1	..	100,290	16,251
Newcastle-under-Lyme..	Sir A. Haslam	1	..	60,667	9,572
Stafford	C. E. Shaw .....	..	1	20,894	3,514
Stoke-on-Trent	D. H. Coghill	1	..	89,023	13,769
Walsall	Sir A. Hayter .....	..	1	86,440	13,719
Wednesbury	W D. Green	1	..	72,478	12,265
West Bromwich	J. Ernest Spencer	1	..	65,172	10,342
Wolverhampton, E.....	Rt. Hon. Sir H. H. Fowler..	..	1	58,258	9,403
„ S.....	H. Norman .....	..	1	58,887	9,497
„ W. ..	Sir A. Hickman	1	..	75,605	12,084
		12	5	1,176,101	203,078
SUFFOLK (8).					
<i>County Divisions (5).</i>					
Eye, or N.E.	F S. Stephenson.....	..	1	51,399	10,196
Lowestoft, or N.	Col. F. Lucas	1	..	69,859	13,094
Stowmarket, or N.W. ..	I. Malcolm	1	..	54,854	10,769
Sudbury, or S.	Sir W. Cuthbert Quilter, Bt.	1	..	52,161	10,259
Woodbridge, or S.E.....	Captain Pretyman	1	..	57,802	12,178
		4	1	286,075	56,496
<i>Boroughs (3).</i>					
Bury St. Edmunds	Sir E. W. Greene.....	1	..	16,255	2,645
Ipswich (2).....	D. F. Goddard .....	..	1	66,622	11,095
	Sir C. Dalrymple.....	1	..		
		6	2	368,952	70,236
SURREY (22).					
<i>County Divisions (6).</i>					
Chertsey, or N.W.....	H. C. Leigh-Bennett	1	..	79,898	12,800
Epsom, or M.....	W. Keswick	1	..	86,705	13,492
Guildford, or S.W.	Rt. Hon. St. John Brodrick	1	..	77,289	13,086
Kingston	T. S. Cox	1	..	103,040	15,356
Reigate, or S.E.....	Hon. H. Cubitt.....	1	..	73,279	12,271
Wimbledon, or N.E.....	E. Hambro	1	..	99,066	19,562
		6	..	519,277	86,567

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Constituencies.	Members.	Politics.		Population in 1901.	Total Number of Electors in 1902.
		Conservative	Liberal.		
SURREY—con.					
<i>Boroughs (16).</i>					
Battersea	John Burns .....	..	1	102,450	15,072
Camberwell, Dulwich ..	Sir J. Blundell Maple	1	..	97,354	13,188
„ North	J. T. Macnamara .....	..	1	93,756	12,587
„ Peckham ..	F. G. Banbury	1	..	91,432	11,924
Clapham	P. M. Thornton	1	..	120,760	17,307
Croydon	Rt. Hon. C. T. Ritchie	1	..	133,885	19,950
Lambeth, Brixton	Sir R. G. Mowbray	1	..	75,355	10,240
„ Kennington .	F. L. Cook	1	..	78,323	10,583
„ North	F. W. Horner	1	..	59,522	7,181
„ Norwood	C. E. Tritton	1	..	85,691	11,767
Newington, Walworth ..	J. Bailey	1	..	61,672	7,678
„ West	Captain Cecil Norton .....	..	1	60,481	8,750
Southwark, Bermondsey	H. J. C. Cust	1	..	81,987	11,220
„ Rotherhithe	J. C. Macdona	1	..	69,445	9,274
„ West	R. K. Causton .....	..	1	62,653	7,711
Wandsworth	H. Kimber	1	..	179,882	23,944
		18	4	1,973,925	284,943
SUSSEX (9).					
<i>County Divisions (6).</i>					
Chichester, or S.W.	Lord Edmund Talbot	1	..	58,448	10,095
Eastbourne, or S.	L. Hogg	1	..	79,415	11,945
East Grinstead, or N. ...	G. J. Goschen, jun.	1	..	56,956	9,833
Horsham, or N.W.	J. H. Johnstone	1	..	53,629	9,809
Lewes, or M.	Sir H. Fletcher	1	..	76,267	14,336
Rye, or E.	Col. A. M. Brookfield	1	..	64,031	12,379
		6	..	388,746	68,397
<i>Boroughs (3).</i>					
Brighton (2)	G. W. E. Loder	1	..	153,393	19,001
	Bruce Wentworth	1	..		
Hastings	F. Thomas .....	..	1	62,913	8,243
		8	1	605,052	95,641
WARWICK (14).					
<i>County Divisions (4).</i>					
Nuneaton, or N.E.	F. A. Newdigate	1	..	68,995	13,329
Rugby, or S.E.	J. C. Grant .....	..	1	56,221	10,541
Stratf'd-on-Av'n, or S.W.	P. S. Foster	1	..	46,667	9,842
Tamworth, or N.	P. A. Muntz	1	..	72,351	13,246
		3	1	244,234	46,958

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Constituencies.	Members.	Politics.		Population in 1901.	Total Number of Electors in 1902.
		Conservative	Liberal.		
WARWICK—con.					
<i>Boroughs (10).</i>					
Aston Manor.....	Hon. E. Cecil	1	..	77,310	12,182
Birmingham, Bordesley.	Rt. Hon. Jesse Collings	1	..	99,022	16,343
„ Central ..	E. Parkes	1	..	54,142	11,562
„ East	Sir B. Stone	1	..	82,552	13,536
„ Edgbaston ..	F. Lowe	1	..	77,586	12,414
„ North	J. T. Middlemore.....	1	..	60,339	9,858
„ South	J. Powell Williams	1	..	72,171	12,185
„ West	Rt. Hon. J. Chamberlain ..	1	..	76,370	13,093
Coventry	C. J. Murray	1	..	63,817	12,656
Warwick & Leamington	Hon. A. Lyttelton	1	..	39,075	5,961
		13	1	946,618	166,748
WESTMORLAND (2).					
<i>County Divisions (2).</i>					
Appleby, or N.	R. Rigg .....	..	1	31,480	6,509
Kendal, or S.....	Major J. F. Bagot	1	..	32,825	6,274
		1	1	64,305	12,783
WILTS (6).					
<i>County Divisions (5).</i>					
Chippenham, or N.W. ..	Sir J. D. Poynder	1	..	44,709	8,567
Cricklade, or N.....	Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice..	..	1	70,899	13,150
Devizes, or E.....	A. E. Goulding	1	..	46,648	8,891
Westbury, or W.	J. M. Fuller .....	..	1	50,045	9,888
Wilton, or S.....	Lieut. J. A. Morrison	1	..	42,123	8,121
		3	2	254,424	48,617
<i>Borough (1).</i>					
Salisbury	W. Palmer	1	..	19,421	3,032
		4	2	273,845	51,649
WORCESTER (8).					
<i>County Divisions (5).</i>					
Bewdley, or W.....	A. Baldwin	1	..	54,021	10,235
Droitwich, or M.....	R. B. Martin	1	..	50,699	10,606
Eastern	Austen Chamberlain	1	..	95,720	15,819
Evesham, or S.....	Colonel C. W. Long	1	..	49,782	10,071
Northern	J. W. Wilson.....	1	..	77,635	13,690
		5	..	327,857	60,421
<i>Boroughs (3).</i>					
Dudley	Brooke Robinson.....	1	..	96,988	16,214
Kidderminster	Sir A. F. Godson, K.C.	1	..	26,274	4,487
Worcester	Hon. G. H. Allsopp	1	..	46,623	7,966
		8	..	497,742	89,088

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Constituencies.	Members.	Politics.		Population in 1901.	Total Number of Electors in 1902.
		Conservative	Liberal.		
YORKSHIRE (52).					
County Divisions (26).					
East Riding:					
Buckrose	L. White .....	..	1	53,553	9,905
Holderness.....	A. S. Wilson	1	..	42,193	10,091
Howdenshire.....	Captain W. H. Wilson-Todd.	1	..	50,063	9,414
North Riding:					
Cleveland	H. Samuel .....	..	1	60,019	12,360
Richmond	J. Hutton	1	..	50,878	10,178
Thirsk and Malton	J. G. Lawson	1	..	57,720	12,164
Whitby	E. W. Beckett	1	..	51,200	10,620
West Riding:					
Barkston Ash	Colonel Gunter	1	..	53,292	9,609
Barnsley.....	J. Walton .....	..	1	101,041	16,999
Colne Valley	Sir J. Kitson.....	..	1	58,160	10,897
Doncaster	F. W. Fison	1	..	92,860	17,257
Elland	Chas. P. Trevelyan .....	..	1	66,127	13,272
Hallamshire	Sir F. Mappin .....	..	1	90,105	17,190
Holmfirth	H. J. Wilson.....	..	1	65,179	11,714
Keighley.....	J. Brigg .....	..	1	70,427	12,788
Morley	A. E. Hutton .....	..	1	70,921	14,275
Normanton	B. Pickard.....	..	1	80,285	14,027
Osgoldcross	Sir J. Austin.....	..	1	81,214	15,386
Otley	J. H. Duncan .....	..	1	68,774	12,526
Pudsey	G. Whiteley .....	..	1	52,092	15,368
Ripon	J. L. Wharton	1	..	68,301	11,314
Rotherham	W. H. Holland.....	..	1	101,041	16,622
Shipley	Sir J. F. Flannery	1	..	65,686	15,734
Skipton	F. W. Thompson .....	..	1	64,038	12,116
Sowerby	Rt. Hon. J. W. Mellor, K.C..	..	1	66,026	12,065
Spenn Valley	T. P. Whittaker .....	..	1	57,997	11,029
Boroughs (26).		9	17	1,739,192	334,920
East Riding:					
Hull, Central.....	Sir H. S. King	1	..	60,737	9,450
" East.....	J. T. Firbank	1	..	82,319	12,155
" West.....	C. H. Wilson .....	..	1	96,820	18,366
North Riding:					
Middlesbrough	Colonel Sadler	1	..	116,539	18,116
Scarborough	J. C. Rickett.....	..	1	38,160	5,939
York (2)	J. G. Butcher	1	..	75,391	13,209
	G. D. Faber	1	..		
West Riding:					
Bradford, Central.....	J. M. L. Wanklyn	1	..	61,002	10,330
" East.....	Capt. The Hon. R. F. Greville	1	..	88,236	14,661
" West.....	E. Flower	1	..	79,429	12,796
Dewsbury	W. Runciman .....	..	1	74,349	13,476
Halifax (2)	Sir S. Crossley	1	..	88,909	15,195
	J. H. Whiteley.....	..	1		
Huddersfield	Sir J. T. Woodhouse .....	..	1	96,383	16,928

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Constituencies.	Members.	Politics.		Population in 1901.	Total Number of Electors in 1902.
		Conservative	Liberal.		
YORKSHIRE—con.					
West Riding:					
Leeds, Central.	G. W. Balfour	1	..	64,153	9,391
„ East	H. S. Cautley	1	..	65,854	9,504
„ North	Rowland Barran .....	..	1	116,693	19,094
„ South	J. L. Walton, K.C. ....	..	1	82,114	14,369
„ West	Rt. Hon. Herbert Gladstone ..	..	1	100,139	17,737
Pontefract	T. W. Nussey .....	..	1	20,742	3,178
Sheffield, Attercliffe. ...	Batty Langley .....	..	1	89,716	14,755
„ Brightside ...	J. F. Hope	1	..	73,084	11,896
„ Central	Sir Howard Vincent	1	..	67,082	9,570
„ Ecclesall	S. Roberts	1	..	75,662	12,501
„ Hallam	C. B. Stuart-Wortley	1	..	75,173	11,949
Wakefield	E. A. Brotherton	1	..	41,189	6,103
		25	27	3,569,067	635,588
UNIVERSITIES (5).					
Cambridge (2).....	Professor R. C. Jebb	1	..	) ....	6,824
	Rt. Hon. Sir J. E. Gorst ..	1	..		
Oxford (2)	Sir W. Anson	1	..	) ....	6,303
	J. G. Talbot	1	..		
London	Sir M. Foster	1	..	....	4,748
		5	..	....	17,875
WALES.					
ANGLESEY (1).					
County Division (1).					
Anglesey.	E. J. Griffiths .....	..	1	50,590	9,847
BRECON (1).					
County Division (1).					
Brecon	C. Morley .....	..	1	57,212	11,847
CARDIGAN (1).					
County Division (1).					
Cardigan.....	V. Davies .....	..	1	60,237	13,390
CARMARTHEN (3).					
County Divisions (2).					
Eastern	Abel Thomas .....	..	1	54,551	10,777
Western	J. Lloyd Morgan .....	..	1	44,894	11,382
Borough (1).					
Carmarthen Group	A. Davies .....	..	2	99,445	22,159
		..	1	35,880	5,739
		..	3	135,325	27,898

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Constituencies.	Members.	Politics.		Population in 1901.	Total Number of Electors in 1902.
		Conservative	Liberal.		
CARNARVON (3).					
<i>County Divisions (2).</i>					
Arfon, or N.	W. Jones .....	..	1	50,479	9,660
Eifion, or S.	J. B. Roberts .....	..	1	43,875	9,156
<i>Borough (1).</i>					
Carnarvon Group.	D. Lloyd George .....	..	1	32,481	5,339
		..	3	126,835	24,155
DENBIGH (3).					
<i>County Divisions (2).</i>					
Eastern	Samuel Moss .....	..	1	54,844	10,637
Western	J. H. Roberts .....	..	1	48,157	9,437
<i>Borough (1).</i>					
Denbigh Group.	G. T. Kenyon	1	..	26,934	4,249
		1	2	129,935	24,323
FLINT (2).					
<i>County Division (1).</i>					
Flint	Samuel Smith .....	..	1	59,026	11,092
<i>Borough (1).</i>					
Flint Group	J. H. Lewis .....	..	1	21,407	3,545
		..	2	80,433	14,637
GLAMORGAN (10).					
<i>County Divisions (5).</i>					
Eastern	Alfred Thomas .....	..	1	105,568	17,587
Gower, or W.	J. A. Thomas .....	..	1	63,285	12,770
Mid.	S. T. Evans .....	..	1	82,723	14,173
Rhondda.	W. Abraham. ....	..	1	88,968	13,654
Southern.	Major Quinn.	1	..	103,905	18,542
<i>Boroughs (5).</i>					
Cardiff Group.	Sir E. J. Read .....	..	1	167,679	24,273
Merthyr Tydvil (2) ..	D. A. Thomas .....	..	1	122,536	19,402
	J. Keir Hardie (Labour). ....	..	1		
Swansea District	D. Brynmor Jones .....	..	1	64,574	11,191
„ Town	Sir G. Newnes .....	..	1	63,478	9,619
		1	9	862,716	141,211
MERIONETH (1).					
<i>County Division (1).</i>					
Merioneth	Osmond Williams .....	..	1	49,190	9,636

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Constituencies.	Members.	Politics.		Population in 1901.	Total Number of Electors in 1902.
		Conservative	Liberal.		
MONTGOMERY (2). <i>County Division (1).</i> Montgomery	A. C. Humphreys Owen....	..	1	37,090	7,921
<i>Borough (1).</i> Montgomery Group....	Col. Pryce Jones	1	..	17,802	3,238
		1	1	54,892	11,159
PEMBROKE (2). <i>County Division (1).</i> Pembroke	Wynford Philipps .....	..	1	51,869	11,028
<i>Borough (1).</i> Pembroke Group	Lieut.-General Laurie	1	..	36,880	6,766
		1	1	88,749	17,794
RADNOR (1). <i>County Division (1).</i> Radnor	F. Edwards .....	..	1	23,263	5,284
SCOTLAND.					
ABERDEEN (4). <i>County Divisions (2).</i> Eastern	A. W. Maconochie	1	..	77,433	12,425
Western	Dr. R. Farquharson .....	..	1	65,893	10,773
<i>Boroughs (2).</i> Aberdeen, North	Captain D. V. Pirie.....	..	1	143,326	23,198
„ South	Professor J. Bryce .....	..	1	65,793	10,200
		..	1	77,935	11,919
		1	3	287,054	45,317
ARGYLL (1). <i>County Division (1).</i> Argyll	D. Nicol.....	1	..	60,270	10,771
AYR (4). <i>County Divisions (2).</i> Northern	Hon. T. H. Cochrane	1	..	87,946	14,405
Southern	Sir W. Arrol.....	1	..	94,833	16,394
<i>Boroughs (2).</i> Ayr Group	C. L. Orr-Ewing	2	..	182,779	30,799
Kilmarnock Group	Colonel Denny.....	1	..	50,877	7,007
		1	..	96,433	14,424
		4	..	330,089	52,230

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Constituencies.	Members.	Politics.		Population in 1901.	Total Number of Electors in 1902.
		Conservative	Liberal.		
BANFF (1). <i>County Division (1).</i> Banff	H. W. Black .....	..	1	52,846	8,248
BERWICK (1). <i>County Division (1).</i> Berwick	H. J. Tennant .....	..	1	30,888	5,407
BUTE (1). <i>County Division (1).</i> Bute	A. G. Murray, K.C.	1	..	18,641	3,444
CAITHNESS (2). <i>County Division (1).</i> Caithness	L. Armsworth .....	..	1	25,741	4,089
<i>Borough (1).</i> Wick Group	A. Bignold	1	..	17,493	2,755
		1	1	43,234	6,844
CLACKMANNAN AND KINROSS (1). <i>County Division (1).</i> Clackmannan & Kinross	E. Wason .....	..	1	43,315	7,662
DUMBARTON (1). <i>County Division (1).</i> Dumbarton	A. Wylie	1	..	90,722	14,203
DUMFRIES (2). <i>County Division (1).</i> Dumfries	W. J. Maxwell	1	..	52,586	9,227
<i>Borough (1).</i> Dumfries Group	Sir R. T. Reid, K.C. ....	..	1	27,799	3,802
	....	1	1	80,385	13,029
EDINBURGH (6). <i>County Division (1).</i> Midlothian	Hon. A. Murray .....	..	1	91,887	14,326
<i>Boroughs (5).</i> Edinburgh, Central	G. M. Brown .....	..	1	62,262	7,247
" East	G. Macrae .....	..	1	73,181	11,357
" South	Sir A. V. Agnew	1	..	107,206	15,540
" West	Sir L. McIver	1	..	55,464	8,913
Leith Group	R. C. Munro Ferguson ....	..	1	97,554	16,284
		2	4	487,554	73,667

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Constituencies.	Members.	Politics.		Population in 1901.	Total Number of Electors in 1902.
		Conservative	Liberal		
ELGIN & NAIRN (2). <i>County Division (1).</i>					
Elgin and Nairn... ..	J. E. Gordon.....	1	..	37,975	5,860
<i>Borough (1).</i>					
Elgin Group	A. Asher, K.C. ....	..	1	33,498	4,625
		1	1	71,473	10,485
FIFE (4). <i>County Divisions (2).</i>					
Eastern	Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith, K.C.	..	1	51,475	9,744
Western	J. D. Hope .....	..	1	77,037	12,776
<i>Boroughs (2).</i>					
Kirkcaldy Group	J. H. Dalziel .....	..	2	128,512	22,520
St. Andrews Group	H. T. Anstruther.....	..	1	43,877	7,510
		1	..	19,311	3,134
		1	3	191,700	33,164
FORFAR (4). <i>County Division (1).</i>					
Forfar.....	Capt. J. Sinclair .....	..	1	69,658	12,286
<i>Boroughs (3).</i>					
Dundee (2)	Sir John Leng .....	..	1	159,040	19,233
	E. Robertson .....	..	1		
Montrose Group	J. Morley .....	..	1	56,321	8,824
		..	4	285,019	40,343
HADDINGTON (1). <i>County Division (1).</i>					
Haddington	R. B. Haldane, K.C. ....	..	1	38,798	6,669
INVERNESS (2). <i>County Division (1).</i>					
Inverness	J. H. Dewar .....	..	1	67,700	9,477
<i>Borough (1).</i>					
Inverness Group	Sir R. B. Finlay	1	..	30,882	4,104
		1	1	98,582	13,581
KINCARDINE (1). <i>County Division (1).</i>					
Kincardine	J. W. Crombie .....	..	1	39,846	6,682
KIRKCUDBRIGHT (1) <i>County Division (1).</i>					
Kirkcudbright	Sir M. Stewart	1	..	31,503	5,817

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Constituencies.	Members.	Politics.		Population in 1901.	Total Number of Electors in 1902.
		Conservative	Liberal.		
LANARK (13). <i>County Divisions (6).</i>					
Govan	R. H. Craig .....	..	1	103,978	15,991
Mid	J. Caldwell .....	..	1	90,966	13,981
North-Eastern	Sir W. Rattigan	1	..	119,349	17,786
North-Western	Dr. C. Douglas .....	..	1	100,209	14,614
Partick	J. Parker Smith	1	..	115,528	17,551
Southern	J. H. C. Hozier	1	..	56,504	9,442
		3	3	586,534	89,365
<i>Boroughs (7).</i>					
Glasgow, Blackfriars and					
Hutch'sont'n	A. B. Law	1	..	76,122	9,949
Bridgeton ..	C. Scott-Dickson	1	..	91,242	11,825
Camlachie ..	Alexander Cross	1	..	78,011	10,441
Central	J. G. A. Baird	1	..	74,601	15,399
College	Sir J. Stirling-Maxwell	1	..	112,492	15,944
St. Rollox ..	J. Wilson	1	..	118,626	17,960
Tradeston ..	A. C. Corbett	1	..	71,278	9,814
		10	3	1,208,906	180,697
LINLITHGOW (1). <i>County Division (1).</i>					
Linlithgow	A. Ure .....	..	1	58,667	9,081
ORKNEY AND SHETLAND (1). <i>County Division (1).</i>					
Orkney and Shetland ..	J. C. Wason	1	..	51,803	7,550
PEEBLES AND SELKIRK (1). <i>County Division (1).</i>					
Peebles and Selkirk	Sir W. Thorburn	1	..	19,609	3,589
PERTH (3). <i>County Divisions (2).</i>					
Eastern	Sir J. Kinloch .....	..	1	42,330	7,483
Western	J. Stroyan	1	..	47,399	8,227
		1	1	89,729	15,710
<i>Borough (1).</i>					
Perth	R. Wallace .....	..	1	32,866	4,948
		1	2	122,595	20,658

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Constituencies.	Members.	Politics.		Population in 1901.	Total Number of Electors in 1902.
		Conservative	Liberal		
RENFREW (4). <i>County Divisions (2).</i> Eastern	M. H. Shaw-Stewart	1	..	84,773	13,106
Western	C. B. Renshaw	1	..	68,160	10,695
<i>Boroughs (2).</i> Greenock	J. Reid	2	..	152,933	23,801
Paisley	Sir W. Dunn, Bart.	1	..	67,672	7,506
		..	1	79,354	11,246
		3	1	299,959	42,553
ROSS & CROMARTY (1). <i>County Division (1).</i> Ross and Cromarty	J. G. Weir. ....	..	1	68,908	8,048
ROXBURGH (2). <i>County Division (1).</i> Roxburgh	Earl of Dalkeith	1	..	31,702	5,790
<i>Borough (1).</i> Hawick Group	Thomas Shaw .....	..	1	35,826	5,711
		1	1	67,528	11,501
STIRLING (3). <i>County Division (1).</i> Stirling	J. Mc.Killop	1	..	105,637	17,439
<i>Boroughs (2).</i> Falkirk Group	J. Wilson	1	..	78,931	11,408
Stirling Group	Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman ..	..	1	44,536	6,743
		2	1	229,104	35,590
SUTHERLAND (1). <i>County Division (1).</i> Sutherland.	F. S. Leveson-Gower	1	..	20,656	2,800
WIGTOWN (1). <i>County Division (1).</i> Wigtown	Sir H. E. Maxwell	1	..	32,593	5,546
UNIVERSITIES (2). Edinburgh and St. Andrews.	Sir J. B. Tuke	1	..	....	10,354
Glasgow and Aberdeen..	J. A. Campbell.	1	..	....	9,673
		2	..	....	20,027

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Constituencies.	Members.	Politics.		Population in 1901.	Total Number of Electors in 1902.
		Conservative	Nationalist.		
IRELAND.					
ANTRIM (8).					
County Divisions (4).					
Eastern	Captain J. Mc.Calmont	1	..	53,281	8,949
Mid	The Hon. R. Torrens O'Neill	1	..	44,855	7,760
Northern	W. Moore	1	..	45,726	8,132
Southern	W. G. E. Macartney	1	..	49,161	10,328
		4	..	193,023	35,169
Boroughs (4).					
Belfast, East	G. W. Wolff	1	..	121,784	17,850
„ North	Sir J. H. Haslett	1	..	89,307	11,284
„ South	T. Sloan	1	..	73,437	10,246
„ West	H. O. Arnold Forster	1	..	64,348	8,638
		8	..	541,899	83,187
ARMAGH (3).					
County Divisions (3).					
Mid	J. B. Lonsdale	1	..	41,476	7,182
Northern	Colonel Saunderson	1	..	46,137	7,545
Southern	J. Campbell .....	..	1	37,372	7,359
		2	1	124,985	22,086
CARLOW (1).					
County Division (1).					
Carlow	J. Hammond .....	..	1	36,769	6,156
CAVAN (2).					
County Divisions (2).					
Eastern	S. Young .....	..	1	46,764	9,460
Western	T. Mc.Govern .....	..	1	50,604	9,425
		..	2	97,368	18,835
CLARE (2).					
County Divisions (2).					
Eastern	W. Redmond .....	..	1	53,504	9,136
Western	Major Jameson .....	..	1	57,016	9,176
		..	2	110,520	18,312

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.					
Constituencies.	Members.	Politics.		Population in 1901.	Total Number of Electors in 1902.
		Conservative	Nationalist.		
CORK (9).					
<i>County Divisions (7).</i>					
Eastern	Captain Donelan .....	..	1	45,245	6,780
Mid.	D. D. Sheehan .....	..	1	43,779	7,119
Northern	J. C. Flynn .....	..	1	43,303	7,371
North-Eastern ..	W. Abraham .....	..	1	45,572	7,241
Southern	Edward Barry .....	..	1	41,081	6,917
South-Eastern	E. Crean .....	..	1	42,523	6,924
Western	J. Gilhooly .....	..	1	43,617	6,559
		..	7	305,120	48,911
<i>Boroughs (2).</i>					
Cork (2)	J. F. X. O'Brien .....	..	1	99,693	12,877
	W. O'Brien .....	..	1		
		..	9	404,813	61,788
DONEGAL (4).					
<i>County Divisions (4).</i>					
Eastern	E. Macfadden .....	..	1	41,589	6,608
Northern	W. O'Doherty .....	..	1	43,346	6,820
Southern	J. G. Swift MacNeill .....	..	1	42,276	6,480
Western	E. J. Boyle .....	..	1	46,414	7,303
		..	4	173,625	27,211
DOWN (5).					
<i>County Divisions (4).</i>					
Eastern	J. Wood	1	..	47,136	8,184
Northern	J. L. Corbett	1	..	55,519	9,474
Southern	M. Mc.Cartan .....	..	1	48,223	8,799
Western	Captain Hill	1	..	44,930	8,474
		3	1	195,808	34,931
<i>Borough (1).</i>					
Newry	P. G. Carvill .....	..	1	13,121	1,921
		3	2	208,929	36,852
DUBLIN (6).					
<i>County Divisions (2).</i>					
Northern	J. J. Clancy .....	..	1	81,283	14,240
Southern	J. Mooney .....	..	1	82,070	10,453
		..	2	163,353	24,693
<i>Boroughs (4).</i>					
Dublin, College Green	J. P. Nannetti .....	..	1	74,385	10,464
„ Dublin Harbour	T. Harrington .....	..	1	76,257	9,655
„ St. Patrick's	William Field .....	..	1	69,078	9,840
„ St. Stephen's Green	W. Mc.Cann .....	..	1	66,608	8,166
		..	6	449,681	62,818

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Constituencies.	Members.	Politics.		Population in 1901.	Total Number of Electors in 1902.
		Conservative	Nationalist.		
FERMANAGH (2).					
<i>County Divisions (2).</i>					
Northern	E. M. Archdale	1	..	33,437	5,172
Southern	J. Jordan .....	..	1	31,806	5,482
		1	1	65,243	10,654
GALWAY (5).					
<i>County Divisions (4).</i>					
Connemara	W. O'Malley .....	..	1	46,580	6,774
Eastern	J. Roche .....	..	1	44,363	7,253
Northern	Captain Nolan .....	..	1	46,306	8,209
Southern	W. J. Duffy .....	..	1	41,189	6,927
<i>Borough (1).</i>					
Galway	A. Lynch .....	..	4	178,438	29,163
		..	1	16,245	2,359
		..	5	194,683	31,522
KERRY (4).					
<i>County Divisions (4).</i>					
Eastern	J. Murphy .....	..	1	40,622	5,669
Northern	M. Flavin .....	..	1	39,047	5,702
Southern	J. Boland .....	..	1	41,888	5,739
Western	T. O'Donnell .....	..	1	43,774	5,813
		..	4	165,331	22,923
KILDARE (2).					
<i>County Divisions (2).</i>					
Northern	E. Leamy .....	..	1	30,590	5,391
Southern	M. J. Minch .....	..	1	32,879	5,880
		..	2	63,469	11,271
KILKENNY (3).					
<i>County Divisions (2).</i>					
Northern	Joseph Devlin .....	..	1	32,008	5,484
Southern	J. O'Mara .....	..	1	33,566	5,221
<i>Borough (1).</i>					
Kilkenny	P. O'Brien .....	..	2	65,574	10,705
		..	1	12,924	1,553
		..	3	78,498	12,258
KING'S COUNTY (2).					
<i>County Divisions (2).</i>					
Birr	M. Reddy .....	..	1	30,737	4,668
Tullamore	H. Burke .....	..	1	29,392	4,896
		..	2	60,129	9,564

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Constituencies.	Members.	Politics.		Population in 1901.	Total Number of Electors in 1902.
		Conservative	Nationalist		
LEITRIM (2). <i>County Divisions (2).</i>					
North	P. A. McHugh .....	..	1	34,440	6,672
South	J. Tully .....	..	1	34,761	6,995
		..	2	69,201	13,667
LIMERICK (3). <i>County Divisions (2).</i>					
Eastern	W. Landon .....	..	1	49,909	8,024
Western	P. J. O'Shaughnessy .....	..	1	50,303	8,623
		..	2	100,212	16,647
<i>Borough (1).</i>					
Limerick	M. Joyce .....	..	1	45,806	6,029
		..	3	146,018	22,676
LONDONDERRY (3). <i>County Divisions (2).</i>					
Northern	R. J. Atkinson, K.C.	1	..	53,744	9,922
Southern	J. Gordon	1	..	50,712	8,519
		2	..	104,456	18,441
<i>Borough (1).</i>					
Londonderry	Marquis of Hamilton	1	..	39,873	5,313
		3	..	144,329	23,754
LONGFORD (2). <i>County Divisions (2).</i>					
Northern	J. P. Farrell .....	..	1	23,379	4,149
Southern	Hon. E. Blake .....	..	1	23,202	3,978
		..	2	46,581	8,127
LOUTH (2). <i>County Divisions (2).</i>					
Northern	Timothy M. Healy .....	..	1	35,203	5,911
Southern	J. Nolan .....	..	1	30,538	5,095
		..	2	65,741	11,006
MAYO (4). <i>County Divisions (4).</i>					
Eastern	John Dillon .....	..	1	48,911	8,281
Northern	Conor O'Kelly .....	..	1	49,511	7,517
Southern	J. O'Donnell .....	..	1	52,252	8,252
Western	Dr. Robert Ambrose .....	..	1	52,519	9,450
		..	4	203,193	33,500

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Constituencies.	Members.	Politics.			Population in 1901.	Total Number of Electors in 1902.
		Liberal.	Conservative	Nationalist.		
MEATH (2). <i>County Divisions (2).</i>						
Northern	P. White .....	..	..	1	34,274	5,830
Southern	J. L. Carew .....	..	..	1	33,189	6,031
		..	..	2	67,463	11,861
MONAGHAN (2). <i>County Divisions (2).</i>						
Northern	D. MacAleese .....	..	..	1	38,126	6,691
Southern	James Daly .....	..	..	1	36,379	6,605
		..	..	2	74,505	13,296
QUEEN'S COUNTY (2) <i>County Divisions (2).</i>						
Leix	M. A. MacDonnell ....	..	..	1	29,184	5,153
Ossory.....	P. Delaney .....	..	..	1	28,996	5,164
		..	..	2	58,180	10,317
ROSCOMMON (2). <i>County Divisions (2).</i>						
Northern	J. J. O'Kelly .....	..	..	1	48,762	9,096
Southern	J. P. Hayden .....	..	..	1	51,244	9,029
		..	..	2	100,006	18,125
SLIGO (2). <i>County Divisions (2).</i>						
Northern	W. Mc.Killop.....	..	..	1	44,584	8,556
Southern	John O'Dowd .....	..	..	1	42,773	7,572
		..	..	2	87,357	16,128
TIPPERARY (4). <i>County Divisions (4).</i>						
Eastern	T. J. Condon .....	..	..	1	40,581	5,734
Mid	Kendal O'Brien .....	..	..	1	40,598	6,469
Northern	P. J. O'Brien .....	..	..	1	39,591	5,954
Southern	J. Sullivan .....	..	..	1	37,076	5,179
		..	..	4	157,846	23,336
TYRONE (4). <i>County Divisions (4).</i>						
Eastern	B. C. Doogan .....	..	..	1	39,503	6,410
Mid	G. Murnaghan .....	..	..	1	37,953	7,349
Northern	Serjeant Hemphill	1	..	..	38,240	6,162
Southern	T. W. Russell .....	..	1	..	34,772	6,292
		1	1	2	150,468	26,213

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Constituencies.	Members.	Politics.		Population in 1901.	Total Number of Electors in 1902.
		Conservative	Nationalist.		
WATERFORD (3). <i>County Divisions (2).</i>					
Eastern	P. J. Power .....	..	1	29,205	4,176
Western	J. J. Shee .....	..	1	32,368	4,410
<i>Borough (1).</i>		..	2	61,573	8,586
Waterford	J. E. Redmond .....	..	1	27,947	3,296
		..	3	89,520	11,882
WESTMEATH (2). <i>County Divisions (2).</i>					
Northern	P. J. Kennedy .....	..	1	29,837	5,047
Southern	D. Sullivan .....	..	1	28,494	5,441
		..	2	58,331	10,488
WEXFORD (2). <i>County Divisions (2).</i>					
Northern	Sir T. H. Esmonde .....	..	1	51,180	9,053
Southern	Peter Ffrench .....	..	1	52,421	8,715
		..	2	103,601	17,768
WICKLOW (2) <i>County Divisions (2).</i>					
Eastern	D. J. Cogan .....	..	1	31,142	5,002
Western	James O'Connor .....	..	1	27,122	4,534
		..	2	58,264	9,536
UNIVERSITIES.					
Dublin University (2) {	W. E. Lecky	1	..	....	4,492
	Sir E. Carson, K.C.	1	..	....
		2	..	....

STATE OF PARTIES.

	England.	Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	Total.
Conservatives	338	4	39	20	401
Liberals	126	26	33	1	186
Nationalists	1	..	..	82	83
	465	30	72	103	670

SUMMARY.

	COUNTIES.				BOROUGHs.				UNIVERSITIES.			TOTALS.			
	Members.				Members.				Members.			Members.			
	Conservative.	Liberal.	Nationalist.	Total.	Population.	Conservative.	Liberal.	Nationalist.	Total.	Population.	Conservative.	Liberal.	Nationalist.	Total.	Population.
England	156	78	..	234	13,838,248	177	48	1	226	13,626,602	5	..	5	339	27,464,850
Wales	1	18	..	19	996,583	3	8	..	11	521,427	..	..	4	26	1,518,010
Scotland	21	18	..	39	2,179,288	16	15	..	31	1,898,214	2	..	38	34	4,017,452
Ireland	13	1	71	85	3,913,219	5	..	11	16	791,531	2	..	21	1	4,704,750
Totals	191	115	71	377	20,927,288	201	71	12	284	16,777,774	9	..	9	402	87,705,062

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

	YEAR.
<i>Declaration of Independence</i>	4th July, 1776
General Washington, first President	1789 and 1793
John Adams	1797
Thomas Jefferson	1801 and 1805
James Madison	1809 and 1813
James Monroe	1817 and 1821
John Quincy Adams.....	1825
General Andrew Jackson	1829 and 1833
Martin Van Buren	1837
General William Henry Harrison (died 4th April)	1841
John Tyler (previously Vice-President)	1841
James Knox Polk	1845
General Zachary Taylor (died 9th July, 1850)	1849
Millard Fillmore (previously Vice-President).....	1850
General Franklin Pierce	1853
James Buchanan	1857
Abraham Lincoln (assassinated 14th April, 1865).....	1861 and 1865
Andrew Johnson (previously Vice-President).....	1865
General Ulysses S. Grant	1869 and 1873
Rutherford Richard Hayes, after long contest with Tilden.....	1877
General Garfield (shot July 2; died September 19)	1881
Chester A. Arthur, Vice-President, succeeded September 20	1881
Grover Cleveland	1885
General Benjamin Harrison	1889
Grover Cleveland	1893
William M'Kinley.....	1896
William M'Kinley (shot September 6th, 1901; died September 14th)	1900
Theodore Roosevelt	1901

The United States of America form a Federal Republic, consisting of 45 States and 5 Territories.

The official announcement of the total population of the United States for 1900 was 76,295,220. The total population in 1890, with which the aggregate population of the present Census should be compared, was 63,069,756. Taking the 1890 population as a basis, there has been a gain in population of 13,225,464 during the past ten years, representing an increase of nearly 21 per cent.

MEMORANDA AS TO ACTS OF PARLIAMENT RESTRAINING
EXPORTATION OF TOOLS &c. USED IN COTTON LINEN WOOLLEN
AND SILK MANUFACTURES.

BY Act of 14 Geo. III. c. 75 being "An Act to prevent the Exportation to Foreign Parts of Utensils made use of in the Cotton Linen Woollen and Silk Manufactures of this Kingdom" persons were prohibited from exporting "Tools or Utensils" used in the Cotton Linen Woollen and Silk Manufactures of the Kingdom.

By Act of 21 Geo. III. c. 37 being an Act to explain and amend the last-mentioned Act it was enacted—

That if at any time after the 24th day of June 1781 any person or persons in Great Britain or Ireland shall upon any pretence whatsoever load or put on board or pack or cause or procure to be laden put on board or packed in order to be loaded or put on board of any ship or vessel which shall not be bound directly to some port or place in Great Britain or Ireland or shall lade or cause or procure to be laden on board any boat or other vessel or shall bring or cause to be brought to any quay wharf or other place in order to be so laden or put on board any such ship or vessel *any machine engine tool press paper utensil or implement* whatsoever which now is or at any time or times hereafter shall or may be used in or proper for the preparing working pressing finishing or completing of the *Woollen Cotton Linen or Silk Manufactures* of this Kingdom or any or either of them or any other goods wherein Wool Cotton Linen or Silk or any or either of them are or is used or any part or parts of such machine engine tool press paper utensil or implement by what name or names soever the same shall be called or known; or any *model or plan or models or plans* of any such machine engine tool press paper utensil or implement or any part or parts thereof.

Any Justice might grant a warrant to seize the machines &c. and on conviction the person offending should forfeit the machines &c. and a sum of £200 and be imprisoned for twelve months without bail and until the forfeiture should be paid.

Penalties were also imposed on the Masters of Ships and Custom House Officers conniving at any offence and on persons making machines &c.

WRECKS.

NUMBER AND TONNAGE OF VESSELS BELONGING TO THE UNITED KINGDOM TOTALLY LOST AT SEA, EXCLUSIVE
OF VESSELS OF THE ROYAL NAVY, IN THE YEARS 1886 TO 1900.

YEARS.	SAILING.		STEAM.		TOTAL.	
	Vessels.	Tons.	Vessels.	Tons.	Vessels.	Tons.
1886	507	125,631	137	90,871	644	216,502
1887	364	98,202	136	99,984	500	198,186
1888	428	115,848	115	73,512	543	189,360
1889	331	93,343	116	81,199	447	174,542
1890	394	93,870	134	112,864	528	206,734
1891	448	104,991	139	112,431	587	217,422
1892	321	88,220	96	76,076	417	164,296
1893	391	82,888	132	96,036	523	178,924
1894	390	70,792	149	104,126	539	174,918
1895	352	90,572	126	94,851	478	185,423
1896	326	81,217	107	94,607	433	175,824
1897	347	63,877	128	105,053	475	168,930
1898	288	52,409	125	111,686	413	164,095
1899	265	50,447	132	133,128	397	183,575
1900	255	64,117	132	96,596	387	160,713

NOTE.—The losses of unregistered vessels are included in the above figures.

THE TIME ALL OVER THE WORLD.

When the clock at Greenwich points to Noon the time at the various places is as follows:—

	H. M.		H. M.
Boston, U.S.....	7 18 a.m.	Copenhagen	12 50 p.m.
Dublin	11 35 a.m.	Florence	12 45 p.m.
Edinburgh	11 47 a.m.	Jerusalem	2 21 p.m.
Glasgow	11 43 a.m.	Madras	5 21 p.m.
Lisbon	11 43 a.m.	Malta	12 58 p.m.
Madrid	11 45 a.m.	Melbourne, Australia ...	9 40 p.m.
New York, U.S.	7 14 a.m.	Moscow	2 30 p.m.
Penzance	11 38 a.m.	Munich	12 46 p.m.
Philadelphia, U.S.	6 59 a.m.	Paris	12 9 p.m.
Quebec	7 15 a.m.	Pekin	7 46 p.m.
Adelaide, Australia.....	9 11 p.m.	Prague	12 58 p.m.
Amsterdam	12 19 p.m.	Rome	12 50 p.m.
Athens	1 35 p.m.	Rotterdam.....	12 18 p.m.
Berlin	12 54 p.m.	St. Petersburg	2 1 p.m.
Berne.....	12 30 p.m.	Suez	2 10 p.m.
Bombay	4 52 p.m.	Sydney, Australia	10 5 p.m.
Brussels	12 17 p.m.	Stockholm.....	1 12 p.m.
Calcutta	5 54 p.m.	Stuttgart.....	0 37 p.m.
Capetown	1 14 p.m.	Vienna	1 6 p.m.
Constantinople	1 56 p.m.		

Hence, by a little calculation, the time for those places at any hour of our day may be ascertained. At places east of London the apparent time is later, and west of London, earlier; for uniformity sake, however, Greenwich time is kept at all railways in Great Britain and Ireland.

TOTAL GROSS AMOUNT OF INCOME BROUGHT UNDER THE REVIEW OF THE INLAND REVENUE DEPARTMENT.

Year.	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.	United Kingdom.	Year.
	£	£	£	£	
1891-2	585,974,437	60,866,631	31,352,374	678,193,442	1891-2
1892-3	585,650,046	62,076,761	31,763,710	679,490,517	1892-3
1893-4	580,041,683	61,632,540	32,037,765	673,711,988	1893-4
1894-5	564,098,584	61,328,840	31,669,653	657,097,077	1894-5
1895-6	583,966,579	62,143,688	31,659,583	677,769,850	1895-6
1896-7	607,112,810	65,350,653	32,278,145	704,741,608	1896-7
1897-8	633,293,018	68,548,264	32,619,964	734,461,246	1897-8
1898-9	657,212,406	72,209,602	33,245,301	762,667,309	1898-9
1899-1900	682,020,599	76,213,242	33,501,572	791,735,413	1899-1900
1900-1	719,354,160	79,962,343	34,039,010	833,355,513	1900-1

BAROMETER INSTRUCTIONS.

COMPILED BY THE LATE ADMIRAL FITZROY, F.R.S.

The barometer should be set regularly by a duly-authorised person, about sunrise, noon, and sunset.

The words on scales of barometers should not be so much regarded for weather indications as the RISING OR FALLING of the mercury; for if it stand at CHANGEABLE (29.50) and then rise towards FAIR (30.00) it presages a change of wind or weather, though not so great as if the mercury had risen higher; and, on the contrary, if the mercury stand above FAIR and then fall it presages a change, though not to so great a degree as if it had stood lower; beside which, the direction and force of wind are not in any way noticed.

It is not from the point at which the mercury may stand that we are alone to form a judgment of the state of the weather, but from its RISING OR FALLING, and from the movements of immediately PRECEDING days as well as hours, keeping in mind effects of change of DIRECTION, and dryness or moisture, as well as alteration of force or strength of wind.

It should always be remembered that the state of the air FORETELLS COMING weather rather than shows the weather that is PRESENT—an invaluable fact too often overlooked—that the longer the time between the signs and the change foretold by them the longer such altered weather will last; and, on the contrary, the less the time between a warning and a change the shorter will be the continuance of such foretold weather.

If the barometer has been about its ordinary height, say near 30 inches at the sea-level, and is steady on rising, while the thermometer falls and dampness becomes less, north-westerly, northerly, north-easterly wind, or less wind, less rain or snow may be expected.

On the contrary, if a fall takes place with a rising thermometer and increased dampness, wind and rain may be expected from the south-eastward, southward, or south-westward. A fall with low thermometer foretells snow.

When the barometer is rather below its ordinary height, say down to near 29½ inches (at sea-level), a rise foretells less wind, or a change in its direction towards the northward, or less wet; but when it has been very low, about 29 inches, the first rising usually precedes or indicates strong wind—at times heavy squalls—from the north-westward, northward, or north-eastward, AFTER which violence a gradually rising glass foretells improving weather; if the thermometer falls, but if the warmth continues, probably the wind will back (shift against the sun's course), and more southerly or south-westerly wind will follow, especially if the barometer rise is sudden.

The most dangerous shifts of wind, or the HEAVIEST northerly gales, happen soon after the barometer first rises from a very low point; or if the wind veers GRADUALLY, at some time afterwards.

BAROMETER INSTRUCTIONS.

Indications of approaching change of weather and the direction and force of winds are shown less by the height of the barometer than by its falling or rising. Nevertheless, a height of more than 30 (30.00) inches (at the level of the sea) is indicative of fine weather and MODERATE winds, except from east to north, OCCASIONALLY.

A rapid rise of the barometer indicates unsettled weather, a slow movement the contrary; as likewise a STEADY barometer, when continued and with dryness, foretells very fine weather.

A rapid and considerable fall is a sign of stormy weather, and rain or snow. Alternate rising and sinking indicates unsettled or threatening weather.

The greatest depressions of the barometer are with gales from S.E., S., or S.W.; the greatest deviations, with wind from N.W., N., or N.E., or with calm.

A sudden fall of the barometer, with a westerly wind, is sometimes followed by a violent storm from N.W., N., or N.E.

If a gale sets in from the E. or S.E., and the wind veers by the south, the barometer will continue falling until the wind is near a marked change, when a lull MAY occur; after which the gale will soon be renewed, perhaps suddenly and violently, and the veering of the wind towards the N.W., N., or N.E. will be indicated by a rising of the barometer, with a fall of the thermometer.

After very warm and calm weather a storm or squall, with rain, may follow; likewise at any time when the atmosphere is HEATED much above the USUAL temperature of the season.

To know the state of the air not only the barometer AND THERMOMETER, but appearances of the sky should be vigilantly watched.

 SIGNS OF WEATHER.

Whether clear or cloudy, a rosy sky at sunset presages fine weather; a red sky in the morning, bad weather or much wind, perhaps rain; a grey sky in the morning, fine weather; a high dawn, wind; a low dawn, fair weather.*

Soft-looking or delicate clouds foretell fine weather, with moderate or light breezes; hard-edged, oily-looking clouds, wind. A dark, gloomy, blue sky is windy, but a light, bright blue sky indicates fine weather. Generally, the softer the clouds look, the less wind (but perhaps more rain) may be expected; and the harder, more "greasy," rolled, tufted, or ragged, the stronger the coming wind will prove. Also a bright yellow sky at sunset presages wind; a pale yellow, wet; and thus, by the prevalence of red, yellow, or grey tints, the coming weather may be foretold very nearly—indeed, if aided by instruments, almost exactly.

* A high dawn is when the first indications of daylight are seen above a bank of clouds. A low dawn is when the day breaks on or near the horizon, the first streaks of light being very low down.

BAROMETER INSTRUCTIONS.

Small inky-looking clouds foretell rain; light scud clouds driving across heavy masses show wind and rain, but if alone may indicate wind only.

High upper clouds crossing the sun, moon, or stars in a direction different from that of the lower clouds, or the wind then felt below, foretell a change of wind.

After fine, clear weather the first signs in the sky of a coming change are usually light streaks, curls, wisps, or mottled patches of white distant clouds, which increase, and are followed by an overcasting of murky vapour that grows into cloudiness. This appearance, more or less oily or watery as wind or rain will prevail, is an infallible sign.

Light, delicate, quiet tints or colours, with soft, undefined forms of clouds, indicate and accompany fine weather; but gaudy or unusual hues, with hard, definitely-outlined clouds, foretell rain, and probably strong wind.

When sea-birds fly out early and far to seaward, moderate wind and fair weather may be expected. When they hang about the land, or over it, sometimes flying inland, expect a strong wind; with stormy weather. As many creatures besides birds are affected by the approach of rain or wind, such indications should not be slighted by an observer who wishes to foresee weather.

Remarkable clearness of atmosphere near the horizon, distant objects such as hills unusually visible, or raised (by refraction),† and what is called a "good HEARING day," may be mentioned among signs of wet, if not wind, to be expected.

More than usual twinkling of the stars, indistinctness or apparent multiplication of the moon's horns, haloes, "wind-dogs" (fragments or pieces of rainbows, sometimes called "wind-galls") seen on detached clouds, and the rainbow, are more or less significant of increasing wind, if not approaching rain with or without wind.

Lastly, the dryness or dampness of the air, and its temperature (for the season), should ALWAYS be considered WITH OTHER indications of change or continuance of wind and weather.

On barometer scales the following contractions may be useful:—

RISE	FALL
FOR	FOR
N.E.LY	S.W.LY
(N.W.-N.-E.)	(S.E.-S.-W.)
DRY	WET
OR	OR
LESS	MORE
WIND.	WIND.
—	—
EXCEPT	EXCEPT
WET FROM	WET FROM
N.E.D.	N.E.D.

When the wind shifts against the sun,
Trust it not, for back it will run.

FIRST rise after very low
Indicates a stronger blow.

Long foretold—long last;
Short notice—soon past.

† Much refraction is a sign of easterly wind.

MONTHLY METEOROLOGICAL TABLE FOR THE YEAR ENDING SEPTEMBER 30, 1902.

(From Official Sources.)

ROYAL OBSERVATORY, GREENWICH.—HEIGHT OF STATION ABOVE SEA LEVEL, 159 FEET.

YEAR 1901-1902.	PRESSURE OF ATMOSPHERE IN MONTH.		TEMPERATURE OF AIR IN MONTH.				MEAN TEMPERATURE.		MEAN READING OF THERMOMETER.		RAIN.	
	Mean.	Range.	Highest.	Lowest.	Range.	Mean	Air.	Dew Point.	Maximum in Rays of Sun.	Minimum on Grass.	Number of days it fell.	Amount Collected.
Month.	In.	In.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	of all Highest.	of all Lowest.	Daily Range.	Deg.	Deg.	Days.	In.
1901.												
October	29.745	1.245	75.3	29.9	45.4	58.1	43.1	15.0	90.2	35.8	11	2.60
November ..	29.990	1.595	54.8	20.6	34.2	46.6	35.9	10.7	60.8	28.7	8	0.67
December ..	29.476	1.763	55.4	24.8	30.6	44.1	34.7	9.4	55.4	27.8	15	3.03
1902.												
January	29.985	1.673	52.7	24.7	28.0	45.7	37.2	8.5	59.1	31.1	9	0.64
February ..	29.691	1.836	54.1	14.3	39.8	40.2	30.6	9.6	63.4	25.1	13	0.79
March	29.683	1.108	60.5	26.6	33.9	51.9	37.4	14.5	87.6	31.1	15	1.36
April	29.775	0.788	68.2	30.9	37.3	55.6	38.9	16.7	105.7	28.8	7	0.42
May	29.794	1.158	71.0	29.8	41.2	57.3	41.2	16.1	112.1	33.0	22	3.33
June	29.743	0.876	80.7	41.1	39.6	66.9	49.6	17.3	124.3	41.0	15	3.10
July	29.853	0.814	86.1	42.4	43.7	71.7	51.6	20.1	125.1	43.4	12	1.09
August	29.753	0.549	79.0	42.8	36.2	69.5	51.7	17.8	115.0	44.7	19	2.93
September ..	29.891	0.902	75.1	36.8	38.3	65.6	47.5	18.1	112.2	39.7	8	1.65

MONTHLY METEOROLOGICAL TABLE FOR THE YEAR ENDING SEPTEMBER 30, 1902.

(From Official Sources.)

THE OBSERVATORY, LIVERPOOL.—HEIGHT OF STATION ABOVE SEA LEVEL, 197 FEET.

YEAR 1901-1902.	PRESSURE OF ATMOSPHERE IN MONTH.		TEMPERATURE OF AIR IN MONTH.					MEAN TEMPERATURE.		MEAN READING OF THERMOMETER.		RAIN.		
	Mean.	Range.	Highest.	Lowest.	Range.	of all Highest.	of all Lowest.	Daily Range.	Air.	Dew Point.	Maximum in Rays of Sun.		Minimum on Grass.	Number of days it fell.	Amount Collected.
Month.	In.	In.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	* Deg.	* Deg.	Days.	In.
1901.														
October	29.648	1.309	63.3	38.8	24.5	55.1	45.8	9.3	49.5	46.4	91.2	35.9	18	3.17
November ..	29.915	1.799	55.2	25.3	29.9	47.2	38.0	9.2	41.9	38.3	67.5	29.7	14	3.04
December ..	29.359	1.665	55.0	22.6	32.4	43.4	35.7	7.7	39.5	35.4	59.7	27.9	21	3.14
1902.														
January	29.870	1.766	52.8	27.9	24.9	45.6	37.7	7.9	41.3	38.3	63.4	30.7	18	2.29
February ..	29.633	1.659	50.9	17.2	33.7	38.6	30.6	8.0	34.4	31.2	68.4	25.3	12	2.20
March.....	29.560	1.064	53.4	31.7	21.7	49.3	39.2	10.1	43.1	39.4	93.0	32.8	19	1.44
April	29.723	1.016	62.6	30.7	31.9	52.4	38.8	13.6	45.6	38.2	104.2	31.6	14	1.94
May.....	29.763	1.267	63.7	35.2	28.5	52.8	42.9	9.9	47.9	41.0	114.6	36.9	25	3.24
June	29.686	0.769	81.2	42.5	38.7	63.3	50.4	12.9	56.9	50.2	116.2	45.9	17	1.96
July.....	29.791	1.047	71.3	46.3	25.0	62.0	52.2	9.8	57.1	51.0	119.9	45.4	13	2.75
August	29.690	0.652	69.0	48.2	20.8	62.2	52.2	10.0	57.2	52.1	116.5	44.8	17	2.31
September ..	29.830	1.176	68.1	40.8	27.3	60.8	49.9	10.9	55.4	48.9	110.9	43.5	14	0.87

* The Mean temperature inserted in these two columns is taken from the Returns of Stonyhurst College, Lancashire, as they were not supplied by Liverpool. The height of station above sea level is 363 feet.

MONTHLY METEOROLOGICAL TABLE FOR THE YEAR ENDING SEPTEMBER 30, 1902.

(From Official Sources.)

THE OBSERVATORY, CARLISLE, SPITAL (CUMBERLAND).—HEIGHT OF STATION ABOVE SEA LEVEL, 114 FEET.

YEAR 1901-1902.	PRESSURE OF ATMOSPHERE IN MONTH.		TEMPERATURE OF AIR IN MONTH.						MEAN TEMPERATURE.		MEAN READING OF THERMOMETER.		RAIN.	
	Month.	Range.	Highest.	Lowest.	Range.	MEAN		Air.	Dew Point.	Maximum in Rays of Sun.	Minimum on Grass.	Number of days it fell.		Amount Col-lected.
						of all Highest.	of all Lowest.								Daily Range.
	1901.	In.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Days.	In.	
	October	29.705	1.424	68.2	29.2	39.0	57.2	41.2	16.0	49.8	44.4	75.7	37.4	21 4.18
	November ..	29.986	1.556	54.8	15.0	39.8	46.6	37.0	9.6	41.5	36.1	59.0	31.1	12 3.64
	December ..	29.303	1.676	53.2	11.2	42.0	41.8	31.3	10.5	37.3	32.8	49.4	28.3	22 3.74
	1902.													
	January	29.892	1.906	53.2	15.0	38.2	44.6	33.7	10.9	39.6	35.3	52.0	31.6	21 2.40
	February ..	29.722	1.678	54.8	5.0	49.8	41.6	25.6	16.0	33.8	29.3	61.3	23.2	13 1.04
	March.....	29.591	1.068	58.0	25.6	32.4	50.6	36.5	14.1	44.2	39.4	77.4	33.9	25 2.36
	April	29.782	1.018	66.0	25.5	40.5	55.5	35.6	19.9	45.6	43.8	92.0	32.1	13 1.58
	May.....	29.817	1.222	69.3	26.7	42.6	56.8	38.5	18.3	47.7	45.1	95.8	35.1	23 2.48
	June	29.784	0.780	86.7	32.7	54.0	66.2	46.1	20.1	56.2	52.9	94.4	43.3	14 1.66
	July.....	29.824	0.924	76.7	35.0	41.7	67.6	47.8	19.8	57.7	54.0	100.6	44.6	18 2.46
	August	29.747	0.656	74.2	35.4	38.8	67.7	46.9	20.8	57.3	54.5	102.4	44.5	16 2.50
	September ..	29.875	1.314	72.9	29.6	43.3	65.1	46.3	18.8	55.7	53.0	89.8	42.8	17 1.62

RETURN SHOWING THE AVERAGE RETAIL PRICE PER POUND, AVOIRDUPOIS, OF THE ARTICLES OF DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION, MEDIUM QUALITIES, MENTIONED BELOW, IN SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL CITIES OF EUROPE, DURING THE YEAR 1892.
(From Official Sources.)

ARTICLE.	Paris.	Lille.	Berlin.	Frankfort-on-Main.	Ham-burg.	Vienna.	Buda-Pesth.	Prague.	Rome.	Florence.	Brussels.
BEEF:—											
Prime	1s. to 1s. 4d.	1s. 5½d.	10½d.	9d.	11½d.	8d.	8½d.	7d.	8½d.	9d.	10½d.
Medium	7½d. to 10d.	11½d.	8½d.	8d.	9½d.	6½d.	6½d.	6½d.	6d.	7d.	8½d.
Inferior .....	..	7½d.	6d.	7d.	7½d.	Av. 7d.	4d.	6d.	..	5d.	6½d.
FLOUR:—											
First quality	2d. to 2½d.	2½d.	1½d.	2½d.	2d.	2d.	1½d.	2½d.	2d.	2½d.	1½d.
Second quality .....	..	..	..	..	..	1½d.	..	..	..	2½d.	..
WHEAT-BREAD:—											
White Household	2d. to 2½d.	1½d.	2½d.	2d.	3d.	1½d.	1½d.	1½d.	2d.	2d.	1½d.
Second quality .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1½d.	..
Third quality .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1½d.	..
POTATOES:—											
For human consumption ..	½d. to ¾d.	1½d.	¾d. to 1½d.	¾d.	1d.	¾d.	¾d.	¾d.	¾d.	¾d.	¾d.
RICE:—											
For human consumption, without husk	2d. to 2½d.	3½d.	3½d. to 3½d.	2d. to 5d.	3d.	3d.	..	2½d.	2½d.	2½d. to 3d.	1½d.
SUGAR:—											
Good white lump, cracked or sawed	6½d.	5½d.	4½d. to 4½d.	4d. to 4½d.	4½d.	3½d. to 4d.	4d.	3½d.	7½d.	6½d. to 7½d.	4½d.
COFFEE:—											
Brazil or plantation, roasted and ground, without chicory or other coffee substitute..	2s. 6d. fresh roasted	2s. 0½d.	1s. 4½d.	1s. 6d.	1s. 5d.	1s. 8½d.	1s. 5½d. (raw.)	1s. 8½d.	1s. 11d.	1s. 10d. to 2s. 3½d.	1s. 2½d.

* N.B.—The rate of exchange has been taken at twenty-six lire per £, as being the approximate average for the whole year (1892).

† Imported in the rough, and refined in Italy; the greater portion is stated to be "beet-root."

‡ The coffee is chiefly imported from the Dutch Colonies; Brazil coffee is little or not used. The above price refers to coffee in the bean, ground coffee is not generally sold in Brussels.

DAILY TIDE TABLES AT LIVERPOOL FOR THE YEAR 1903.

JANUARY.				FEBRUARY.				MARCH.				APRIL.				MAY.				JUNE.			
Date.	Day.	LIVERPOOL High Water.		Date.	Day.	LIVERPOOL High Water.		Date.	Day.	LIVERPOOL High Water.		Date.	Day.	LIVERPOOL High Water.		Date.	Day.	LIVERPOOL High Water.		Date.	Day.	LIVERPOOL High Water.	
		Morn.	Aftern.			Morn.	Aftern.			Morn.	Aftern.			Morn.	Aftern.			Morn.	Aftern.			Morn.	Aftern.
1	Th	h m	0 52	1	W	h m	1 9	1	W	h m	1 9	1	W	h m	1 9	1	W	h m	1 9	1	M	h m	3 33
2	F	h m	0 35	2	Th	h m	0 41	2	Th	h m	1 47	2	Th	h m	1 58	2	Th	h m	3 6	2	Th	h m	4 31
3	M	h m	1 15	3	F	h m	0 58	3	F	h m	1 47	3	F	h m	2 27	3	F	h m	5 5	3	W	h m	5 42
4	W	h m	2 0	4	W	h m	1 15	4	W	h m	2 39	4	W	h m	2 82	4	W	h m	6 20	4	W	h m	6 57
5	Th	h m	2 35	5	Th	h m	1 50	5	Th	h m	3 19	5	Th	h m	3 44	5	Th	h m	7 30	5	F	h m	8 1
6	F	h m	3 14	6	F	h m	2 25	6	F	h m	3 55	6	F	h m	4 53	6	F	h m	8 31	6	S	h m	8 59
7	S	h m	3 51	7	S	h m	3 55	7	S	h m	4 16	7	S	h m	5 35	7	S	h m	9 24	7	S	h m	9 46
8	M	h m	4 24	8	M	h m	4 26	8	M	h m	4 45	8	M	h m	5 52	8	M	h m	10 7	8	M	h m	10 28
9	W	h m	4 54	9	W	h m	5 51	9	W	h m	6 32	9	W	h m	7 47	9	W	h m	10 49	9	W	h m	11 10
10	Th	h m	5 28	10	Th	h m	6 14	10	Th	h m	7 19	10	Th	h m	8 53	10	Th	h m	11 40	10	Th	h m	11 49
11	F	h m	6 47	11	F	h m	7 34	11	F	h m	8 40	11	F	h m	10 31	11	F	h m	12 1	11	F	h m	12 7
12	S	h m	8 0	12	S	h m	8 51	12	S	h m	10 52	12	S	h m	11 52	12	S	h m	1 2	12	S	h m	0 41
13	M	h m	9 7	13	M	h m	9 52	13	M	h m	11 14	13	M	h m	1 31	13	M	h m	0 26	13	M	h m	0 41
14	W	h m	9 35	14	W	h m	10 43	14	W	h m	11 57	14	W	h m	0 31	14	W	h m	0 8	14	W	h m	0 41
15	Th	h m	10 54	15	Th	h m	11 32	15	Th	h m	12 13	15	Th	h m	0 60	15	Th	h m	0 8	15	Th	h m	0 41
16	F	h m	11 46	16	F	h m	0 42	16	F	h m	1 18	16	F	h m	1 25	16	F	h m	0 45	16	F	h m	0 41
17	S	h m	0 37	17	S	h m	1 23	17	S	h m	2 0	17	S	h m	2 0	17	S	h m	1 36	17	S	h m	1 36
18	M	h m	1 1	18	M	h m	2 2	18	M	h m	3 1	18	M	h m	3 1	18	M	h m	2 11	18	M	h m	2 11
19	W	h m	1 17	19	W	h m	2 40	19	W	h m	3 18	19	W	h m	3 18	19	W	h m	2 49	19	W	h m	2 49
20	Th	h m	2 50	20	Th	h m	3 18	20	Th	h m	4 0	20	Th	h m	4 4	20	Th	h m	3 29	20	Th	h m	3 29
21	F	h m	3 32	21	F	h m	4 0	21	F	h m	5 24	21	F	h m	5 15	21	F	h m	4 17	21	F	h m	4 17
22	S	h m	4 19	22	S	h m	4 58	22	S	h m	6 16	22	S	h m	6 16	22	S	h m	5 16	22	S	h m	5 16
23	M	h m	5 18	23	M	h m	6 16	23	M	h m	7 1	23	M	h m	7 1	23	M	h m	6 27	23	M	h m	6 27
24	W	h m	6 33	24	W	h m	7 54	24	W	h m	8 21	24	W	h m	8 21	24	W	h m	7 35	24	W	h m	7 35
25	Th	h m	7 52	25	Th	h m	9 27	25	Th	h m	9 53	25	Th	h m	9 53	25	Th	h m	8 33	25	Th	h m	8 33
26	F	h m	8 27	26	F	h m	10 47	26	F	h m	11 11	26	F	h m	11 11	26	F	h m	9 25	26	F	h m	9 25
27	S	h m	9 52	27	S	h m	11 2	27	S	h m	11 18	27	S	h m	11 18	27	S	h m	10 15	27	S	h m	10 15
28	M	h m	10 32	28	M	h m	11 8	28	M	h m	12 18	28	M	h m	12 18	28	M	h m	11 6	28	M	h m	11 6
29	W	h m	11 41	29	W	h m	11 34	29	W	h m	1 0	29	W	h m	1 0	29	W	h m	11 59	29	W	h m	11 59
30	Th	h m	11 58	30	Th	h m	1 16	30	Th	h m	2 5	30	Th	h m	2 5	30	Th	h m	1 16	30	Th	h m	1 16
31	F	h m	0 33	31	F	h m	0 33	31	F	h m	1 13	31	F	h m	1 13	31	F	h m	0 36	31	F	h m	0 36

Garston tides 7 minutes later than Liverpool each day.

DAILY TIDE TABLES AT LIVERPOOL FOR THE YEAR 1903—continued.

JULY.			AUGUST.			SEPTEMBER.			OCTOBER.			NOVEMBER.			DECEMBER.		
Date.	LIVERPOOL High Water.		Date.	LIVERPOOL High Water.		Date.	LIVERPOOL High Water.		Date.	LIVERPOOL High Water.		Date.	LIVERPOOL High Water.		Date.	LIVERPOOL High Water.	
	Morn.	Aftern.		Morn.	Aftern.		Morn.	Aftern.		Morn.	Aftern.		Morn.	Aftern.		Morn.	Aftern.
1	h m	h m	1	h m	h m	1	h m	h m	1	h m	h m	1	h m	h m	1	h m	h m
2	3 43	5 7	2	4 56	7 27	2	6 44	8 36	2	7 23	9 58	2	8 38	11 0	2	8 35	9 0
3	4 37	6 16	3	6 7	8 36	3	7 49	9 29	3	8 29	10 58	3	9 20	11 21	3	9 21	9 41
4	5 40	7 27	4	7 25	9 5	4	8 36	10 10	4	9 19	11 48	4	10 10	12 22	4	10 1	10 22
5	6 52	8 31	5	8 35	10 10	5	9 40	10 29	5	10 19	12 47	5	10 57	13 35	5	10 14	11 5
6	8 0	9 26	6	9 31	10 53	6	10 28	10 45	6	10 30	12 59	6	11 32	14 44	6	10 44	11 49
7	9 9	10 10	7	10 51	11 9	7	11 1	11 17	7	11 4	1 11	7	11 49	15 58	7	11 26	12 13
8	9 49	10 50	8	11 26	11 43	8	11 33	11 49	8	11 38	1 55	8	12 0	17 10	8	11 49	12 43
9	10 30	11 28	9	11 47	12 0	9	12 22	12 38	9	12 0	2 13	9	1 0	18 10	9	12 36	1 10
10	11 9	11 59	10	12 51	1 14	10	1 31	1 48	10	1 30	3 0	10	1 43	19 10	10	1 21	1 47
11	11 47	12 4	11	1 31	2 6	11	2 6	2 24	11	2 25	4 18	11	2 25	20 10	11	2 32	2 36
12	12 0	12 59	12	1 58	2 14	12	2 24	2 42	12	2 43	5 11	12	2 43	21 10	12	3 58	3 29
13	12 16	1 33	13	2 31	2 49	13	2 44	3 6	13	2 52	6 24	13	2 52	22 10	13	5 3	4 29
14	1 16	1 50	14	3 9	3 31	14	3 30	3 58	14	3 15	7 14	14	3 15	23 10	14	6 21	5 41
15	2 25	2 43	15	3 55	4 23	15	4 31	5 11	15	4 18	8 24	15	4 18	24 10	15	7 32	6 58
16	3 2	3 21	16	4 53	5 34	16	5 56	6 44	16	5 44	9 18	16	5 44	25 10	16	8 33	8 4
17	3 42	4 5	17	5 31	6 17	17	6 38	7 28	17	6 24	10 37	17	6 24	26 10	17	9 26	9 0
18	4 31	5 0	18	6 17	7 0	18	7 28	8 5	18	7 14	11 48	18	7 14	27 10	18	10 12	10 33
19	5 33	6 11	19	7 40	8 17	19	8 38	9 59	19	8 24	1 0	19	8 24	28 10	19	10 54	11 14
20	6 51	7 29	20	8 51	9 22	20	9 23	10 46	20	9 10	2 11	20	9 10	29 10	20	11 31	11 54
21	8 5	9 33	21	10 38	10 13	21	10 33	11 31	21	10 48	3 11	21	10 48	30 10	21	12 1	12 13
22	9 59	10 25	22	11 30	11 55	22	11 53	1 1	22	11 30	4 11	22	11 30	31 10	22	1 32	1 51
23	10 52	11 18	23	12 1	1 16	23	1 16	2 32	23	1 16	5 11	23	1 16	1	23	2 17	2 35
24	11 44	1 1	24	1 30	2 46	24	2 46	3 58	24	2 46	6 24	24	2 46	2	24	3 33	3 56
25	12 35	1 51	25	2 22	3 32	25	3 32	4 44	25	3 32	7 51	25	3 32	3	25	4 49	5 07
26	1 10	2 24	26	3 9	4 2	26	4 2	5 13	26	4 2	9 18	26	4 2	4	26	5 57	6 15
27	2 10	3 19	27	4 15	5 20	27	5 20	6 32	27	5 20	10 27	27	5 20	5	27	7 11	7 29
28	3 16	4 27	28	5 20	6 32	28	6 32	7 44	28	6 32	11 38	28	6 32	6	28	8 15	8 33
29	4 1	5 10	29	6 32	7 44	29	7 44	8 56	29	7 44	12 48	29	7 44	7	29	9 21	9 39
30	5 1	6 10	30	7 44	8 56	30	8 56	10 8	30	8 56	1 58	30	8 56	8	30	10 27	10 45
31	6 1	7 10	31	8 56	10 8	31	10 8	11 20	31	10 8	3 8	31	10 8	9	31	11 33	11 51

Garston tides 7 minutes later than Liverpool each day.

DAILY TIDE TABLES AT GOOLE FOR THE YEAR 1903.

JANUARY.				FEBRUARY.				MARCH.				APRIL.				MAY.				JUNE.			
GOOLE		GOOLE		GOOLE		GOOLE		GOOLE		GOOLE		GOOLE		GOOLE		GOOLE		GOOLE		GOOLE		GOOLE	
High Water.		High Water.		High Water.		High Water.		High Water.		High Water.		High Water.		High Water.		High Water.		High Water.		High Water.		High Water.	
Date.	Day.	Morn.	Aftern.	Date.	Day.	Morn.	Aftern.	Date.	Day.	Morn.	Aftern.	Date.	Day.	Morn.	Aftern.	Date.	Day.	Morn.	Aftern.	Date.	Day.	Morn.	Aftern.
1	Th	h m	h m	1	W	h m	h m	1	W	h m	h m	1	F	h m	h m	1	M	h m	h m	1	M	h m	h m
2	F	8 52	9 51	2	Th	8 40	8 57	2	Th	9 25	9 44	2	Th	9 52	10 15	2	Th	11 23	11 55	2	Th	11 23	11 55
3	S	9 25	10 11	3	Fr	9 10	9 31	3	Fr	10 4	10 25	3	Fr	10 39	10 59	3	Fr	1 3	1 38	3	Fr	1 3	1 38
4	S	9 58	10 16	4	W	9 49	10 6	4	W	10 47	11 11	4	W	11 32	11 38	4	W	2 12	2 44	4	W	2 12	2 44
5	S	10 35	10 54	5	Th	10 24	10 42	5	Th	11 37	11 37	5	Th	11 37	11 37	5	Th	3 14	3 44	5	Th	3 14	3 44
6	Th	11 14	11 34	6	Fr	11 2	11 24	6	Fr	11 49	11 49	6	Fr	11 49	11 49	6	Fr	4 14	4 44	6	Fr	4 14	4 44
7	W	11 57	12 1	7	S	11 22	11 22	7	S	12 1	12 1	7	S	12 1	12 1	7	S	5 13	5 39	7	S	5 13	5 39
8	Th	12 30	12 30	8	Th	12 1	12 1	8	Th	1 1	1 1	8	Th	1 1	1 1	8	Th	6 1	6 22	8	Th	6 1	6 22
9	Fr	1 28	1 28	9	Fr	1 28	1 28	9	Fr	2 1	2 1	9	Fr	2 1	2 1	9	Fr	7 5	7 5	9	Fr	7 5	7 5
10	S	2 33	2 33	10	S	2 33	2 33	10	S	3 1	3 1	10	S	3 1	3 1	10	S	8 5	8 23	10	S	8 5	8 23
11	Th	3 40	3 40	11	Th	3 40	3 40	11	Th	4 1	4 1	11	Th	4 1	4 1	11	Th	9 26	9 26	11	Th	9 26	9 26
12	Fr	4 49	4 49	12	Fr	4 49	4 49	12	Fr	5 1	5 1	12	Fr	5 1	5 1	12	Fr	10 7	10 7	12	Fr	10 7	10 7
13	S	5 50	5 50	13	S	5 50	5 50	13	S	6 1	6 1	13	S	6 1	6 1	13	S	11 1	11 1	13	S	11 1	11 1
14	Th	6 43	6 43	14	Th	6 43	6 43	14	Th	7 1	7 1	14	Th	7 1	7 1	14	Th	12 1	12 1	14	Th	12 1	12 1
15	Fr	7 37	7 37	15	Fr	7 37	7 37	15	Fr	8 1	8 1	15	Fr	8 1	8 1	15	Fr	1 1	1 1	15	Fr	1 1	1 1
16	S	8 28	8 28	16	S	8 28	8 28	16	S	9 1	9 1	16	S	9 1	9 1	16	S	2 1	2 1	16	S	2 1	2 1
17	Th	9 17	9 17	17	Th	9 17	9 17	17	Th	10 1	10 1	17	Th	10 1	10 1	17	Th	3 1	3 1	17	Th	3 1	3 1
18	Fr	10 9	10 9	18	Fr	10 9	10 9	18	Fr	11 1	11 1	18	Fr	11 1	11 1	18	Fr	4 1	4 1	18	Fr	4 1	4 1
19	S	11 30	11 30	19	S	11 30	11 30	19	S	12 1	12 1	19	S	12 1	12 1	19	S	5 1	5 1	19	S	5 1	5 1
20	Th	12 40	12 40	20	Th	12 40	12 40	20	Th	1 1	1 1	20	Th	1 1	1 1	20	Th	6 1	6 1	20	Th	6 1	6 1
21	Fr	1 53	1 53	21	Fr	1 53	1 53	21	Fr	2 1	2 1	21	Fr	2 1	2 1	21	Fr	7 1	7 1	21	Fr	7 1	7 1
22	S	2 52	2 52	22	S	2 52	2 52	22	S	3 1	3 1	22	S	3 1	3 1	22	S	8 1	8 1	22	S	8 1	8 1
23	Th	3 52	3 52	23	Th	3 52	3 52	23	Th	4 1	4 1	23	Th	4 1	4 1	23	Th	9 1	9 1	23	Th	9 1	9 1
24	Fr	4 52	4 52	24	Fr	4 52	4 52	24	Fr	5 1	5 1	24	Fr	5 1	5 1	24	Fr	10 1	10 1	24	Fr	10 1	10 1
25	S	5 53	5 53	25	S	5 53	5 53	25	S	6 1	6 1	25	S	6 1	6 1	25	S	11 1	11 1	25	S	11 1	11 1
26	Th	6 53	6 53	26	Th	6 53	6 53	26	Th	7 1	7 1	26	Th	7 1	7 1	26	Th	12 1	12 1	26	Th	12 1	12 1
27	Fr	7 53	7 53	27	Fr	7 53	7 53	27	Fr	8 1	8 1	27	Fr	8 1	8 1	27	Fr	1 1	1 1	27	Fr	1 1	1 1
28	S	8 53	8 53	28	S	8 53	8 53	28	S	9 1	9 1	28	S	9 1	9 1	28	S	2 1	2 1	28	S	2 1	2 1
29	Th	9 53	9 53	29	Th	9 53	9 53	29	Th	10 1	10 1	29	Th	10 1	10 1	29	Th	3 1	3 1	29	Th	3 1	3 1
30	Fr	10 53	10 53	30	Fr	10 53	10 53	30	Fr	11 1	11 1	30	Fr	11 1	11 1	30	Fr	4 1	4 1	30	Fr	4 1	4 1
31	S	11 53	11 53	31	S	11 53	11 53	31	S	12 1	12 1	31	S	12 1	12 1	31	S	5 1	5 1	31	S	5 1	5 1

Hull tides 59 minutes earlier than Goole each day.

DAILY TIDE TABLES AT GOOLE FOR THE YEAR 1903—continued.

JULY.			AUGUST.			SEPTEMBER.			OCTOBER.			NOVEMBER.			DECEMBER.		
Date.	GOOLE High Water.		Date.	GOOLE High Water.		Date.	GOOLE High Water.		Date.	GOOLE High Water.		Date.	GOOLE High Water.		Date.	GOOLE High Water.	
	Morn.	Aftern.		Morn.	Aftern.		Morn.	Aftern.		Morn.	Aftern.		Morn.	Aftern.		Morn.	Aftern.
1	h m	h m	1	h m	h m	1	h m	h m	1	h m	h m	1	h m	h m	1	h m	h m
2	0 36	1 30	2	0 58	1 30	2	2 27	3 5	2	3 1	4 37	2	4 25	4 52	2	4 24	4 50
3	1 40	2 12	3	0 22	2 35	3	3 42	4 17	3	4 12	4 33	3	5 15	5 35	3	5 15	5 35
4	2 42	3 11	4	3 38	3 41	4	4 50	5 19	4	5 11	5 34	4	6 30	6 12	4	6 38	7 0
5	3 41	4 13	5	4 15	4 48	5	5 44	6 5	5	5 53	6 11	5	7 7	6 48	5	7 22	7 44
6	4 45	5 15	6	5 19	5 46	6	6 24	6 42	6	6 28	6 46	6	8 26	7 27	6	8 7	8 29
7	5 41	6 4	7	6 49	7 7	7	7 34	7 50	7	7 3	7 21	7	9 25	8 45	7	8 52	9 16
8	6 45	6 45	8	7 25	7 43	8	8 6	8 23	8	7 98	7 55	8	10 10	9 25	8	9 40	10 4
9	7 45	7 25	9	8 0	8 17	9	8 39	8 55	9	8 12	8 29	9	11 1	10 10	9	10 29	10 55
10	8 45	8 4	10	8 34	8 51	10	9 12	9 29	10	9 22	9 4	10	12 3	11 1	10	11 22	11 52
11	9 45	9 14	11	9 7	9 24	11	9 47	10 5	11	10 1	10 22	11	1 3	0 41	11	1 1	1 37
12	10 45	10 15	12	10 15	10 32	12	10 24	10 43	12	10 44	11 9	12	2 3	1 57	12	2 11	2 43
13	11 45	11 15	13	11 15	11 32	13	11 3	11 26	13	11 38	0 51	13	3 3	3 10	13	3 14	3 45
14	12 45	12 15	14	12 15	12 32	14	11 54	1 4	14	12 1	1 12	14	4 3	4 15	14	4 16	4 47
15	1 45	1 15	15	1 45	1 53	15	11 26	1 4	15	1 32	2 51	15	5 3	5 14	15	5 16	5 41
16	2 45	2 15	16	2 45	2 53	16	12 2	2 24	16	2 51	3 29	16	6 3	6 1	16	6 16	6 41
17	3 45	3 15	17	3 45	3 53	17	1 44	3 42	17	3 4	4 38	17	7 3	6 45	17	7 10	7 35
18	4 45	4 15	18	4 45	4 53	18	2 44	4 40	18	4 5	5 33	18	8 3	7 28	18	8 10	8 30
19	5 45	5 15	19	5 45	5 53	19	3 44	5 36	19	5 57	6 20	19	9 3	8 7	19	9 30	9 50
20	6 45	6 15	20	6 45	6 53	20	4 44	6 38	20	6 42	7 4	20	10 3	9 23	20	10 30	10 50
21	7 45	7 15	21	7 45	7 53	21	5 44	7 36	21	7 42	8 28	21	11 3	10 33	21	11 30	11 50
22	8 45	8 15	22	8 45	8 53	22	6 44	8 36	22	8 42	9 46	22	12 3	11 33	22	12 30	12 50
23	9 45	9 15	23	9 45	9 53	23	7 44	9 36	23	9 42	10 21	23	1 3	1 33	23	1 30	1 50
24	10 45	10 15	24	10 45	10 53	24	8 44	10 36	24	10 42	11 54	24	2 3	2 33	24	2 30	2 50
25	11 45	11 15	25	11 45	11 53	25	9 44	11 36	25	11 42	1 25	25	3 3	3 33	25	3 30	3 50
26	12 45	12 15	26	12 45	12 53	26	10 44	12 36	26	12 42	2 25	26	4 3	4 33	26	4 30	4 50
27	1 45	1 15	27	1 45	1 53	27	11 44	1 36	27	1 42	3 25	27	5 3	5 33	27	5 30	5 50
28	2 45	2 15	28	2 45	2 53	28	12 44	2 36	28	2 42	4 25	28	6 3	6 33	28	6 30	6 50
29	3 45	3 15	29	3 45	3 53	29	1 44	3 36	29	3 42	5 25	29	7 3	7 33	29	7 30	7 50
30	4 45	4 15	30	4 45	4 53	30	2 44	4 36	30	4 42	6 25	30	8 3	8 33	30	8 30	8 50
31	5 45	5 15	31	5 45	5 53	31	3 44	5 36	31	5 42	7 25	31	9 3	9 33	31	9 30	9 50

Hull tides 59 minutes earlier than Goole each day.

TABLE

SHOWING THE NUMBER OF DAYS BETWEEN ANY TWO DATES; ALSO SHOWING THE NUMBER OF DAYS FROM ANY DAY THROUGHOUT THE YEAR TO THE 31ST OF DECEMBER, THE USUAL PERIOD TO WHICH INTEREST IS CALCULATED.

JANUARY.			FEBRUARY.			MARCH.			APRIL.			MAY.			JUNE.		
Jan.	Number.	Days to Dec. 31.	Feb.	Number.	Days to Dec. 31.	Mar.	Number.	Days to Dec. 31.	April.	Number.	Days to Dec. 31.	May.	Number.	Days to Dec. 31.	June.	Number.	Days to Dec. 31.
1	1	364	1	32	333	1	60	305	1	91	274	1	121	244	1	152	213
2	2	363	2	33	332	2	61	304	2	92	273	2	122	243	2	153	212
3	3	362	3	34	331	3	62	303	3	93	272	3	123	242	3	154	211
4	4	361	4	35	330	4	63	302	4	94	271	4	124	241	4	155	210
5	5	360	5	36	329	5	64	301	5	95	270	5	125	240	5	156	209
6	6	359	6	37	328	6	65	300	6	96	269	6	126	239	6	157	208
7	7	358	7	38	327	7	66	299	7	97	268	7	127	238	7	158	207
8	8	357	8	39	326	8	67	298	8	98	267	8	128	237	8	159	206
9	9	356	9	40	325	9	68	297	9	99	266	9	129	236	9	160	205
10	10	355	10	41	324	10	69	296	10	100	265	10	130	235	10	161	204
11	11	354	11	42	323	11	70	295	11	101	264	11	131	234	11	162	203
12	12	353	12	43	322	12	71	294	12	102	263	12	132	233	12	163	202
13	13	352	13	44	321	13	72	293	13	103	262	13	133	232	13	164	201
14	14	351	14	45	320	14	73	292	14	104	261	14	134	231	14	165	200
15	15	350	15	46	319	15	74	291	15	105	260	15	135	230	15	166	199
16	16	349	16	47	318	16	75	290	16	106	259	16	136	229	16	167	198
17	17	348	17	48	317	17	76	289	17	107	258	17	137	228	17	168	197
18	18	347	18	49	316	18	77	288	18	108	257	18	138	227	18	169	196
19	19	346	19	50	315	19	78	287	19	109	256	19	139	226	19	170	195
20	20	345	20	51	314	20	79	286	20	110	255	20	140	225	20	171	194
21	21	344	21	52	313	21	80	285	21	111	254	21	141	224	21	172	193
22	22	343	22	53	312	22	81	284	22	112	253	22	142	223	22	173	192
23	23	342	23	54	311	23	82	283	23	113	252	23	143	222	23	174	191
24	24	341	24	55	310	24	83	282	24	114	251	24	144	221	24	175	190
25	25	340	25	56	309	25	84	281	25	115	250	25	145	220	25	176	189
26	26	339	26	57	308	26	85	280	26	116	249	26	146	219	26	177	188
27	27	338	27	58	307	27	86	279	27	117	248	27	147	218	27	178	187
28	28	337	28	59	306	28	87	278	28	118	247	28	148	217	28	179	186
29	29	336				29	88	277	29	119	246	29	149	216	29	180	185
30	30	335				30	89	276	30	120	245	30	150	215	30	181	184
31	31	334				31	90	275				31	151	214			

TABLE

SHOWING THE NUMBER OF DAYS BETWEEN ANY TWO DATES, &c.—*continued*.

JULY.			AUGUST.			SEPTEMBER.			OCTOBER.			NOVEMBER.			DECEMBER.		
July.	Number.	Days to Dec. 31.	Aug.	Number.	Days to Dec. 31.	Sept.	Number.	Days to Dec. 31.	Oct.	Number.	Days to Dec. 31.	Nov.	Number.	Days to Dec. 31.	Dec.	Number.	Days to Dec. 31.
1	182	183	1	213	152	1	244	121	1	274	91	1	305	60	1	335	30
2	183	182	2	214	151	2	245	120	2	275	90	2	306	59	2	336	29
3	184	181	3	215	150	3	246	119	3	276	89	3	307	58	3	337	28
4	185	180	4	216	149	4	247	118	4	277	88	4	308	57	4	338	27
5	186	179	5	217	148	5	248	117	5	278	87	5	309	56	5	339	26
6	187	178	6	218	147	6	249	116	6	279	86	6	310	55	6	340	25
7	188	177	7	219	146	7	250	115	7	280	85	7	311	54	7	341	24
8	189	176	8	220	145	8	251	114	8	281	84	8	312	53	8	342	23
9	190	175	9	221	144	9	252	113	9	282	83	9	313	52	9	343	22
10	191	174	10	222	143	10	253	112	10	283	82	10	314	51	10	344	21
11	192	173	11	223	142	11	254	111	11	284	81	11	315	50	11	345	20
12	193	172	12	224	141	12	255	110	12	285	80	12	316	49	12	346	19
13	194	171	13	225	140	13	256	109	13	286	79	13	317	48	13	347	18
14	195	170	14	226	139	14	257	108	14	287	78	14	318	47	14	348	17
15	196	169	15	227	138	15	258	107	15	288	77	15	319	46	15	349	16
16	197	168	16	228	137	16	259	106	16	289	76	16	320	45	16	350	15
17	198	167	17	229	136	17	260	105	17	290	75	17	321	44	17	351	14
18	199	166	18	230	135	18	261	104	18	291	74	18	322	43	18	352	13
19	200	165	19	231	134	19	262	103	19	292	73	19	323	42	19	353	12
20	201	164	20	232	133	20	263	102	20	293	72	20	324	41	20	354	11
21	202	163	21	233	132	21	264	101	21	294	71	21	325	40	21	355	10
22	203	162	22	234	131	22	265	100	22	295	70	22	326	39	22	356	9
23	204	161	23	235	130	23	266	99	23	296	69	23	327	38	23	357	8
24	205	160	24	236	129	24	267	98	24	297	68	24	328	37	24	358	7
25	206	159	25	237	128	25	268	97	25	298	67	25	329	36	25	359	6
26	207	158	26	238	127	26	269	96	26	299	66	26	330	35	26	360	5
27	208	157	27	239	126	27	270	95	27	300	65	27	331	34	27	361	4
28	209	156	28	240	125	28	271	94	28	301	64	28	332	33	28	362	3
29	210	155	29	241	124	29	272	93	29	302	63	29	333	32	29	363	2
30	211	154	30	242	123	30	273	92	30	303	62	30	334	31	30	364	1
31	212	153	31	243	122				31	304	61				31	365	

THE ENGLISH MILE COMPARED WITH OTHER
EUROPEAN MEASURES.

	English Statute Mile.	English Geog. Mile.	French Kilomètre.	German Geog. Mile.	Russian Verst.
English Statute Mile ..	1·000	0·867	1·609	0·217	1·508
English Geog. Mile	1·153	1·000	1·855	0·25	1·738
Kilomètre	0·621	0·540	1·000	0·135	0·937
German Geog. Mile	4·610	4·000	7·420	1·000	6·953
Russian Verst.....	0·663	0·575	1·067	0·144	1·000
Austrian Mile	4·714	4·089	7·586	1·022	7·112
Dutch Ure	3·458	3·000	5·565	0·750	5·215
Norwegian Mile	7·021	6·091	11·299	1·523	10·589
Swedish Mile	6·644	5·764	10·692	1·441	10·019
Danish Mile	4·682	4·062	7·536	1·016	7·078
Swiss Stunde	2·987	2·592	4·808	0·648	4·505

	Austrian Mile.	Dutch Ure.	Norwe- gian Mile.	Swedish Mile.	Danish Mile.	Swiss Stunde.
English Statute Mile ..	0·212	0·289	0·142	0·151	0·213	0·335
English Geog. Mile	0·245	0·333	0·164	0·169	0·246	0·386
Kilomètre	0·132	0·180	0·088	0·094	0·133	0·208
German Geog. Mile	0·97	1·333	0·657	0·694	0·985	1·543
Russian Verst	0·141	0·192	0·094	0·100	0·142	0·222
Austrian Mile	1·000	1·363	0·672	0·710	1·006	1·578
Dutch Ure	0·734	1·000	0·493	0·520	0·738	1·157
Norwegian Mile	1·48	2·035	1·000	1·057	1·499	2·350
Swedish Mile	1·409	1·921	0·948	1·000	1·419	2·224
Danish Mile	0·994	1·354	0·667	0·705	1·080	1·567
Swiss Stunde	0·634	0·864	0·425	0·449	0·638	1·000

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF DAYS FROM ANY DAY OF ONE MONTH TO THE SAME DAY OF ANY OTHER MONTH.

NUMBER OF DAYS FROM DAY TO DAY.

FROM TO	JAN.	FEB.	MAR.	APRIL	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUG.	SEPT.	OCT.	NOV.	DEC.
JANUARY ..	365	31	59	90	120	151	181	212	243	273	304	334
FEBRUARY..	334	365	28	59	89	120	150	181	212	242	273	303
MARCH....	306	337	365	31	61	92	122	153	184	214	245	275
APRIL.....	275	306	334	365	30	61	91	122	153	183	214	244
MAY	245	276	304	335	365	31	61	92	123	153	184	214
JUNE.....	214	245	273	304	334	365	30	61	92	122	153	183
JULY.....	184	215	243	274	304	335	365	31	62	92	123	153
AUGUST ...	153	184	212	243	273	304	334	365	31	61	92	122
SEPTEMBER	122	153	181	212	242	273	303	334	365	30	61	91
OCTOBER ..	92	123	151	182	212	243	273	304	335	365	31	61
NOVEMBER.	61	92	120	151	181	212	242	273	304	334	365	30
DECEMBER.	31	62	90	121	151	182	212	243	274	304	335	365

Example of Use of Table:—To find the number of days from 16th August to 27th February. Find August in the side column and February at the top; the number at the intersection, viz., 184, is the number of days from 16th August to 16th February; and 11 (the difference between 16 and 27), and the sum 195 is the number required. Similarly, the number from 16th August to 5th February is 184 less 11, or 173.

TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS COMMONLY USED IN BUSINESS.

A/c	Account.	D/S	Days after sight.
C	Currency.	%	Per cent.
\$	A dollar.	@ ₧ lb	At per pound.
E. E.	Errors excepted.	B/L	Bill of lading.
E. & O. E. ..	Errors and omissions excepted.	AD VALOREM ..	According to value.
F. O. B.	Free on board (delivered on deck without expense to the ship).	AFFIDAVIT	Statement on oath.
F. P. A.	Free of particular average.	AFFIRMATION ..	Statement without an oath.
INST.	Present month.	AGIO	The premium borne by a better sort of money above an inferior.
PROX.	Next month.	ASSETS	A term for property in contradistinction to liabilities.
ULT.	Last month.	BANCO.	A continental term for bank money at Hamburg and other places.
D/D	Days after date.		
M/D.	Months after date.		

DEAD FREIGHT.—The damage payable by one who engages to load a ship fully, and fails to do so.

DEVIATION, in marine insurance, is that divergence from the voyage insured which releases the underwriter from his risk.

DISCOUNT.—An allowance made for payment of money before due.

POLICY.—The document containing the contract of insurance. A *Valued Policy* is when the interest insured is valued. An *Open Policy* is one in which the amount is left for subsequent proof. In an open policy where the value shipped does not equal the value insured, the difference is termed *over insurance*; and the proportionable amount of premium returnable to the insurer is called a *return for short interest*.

PRIMAGE.—A small allowance for the shipmaster's care of goods, now generally included in the freight.

PRO RATA.—Payment in proportion to the various interests concerned.

QUID PRO QUO.—Giving one thing for another.

RESPONDENTIA.—A contract of loan by which goods in a ship are hypothecated to the lender, as in bottomry.

ULLAGE.—The quantity a cask wants of being full.

PRINCIPAL ARTICLES OF THE CALENDAR, FOR THE YEAR 1903.

Golden Number.....	4	Dominical Letter	D
Solar Cycle	8	Roman Indiction	16
Epact	2		

Year 6616 of the Julian Period.

„ 1907 from the Birth of Christ.

„ 2656 „ „ Foundation of Rome according to Varron.

„ 7411 of the World (Constantinopolitan account).

„ 7395 „ „ (Alexandrian account).

„ 5664 of the Jewish Era commences on September 22nd, 1903.

Year 1321 of the Mahommedan Era commences on March 30th, 1903.

Ramadân (Month of Abstinence observed by the Turks) commences on November 21st, 1903.

FIXED AND MOVABLE FESTIVALS, ANNIVERSARIES, ETC.

Epiphany	Jan. 6	Ascension Day	May 21
Septuagesima Sunday	Feb. 8	Pentecost—Whit Sunday....	„ 31
Quinquagesima Sunday	„ 22	Trinity Sunday	June 7
Ash Wednesday.....	„ 25	Corpus Christi	„ 11
First Sunday in Lent	Mar. 1	St. John Baptist—Midsummer	
St. Patrick	„ 17	Day	„ 24
Lady Day	„ 25	St. Michael—Michaelmas Day	Sept. 29
Palm Sunday.....	April 5	King Edward VII. born (1841)	Nov. 9
Good Friday	„ 10	St. Andrew	„ 30
Easter Sunday	„ 12	Christmas Day (Friday)	Dec. 25

THE FOUR QUARTERS OF THE YEAR.

		H.	M.	
Spring Quarter begins	March 21st	7	15	afternoon.
Summer „ „	June 22nd	3	4	„
Autumn „ „	September 24th	5	44	morning.
Winter „ „	December 23rd	0	33	„

BANK HOLIDAYS. LAW SITTINGS. ECLIPSES.

REGISTERS OF BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

These are now kept at Somerset House, and may be searched on payment of the fee of one shilling. If a certified copy of any entry be required, the charge for that, in addition to the shilling for the search, is two shillings and sevenpence, which includes a penny for stamp duty. The registers contain an entry of births, deaths, and marriages since 1st July, 1837.

BANK HOLIDAYS, 1903.

ENGLAND.

Easter Monday	April	13
Whit Monday.....	June	1
First Monday in August.....	August	3
Boxing Day (Saturday)	December	26

SCOTLAND.

New Year's Day	January	1
Good Friday	April	10
First Monday in May	May	4
First Monday in August.....	August	3
Christmas Day	December	25

LAW SITTINGS, 1903.

	Begin.		End.
Hilary Sittings.....	January 11	April	8
Easter "	April 21	May	29
Trinity "	June 9	August	12
Michael. "	October 24	December	21

ECLIPSES, 1903.

In the year 1903 there will be two Eclipses of the Sun and two of the Moon:—

An Annular Eclipse of the Sun, March 28th–29th, invisible at Greenwich.

A Partial Eclipse of the Moon, April 11th–12th, visible at Greenwich.

A Total Eclipse of the Sun, September 21st, invisible at Greenwich.

A Partial Eclipse of the Moon, October 6th, partly visible at Greenwich.

CALENDAR FOR 1903.

January.					February.					March.				
\$	...	4	11	18 25	\$	1	8	15	22	\$	1	8	15	22 29
M	...	5	12	19 26	M	2	9	16	23	M	2	9	16	23 30
Tu	...	6	13	20 27	Tu	3	10	17	24	Tu	3	10	17	24 31
W	...	7	14	21 28	W	4	11	18	25	W	4	11	18	25 ...
Th	1	8	15	22 29	Th	5	12	19	26	Th	5	12	19	26 ...
F	2	9	16	23 30	F	6	13	20	27	F	6	13	20	27 ...
S	3	10	17	24 31	S	7	14	21	28	S	7	14	21	28 ...
April.					May.					June.				
\$	...	5	12	19 26	\$	...	3	10	17 24 31	\$	...	7	14	21 28
M	...	6	13	20 27	M	...	4	11	18 25 ...	M	1	8	15	22 29
Tu	...	7	14	21 28	Tu	...	5	12	19 26 ...	Tu	2	9	16	23 30
W	1	8	15	22 29	W	...	6	13	20 27 ...	W	3	10	17	24 ...
Th	2	9	16	23 30	Th	...	7	14	21 28 ...	Th	4	11	18	25 ...
F	3	10	17	24 ...	F	1	8	15	22 29 ...	F	5	12	19	26 ...
S	4	11	18	25 ...	S	2	9	16	23 30 ...	S	6	13	20	27 ...
July.					August.					September.				
\$	...	5	12	19 26	\$	...	2	9	16 23 30	\$	...	6	13	20 27
M	...	6	13	20 27	M	...	3	10	17 24 31	M	...	7	14	21 28
Tu	...	7	14	21 28	Tu	...	4	11	18 25 ...	Tu	1	8	15	22 29
W	1	8	15	22 29	W	...	5	12	19 26 ...	W	2	9	16	23 30
Th	2	9	16	23 30	Th	...	6	13	20 27 ...	Th	3	10	17	24 ...
F	3	10	17	24 31	F	...	7	14	21 28 ...	F	4	11	18	25 ...
S	4	11	18	25 ...	S	1	8	15	22 29 ...	S	5	12	19	26 ...
October.					November.					December.				
\$	...	4	11	18 25	\$	1	8	15	22 29	\$	...	6	13	20 27
M	...	5	12	19 26	M	2	9	16	23 30	M	...	7	14	21 28
Tu	...	6	13	20 27	Tu	3	10	17	24 ...	Tu	1	8	15	22 29
W	...	7	14	21 28	W	4	11	18	25 ...	W	2	9	16	23 30
Th	1	8	15	22 29	Th	5	12	19	26 ...	Th	3	10	17	24 31
F	2	9	16	23 30	F	6	13	20	27 ...	F	4	11	18	25 ...
S	3	10	17	24 31	S	7	14	21	28 ...	S	5	12	19	26 ...

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WHOLESALE SOCIETIES' "ANNUAL"

From 1885 to 1903.

Title of Article.	"Annual."	Page.
Acland, A. H. D.—Education of Co-operators and Citizens	1885	420
Acland, A. H. D.—Secondary Education	1885	426
Adams, The late Mr. John	1900	425
Africa; Europe and England in, or the Development of the Dark Continent.—By H. DE B. GIBBINS, M.A., F.R.G.S.....	1895	345
Agriculture, Co-operation as Applied to.—By Prof. JAMES LONG	1899	409
Agriculture, Co-operation in its Application to.—By G. HINES	1887	210
Agriculture, Co-operative.—By BOLTON KING	1885	187
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Arnold, Arthur.—The Land and the People	1887	184
Articles Consumed by Co-operators, The Growth and Manufacture of	1885	146
Art to Labour, The Relations of.—By WM. MORRIS	1890	371
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CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE "ANNUAL" FROM 1885 TO 1903.

Title of Article.	"Annual."	Page.
Ballot, The	1886	232
Billson, Alfred, M.P.—Taxation of Land Values...	1899	330
B. J., L. B.—Co-operative Wholesale Societies and their Relations to Retail Co-operative Societies...	1896	209
B. J., L. B.—Future Financial Development of the Co-operative Movement	1899	166
B. J., L. B.—Possibilities of International Co-operative Trade	1898	257
B. J., L. B.—Retail Co-operation and the Relations between the Individual and the Store.....	1896	199
B. J., L. B.—The Position of Co-operation in other Lands	1901	379
Blatchford, Robert.—Land Nationalisation	1898	241
Boot and Shoe Making: As it Was and As it Is.—By AN OLD CRAFT	1889	328
Bradbury, Fred.—The Woollen Industry, Historically and Commercially Considered	1900	253
Branford, Victor V., M.A.—Electricity: Past, Present, Future	1896	253
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British Trade, Industrial Conflicts and	1886	285
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Burns, John, M.P.—Risks and Casualties of Labour	1899	383
Burt, T., M.P.—Trade Unions and the Working Classes.....	1885	374
Burton, F. G.—Advantages of Co-operative over Municipal and State Management in Production and Distribution	1897	303
Callie, J. W. S.—War Armaments of Europe.....	1898	324
Campbell, D.—The Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited, and its Productive Departments	1896	323
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CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE "ANNUAL" FROM 1885 TO 1903.

Title of Article.	"Annual."	Page.
Casualties of Labour, Risks and.—By JOHN BURNS, M.P.....	1899	383
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Chapman, W. W., F.S.S., M.R.A.S.E., &c.—The British Islands: Their Resources in Live Stock..	1903	245
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Clay, the late Joseph.....	1902	356
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Colonial Empire and Emigration, Our	1885	243
Colonies Adapted for Permanent Homes	1885	259
Colonies Adapted for Temporary Residence only ...	1885	322
Commerce and Trade, Fluctuations in.—By GEO. HOWELL, F.S.S., M.P.	1890	161
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Common Lands, The Enclosure of	1885	461
Communities, Ideal.—By W. C. J.	1886	151
Company Frauds and Parliamentary Inactivity.—By J. G. SWIFT MACNEILL, Q.C., M.P.	1900	169
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Competition, Foreign, in the East.—By HOLT S. HALLETT, C.E.	1893	371
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CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE "ANNUAL" FROM 1885 TO 1903.

Title of Article.	"Annual."	Page.
Conciliation Boards, Wages and.—By W. REES JEFFREYS.....	1903	291
Constitution, The English: Its Origin and Growth. By H. DUNCKLEY, M.A., LL.D.	1891	129
Co-operation and Education.—By Rev. T. G. DAVIES	1888	308
Co-operation and the Poor.—By J. C. GRAY.....	1902	111
Co-operation in its Application to Agriculture.—By G. HINES	1887	210
Co-operation in other Lands.—By H. W. WOLFF...	1903	223
Co-operation in other Lands, The Position of.—By B. J., L. B.	1901	379
Co-operation in Italy.—By BOLTON KING	1902	165
Co-operation as Applied to Agriculture.—By JAMES LONG	1899	409
Co-operation, Eminent Men on	1887	233
Co-operation: Its Spread and Power.—By T. SWANN	1888	125
Co-operation in its Relation to other Forms of Col- lectivism.—By A. E. FLETCHER	1899	224
Co-operation, Productive: Its Principles and Methods.—By H. W. MACROSTY, B.A.....	1903	161
Co-operation, Retail, and the Relations between the Individual and the Store.—By B. J., L. B....	1896	199
Co-operation, Valuable Opinions on	1888	337
Co-operation v. Socialism.—By Prof. P. GEDDES ...	1888	285
Co-operation, Some Aspects of Continental and Colonial.—By the Rev. T. G. GARDINER.....	1897	499
Co-operation and Currency Reform.—By MICHAEL FLURSCHEIM	1898	210
Co-operative Agriculture.—By BOLTON KING.....	1885	187
Co-operative Agriculture Applied to Market Gar- dening and Fruit Culture.—By the Editor of <i>The Agricultural Economist</i>	1885	194
Co-operative Movement, Anti-, Private Traders'.— By JAMES DEANS	1899	269
Co-operative Efforts, Early	1886	86
Co-operative Movement, Future Financial Develop- ment of.—By B. J., L. B.	1899	166
Co-operative Societies, Law Cases Affecting.—By HENRY HARWOOD	1895	530
Co-operative, The Advantages of, over Municipal and State Management in Production and Dis- tribution.—By F. G. BURTON.....	1897	303

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE "ANNUAL" FROM 1885 TO 1903.

Title of Article.	"Annual."	Page.
Co-operative Production.—By H. SLATTER, J.P. ...	1886	188
Co-operative Trade, The Possibilities of International.—By B. J., L. B.	1898	257
Co-operative Wholesale Centre of Supply, The } Advantages and Necessity of a, as Established } in the Organisation of the English and Scottish } Wholesale Societies.—By H. R. BAILEY)	1889	377
Co-operative Wholesale Societies, The, and their } Relations to the Retail Co-operative Societies. } By B. J., L. B.)	1896	209
Co-operative Wholesale Society, The Productive } Departments of the)	1892	430
Co-operative Wholesale Society, Progress and Present Position of the	1899	445
Co-operative Wholesale Society, The Scottish, and its Productive Departments.—By D. CAMPBELL.	1896	323
Co-operative Wholesale Societies' Tea Estates.....	1903	359
Co-operative Societies, The System of Credit as practised by.—By J. C. GRAY	1889	344
Co-operators, Education of, and Citizens.—By A. H. D. ACLAND.....	1885	420
Co-operators, The Growth and Manufacture of Articles Consumed by	1885	146
Cotton Industry, Past, Present, and Prospective, A Sketch of British.—By J. C. FIELDING	1887	313
Cotton Kingdom, The New.—By EDWARD PORRITT	1895	241
Cotton Mill Towns of New England.—By EDWARD PORRITT	1900	195
Cows' Milk, On the Production of, and the Diseases Caused by its Use.—By J. NIVEN, M.A., M.B. (Cantab.).....	1897	282
Creameries, Irish.—By W. L. STOKES	1897	419
Credit as practised by Co-operative Societies.—By J. C. GRAY	1889	344
Crown Lands and Civil Lists.—By W. M. THOMPSON	1902	316
Culture.—By R. D. ROBERTS	1885	424
Currency Reform and Co-operation.—By MICHAEL FLURSCHEIM	1898	210
Dairy Farming in Sweden	1888	277
Dairy Produce, Our Trade in.—By JAS. LONG	1892	360
Davies, Rev. T. G.—Co-operation and Education...	1888	308

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE "ANNUAL" FROM 1885 TO 1903.

Title of Article.	"Annual."	Page.
Deans, James.—Private Traders' Anti-Co-operative Movement	1899	269
Distribution, The Advantages of Co-operative over)		
Municipal and State Management in Produc-)	1897	303
tion and.—By F. G. BURTON.....)		
Distributive Co-operation, One Outcome of	1886	194
Dunckley, Henry, M.A., LL.D.—The English Con- stitution : Its Origin and Growth	1891	129
Dunckley, Henry, M.A., LL.D.—The South Sea Bubble.....	1892	243
Dunckley, Henry, M.A., LL.D.—Military and Naval Forces of the World and their Cost.....	1893	427
Dunckley, Henry, M.A., LL.D.—Stock Exchanges: Their Origin and History	1893	171
Dunckley, Henry, M.A., LL.D.—History and Effects of the Privileged Classes in Civilised Communities.	1894	262
Dunckley, Henry, M.A., LL.D.—Would the) Nationalisation of Railways be of Advantage) to the Country ?	1895	203
Dyer, Henry, C.E., M.A., D.Sc.—Influence of) Modern Industry on Social and Economic) Conditions	1892	145
Dyer, Henry, C.E., M.A., D.Sc.—Education in Citizenship	1894	286
Eastern Markets, Development of.—By HOLT S. HALLETT, C.E.	1890	308
Economics and Citizenship, Geography and History for.—By Professor PATRICK GEDDES	1895	485
Economic Conditions, Influence of Modern Industry on Social and.—By H. DYER, C.E., M.A., D.Sc....	1892	145
Education in Citizenship.—By HENRY DYER, C.E., M.A., D.Sc.....	1894	286
Education in England and Wales in 1902.—By Dr. MACNAMARA, M.P.	1903	139
Education of Co-operators and Citizens.—By A. H. D. ACLAND	1885	420
Education, Co-operation and.—By Rev. T G. DAVIES.....	1888	308
Education, Higher.—By F. STORR	1885	437
Education of the People, The.—By Rev. J. HRST HOLLOWELL	1892	319

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE "ANNUAL" FROM 1885 TO 1903.

Title of Article.	"Annual."	Page.
Education, Primary, in England.—By Dr. J. WATTS.....	1885	393
Education, The Royal Commission on.—By H. SLATTER, J.P.....	1889	334
Education, Secondary.—By A. H. D. ACLAND	1885	426
Education, Needs of Secondary.—By H. DE B. GIBBINS, M.A.	1900	143
Education, Statistics of Expenditure of Public Money on	1885	443
Education, Technical, at Home and Abroad.—By Rev. J. HIRST HOLLOWELL	1894	439
Electricity: Light and Power.—By M. HOLROYD SMITH, M.I.M.E., M.S.T.E. and E., &c.	1889	204
Electricity: Past, Present, Future.—By VICTOR V. BRANFORD, M.A.....	1896	253
Emigration, The Advantages of.—By G. J. HOLYOAKE	1885	245
Emigration, Our Colonial Empire and	1885	243
Empire, Can the, Feed its People?—By Professor JAMES LONG	1893	595
England, Land Tenure in.—By Professor J. E. THOROLD ROGERS	1889	167
English Constitution, The: Its Origin and Growth. By H. DUNCKLEY, M.A., LL.D.	1891	129
English Industry up to the Beginning of the Present Century, A Short Outline of the Growth of.—By H. DE B. GIBBINS, B.A.	1890	273
English Labour, A Century-and-a-half of.—By Professor J. E. THOROLD ROGERS, M.P.	1885	327
Englishmen in the World of Labour.—By B. J., L. B.	1887	270
Europe and England in Africa; or the Development of the Dark Continent.—By H. DE B. GIBBINS, M.A., F.R.G.S.....	1895	345
Evans, Sparke, J.P.—Leather	1889	322
Everett, R. L., M.P.—Old Age Pensions	1893	464
Evolution and Work of the Scots Parliament, The. By WILLIAM WALLACE, M.A.	1897	331
Expenditure and Taxation of the United Kingdom, 1875–1900, The.—By W. M. J. WILLIAMS.....	1901	345
Factory Legislation in the United States.—By EDWARD PORRITT	1896	180

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE "ANNUAL" FROM 1885 TO 1903.

Title of Article.	"Annual."	Page.
Factories, Sweating in Indian, and Workshops.— By HOLT S. HALLETT, C.E.	1891	199
Fibre Supply, The World's.—By J. R. JACKSON, A.L.S.	1897	228
Fielding, J. C.—British Cotton Industry; Past, Present, and Prospective, A Sketch of	1887	313
Fisher, W. E. Garrett, M.A.—Coal and Coal Mining.....	1897	450
Fishing Industries of the United Kingdom.—By CHAS. E. FRYER	1893	561
Fletcher, A. E.—Co-operation in its Relation to other Forms of Collectivism.....	1899	224
Fletcher, A. E.—The Utilisation of Waste Lands. .	1901	211
Flour, Wheat	1888	332
Flürscheim, Michael.—Currency Reform and Co- operation	1898	210
Food of the People, The.—By T. OLIVER, M.A., M.D., F.R.C.P.	1896	147
Food Products, New, with Suggestions on the Introduction and Cultivation in Britain or the British Colonies of New and Little Known Fruits and Vegetables.—By J. R. JACKSON, A.L.S. Illustrated by J. ALLEN	1895	279
Foreign Trade, The Relative Values of our Home and our.—By T. LLOYD	1895	312
Foreign Competition in the East.—By HOLT S. HALLETT, C.E.	1893	371
Foreign Competition and Its Influence on Home Industries.—By J. A. HOBSON	1899	197
Freedom, Popular, The Birth of, in England.—By W. C. J.	1886	250
French and German Socialism.—By LAURENCE GRONLUND	1886	138
Fruit Culture, Co-operative Agriculture applied to Market Gardening, &c.—By the Editor of <i>The</i> <i>Agricultural Economist</i>	1885	194
Fruit-Growing Industry, Our.—By G. T. TURNER.	1889	366
Fryer, Charles E.—Fishing Industries of the United Kingdom	1893	561
Furniture Woods, with Suggestions for the Intro- duction of New Kinds.—By J. R. JACKSON, A.L.S. Illustrated by J. ALLEN	1894	349

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE "ANNUAL" FROM 1885 TO 1903.

Title of Article.	"Annual."	Page.
Gardiner, Rev. T. G.—Some Aspects of Continental and Colonial Co-operation	1897	499
Geddes, Prof. Patrick.—Co-operation v. Socialism...	1888	285
Geddes, Prof. Patrick.—Geography and History for Economics and Citizenship	1895	485
Geography, Commercial.—By Rev. L. C. CASAR-TELLI, Ph.D., M.A.....	1889	191
Geography and History for Economics and Citizenship.—By Professor PATRICK GEDDES	1895	485
German Socialism, French and.—By LAURENCE GRONLUND	1886	138
Gibbins, H. de B., M.A.—A Short Outline of the Growth of English Industry up to the Beginning of the Present Century	1890	273
Gibbins, H. de B., M.A.—Sketches from Commercial and Industrial History	1892	279
Gibbins, H. de B., M.A.—The Needs of Secondary Education	1900	143
Glasgow, The Rise and Progress of Industries of. By ROBERT LEGGATT.....	1891	347
Glasse, Rev. J., M.A., D.D.—Modern Christian Socialism from 1848	1897	172
Glover, T. R.—Insurance, and what is worth knowing about it	1888	264
Government, Local, and Taxation.—By GEORGE HOWELL, F.S.S.	1897	395
Grain Trade, The Position of the World's.—By G. T. TURNER	1888	237
Gray, J. C.—The System of Credit as practised by Co-operative Societies	1889	344
Gray, J. C.—Co-operation and the Poor	1902	111
Green, J. E., F.I.C., F.C.S.—Soap	1891	288
Grey, Sir E.—Payment of Members of Parliament	1892	345
Gronlund, Laurence.—Social Experiments in United States	1886	116
Gronlund, Laurence.—Socialism, French and German	1886	138
Gums, Resins, Balsams, and Rubbers.—By J. R. JACKSON. Illustrated by J. ALLEN	1899	297
Hallett, Holt S., C.E.—India and its Neighbours...	1895	378

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE "ANNUAL" FROM 1885 TO 1903.

Title of Article.	"Annual."	Page.
Hallett, Holt S., C.E.—Development of Eastern Markets	1890	308
Hallett, Holt S., C.E.—Sweating in Indian Factories and Workshops	1891	199
Hallett, Holt S., C.E.—Foreign Competition in the East	1893	371
Hallett, Holt S., C.E.—Indian Taxation : Ancient and Modern	1897	254
Hardie, J. Keir, M.P.—Towards Municipal Socialism	1901	289
Harvey, J. W.—Inland Navigation.....	1888	127
Harwood, Henry.—Law Cases Affecting Co-operative Societies.....	1895	530
Health and Long Life, Sanitation.—By H. PITMAN.	1896	374
Hewins, W. A. S.—The National Debt: Its Origin, Growth, and the Methods which have been Adopted from time to time for its Reduction ...)	1889	227
Hibbert, The late Emanuel	1896	416
Hines, G.—Twelve Years of School Work in Ipswich	1885	411
Hines, G.—Co-operation in its Application to Agriculture	1887	210
History of Milling.—By R. WITHERINGTON	1887	304
History of the Travelling Tax.—By G. J. HOLYOAKE	1901	231
History, Geography and, for Economics and Citizenship.—By Professor PATRICK GEDDES.....	1895	485
Hobson, J. A.—The Problem of the Unemployed... ..	1896	351
Hobson, J.A.—Foreign Competition and its Effects on Home Industries	1899	197
Hobson, J. A.—The Industrial Future of South Africa	1901	269
Hollowell, Rev. J. Hirst.—The Education of the People	1892	319
Hollowell, Rev. J. Hirst.—Technical Education at Home and Abroad	1894	439
Hollowell, Rev. J. Hirst.—School System of the United States.....	1902	279
Holyoake, G. J.—The Advantages of Emigration... ..	1885	245
Holyoake, G. J.—History of the Travelling Tax	1901	231
Home and Our Foreign Trade, The Relative Values of our.—By T. LLOYD	1895	312
Horses and Cattle, Breeding and Feeding of.—By D. JOHNSON.....	1888	347

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE "ANNUAL" FROM 1885 TO 1903.

Title of Article.	"Annual."	Page.
Hosiery Trade, The.—By ANTHONY MUNDELLA...	1893	479
Housing of the Working Classes	1886	203
Housing Problem in the Towns, The.—By C. M. KNOWLES.....	1901	309
Howell, George, F.S.S., M.P.—Trade Unions: Their Origin, Rise, Progress, and Work	1885	352
Howell, George, F.S.S., M.P.—Great Strikes: Their Origin, Cost, and Results	1889	266
Howell, George, F.S.S., M.P.—Fluctuations in Commerce and Trade	1890	161
Howell, George, F.S.S., M.P.—Pauperism: Its Nature and Extent, its Causes and Remedies ...	1890	187
Howell, George, F.S.S., M.P.—Industrial London.	1891	163
Howell, George, F.S.S., M.P.—Rich Richer and the Poor Poorer: An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth.....	1892	191
Howell, George, F.S.S., M.P.—The Course of British Trade	1893	210
Howell, George, F.S.S., M.P.—A Century of Industrial and Social Legislation.....	1894	198
Howell, George, F.S.S., M.P.—Charities and their Administration	1895	175
Howell, George, F.S.S., M.P.—Taxation: How Raised and how Expended	1896	232
Howell, George, F.S.S., M.P.—Local Government and Taxation	1897	395
Hughes, Thos., Q.C.—Rugby Tennessee	1885	254
Hughes, the late Judge.....	1897	511
Ideal Communities.—By W. C. J.	1886	151
India and its Neighbours.—By HOLT S. HALLETT, C.E.	1895	378
Indian Factories and Workshops, Sweating in.—By HOLT S. HALLETT, C.E.	1891	199
Indian Famine and its Lessons, The.—By VAUGHAN NASH	1901	163
Indian Taxation, Ancient and Modern.—By HOLT S. HALLETT, C.E.	1897	254
Industrial Conflicts and British Trade.....	1886	285
Industrial History, Sketches from Commercial.—By H. DE B. GIBBINS, M.A.	1892	279

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE "ANNUAL" FROM 1885 TO 1903.

Title of Article.	"Annual."	Page.
Industrial Future of South Africa, The.—By J. A. HOBSON	1901	269
Industrial Progress, The Recent History of.—By R. S. WATSON	1891	308
Industrial and Provident Societies: The Legislation Relating thereto.—By E. V. NEALE	1887	344
Industrial London.—By GEORGE HOWELL, F.S.S., M.P.	1891	163
Industrial and Social Legislation, A Century of.—By GEORGE HOWELL, F.S.S., M.P.	1894	198
Industrial Mortality, Some Aspects of.—By VAUGHAN NASH	1894	314
Industries of Glasgow, The Rise and Progress of. By ROBERT LEGGATT.....	1891	347
Industries, Fishing, of the United Kingdom.—By CHARLES E. FRYER	1893	561
Industry, English, up to the beginning of the Present Century, A Short Outline of the Growth of.—By H. DE B. GIBBINS, M.A.	1890	273
Industries, Foreign Competition and its Influence on Home.—By J. A. HOBSON	1899	197
Influence of Modern Industry on Social and Economic Conditions.—By H. DYER, C.E., M.A., D.Sc.	1892	145
Influence of the Production of the Precious Metals on Industry and Trade, The.—By Professor J. S. NICHOLSON, M.A., D.Sc.	1895	456
Influence of the Land Laws upon the Prosperity of the People.—By Professor JAMES LONG.....	1895	422
Inland Navigation.—By J. W. HARVEY.....	1888	127
Insurance, and what is worth knowing about it.—By T. R. GLOVER.....	1888	264
International Co-operative Trade, The Possibilities of.—By B. J., L. B.	1898	257
Irish Creameries.—By W. L. STOKES.....	1897	419
Irlam Soap Works.....	1896	388
Italy, Co-operation in.—By BOLTON KING	1902	165
Jackson, J. R., A.L.S.—Tea, Coffee, and Cocoa ...	1893	339
Jackson, J. R., A.L.S.—Furniture Woods, with Suggestions for the Introduction of New Kinds.	1894	349

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE "ANNUAL" FROM 1885 TO 1903.

Title of Article.	"Annual."	Page.
Jackson, J. R., A.L.S.—New Food Products, with Suggestions on the Introduction and Cultivation in Britain or the British Colonies of New and Little Known Fruits and Vegetables	1895	279
Jackson, J. R., A.L.S.—The World's Fibre Supply.	1897	228
Jackson, J. R., A.L.S.—Tobacco, its History, Culture, and Uses	1898	183
Jackson, J. R., A.L.S.—Gums, Resins, &c.....	1899	297
Jackson, J. R., A.L.S.—Sugar, Botanically and Commercially Considered.....	1900	391
Jackson, J. R., A.L.S.—Rice, Sago, and Tapioca: Commercially and Botanically Considered	1901	135
Jeffreys, W. Rees.—Wages and Conciliation Boards	1903	291
Johnson, D.—Breeding and Feeding of Horses and Cattle	1888	347
King, Bolton.—Co-operative Agriculture	1885	187
King, Bolton.—Co-operation in Italy.....	1902	165
Knights, J. M., F.S.S.—Railway Rates and Charges	1900	357
Knowles, C. M.—The Housing Problem in the Towns	1901	309
Kropotkin, P.—What Man can Obtain from the Land	1897	358
Labour, Relations of Art to.—By WM. MORRIS.....	1890	371
Labour Statistics, Articles from Bureau of	1886	218
Labour, Risks and Casualties of.—By JOHN BURNS, M.P.....	1899	383
Labour, Condition of.—By GEORGE H. WOOD, F.S.S.	1902	247
Land Laws, Influence of the, upon the Prosperity of the People.—By Professor JAMES LONG.....	1895	422
Land and the People, The.—By ARTHUR ARNOLD...	1887	184
Land Nationalisation.—By A. J. OGILVY.....	1890	131
Land Nationalisation.—By ROBERT BLATCHFORD...	1898	241
Land Settlement for Workmen.—By JAMES LONG..	1903	321
Land Tenure in England.—By Professor J. E. THOROLD ROGERS	1889	167
Land, What Man can Obtain from the.—By P. KROPOTKIN	1897	358

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE "ANNUAL" FROM 1885 TO 1903.

Title of Article.	"Annual."	Page.
Land Values, Taxation of.—By A. BILLSON	1899	330
Lands, The Enclosure of Common	1885	461
Laurie, Professor S. S.—The University and the People, and the University of the Future	1894	380
Law Cases Affecting Co-operative Societies.—By HENRY HARWOOD	1895	530
Law, The History of the Poor.—By GRAHAM WALLAS	1894	262
Leather.—By SPARKE EVANS, J.P.	1889	322
Leggatt, Robert.—The Rise and Progress of the Industries of Glasgow	1891	347
Legislation, Factory, in the United States.—By EDWARD PORRITT.....	1896	180
Legislation, Industrial and Provident Societies.— By E. V. NEALE.....	1887	344
Legislation, A Century of Industrial and Social.— By G. HOWELL, F.S.S., M.P.	1894	198
Legislation, For Direct.—By A. M. THOMPSON	1900	311
Live Stock, The British Islands: Their Resources in.—By W. W. CHAPMAN, F.S.S., M.R.A.S.E., &c.	1903	245
Lloyd, T.—The World's Accumulation of Capital ..	1893	507
Lloyd, T.—The Relative Values of our Home and our Foreign Trade.....	1895	312
Local Government and Taxation.—By GEORGE HOWELL, F.S.S., M.P.	1897	395
London, Industrial.—By GEORGE HOWELL, F.S.S., M.P.....	1891	163
London School Board.—By the Hon. E. LYULPH STANLEY, M.P.	1885	404
Long, Professor James.—The Sources of our Meat Supply.....	1891	380
Long, Professor James.—Can the Empire Feed its People?	1893	595
Long, Professor James.—Soil, and What it will Grow	1894	397
Long, Professor James.—Influence of the Land Laws upon the Prosperity of the People.....	1895	422
Long, Professor James.—Co-operation as Applied to Agriculture	1899	409
Long, Professor James.—Land Settlement for Workmen	1903	321
Long Life, Sanitation, Health, and.—By H. PITMAN.	1896	374
Lownds, The late James	1896	415

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE "ANNUAL" FROM 1885 TO 1903.

Title of Article.	"Annual."	Page.
Machinery and Industry, The Possibilities of, and Some of their Probable Results on Social and Economic Conditions	1893	301
Machinery, Shoe: Its Effects on Wages and Cost of Production.—By AN OLD CRAFT	1890	383
Macnamara, Dr., M.P.—Education in England and Wales in 1902.....	1903	139
Macneill, T. G. Swift, Q.C., M.P.—Company Frauds and Parliamentary Inactivity	1900	169
Macrosty, H. W., B.A.—Association <i>v.</i> Competition	1900	223
Macrosty, H. W., B.A.—Productive Co-operation: Its Principles and Methods	1903	161
Manchester School Board.—By HENRY SLATTER, J.P.....	1885	405
Manchester Ship Canal, An Account of the Origin and Development of the	1889	389
Marshall, Alfred.—Theories and Facts About Wages	1885	379
Maxwell, Wm., J.P.—The late John Thomas White- head Mitchell, J.P.....	1896	392
Maxwell, J. S.—Tramways and Municipalisation...	1902	185
Meat Supply, The Sources of Our.—By Professor JAMES LONG.....	1891	380
Melbourne and its District.—By W. NUTTALL.....	1888	194
Members of Parliament, Payment of.—By Sir E. GREY	1892	345
Members of Parliament, Payment of: A Historical Note.—By A. H. WORTHINGTON	1893	555
Merchant Shipping Bill, The.....	1885	239
Merchant Shipping, Sketch of the Rise and Pro- gress of	1885	198
Military and Naval Forces of the World and their Cost.—By H. DUNCKLEY, M.A., LL.D.	1893	427
Milling, History of.—By R. WITHERINGTON	1887	304
Mining Royalties.—By Professor J. E. C. MUNRO...	1891	269
Mitchell, J.P., the late John Thomas Whitehead.— By Wm. MAXWELL, J.P.	1896	392
Modern Christian Socialism from 1848.—By the Rev. J. GLASSE, M.A., D.D.	1897	172
Money.—By Professor J. S. NICHOLSON.....	1887	137
Mortality, Some Aspects of Industrial.—By VAUGHAN NASH	1894	314

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE "ANNUAL" FROM 1885 TO 1903.

Title of Article.	"Annual."	Page.
Morris, Wm.—Relations of Art to Labour.....	1890	371
Movements and Reforms of the Nineteenth Century, Social.—By G. H. WOOD, F.S.S.....	1903	193
Mundella, Anthony.—The Hosiery Trade	1893	479
Municipal Socialism, Some Facts and Considera- tions about.—By SYDNEY WEBB, LL.B.....	1896	286
Municipal Socialism, Towards.—By J. KEIR HARDIE, M.P.....	1901	289
Municipal and State Management in Production and Distribution, The Advantages of Co-opera- tive over.—By F. G. BURTON.....	1897	303
Municipalisation, Tramways and.—By J. SHAW MAXWELL	1902	185
Munro, J. E. C.—Mining Royalties.....	1891	269
Murphy, W. S.—Robert Owen as a Social Reformer	1903	111
Nash, Vaughan.—Some Aspects of Industrial Mor- tality	1894	314
Nash, Vaughan.—The Indian Famine and its Lessons	1901	163
Nash, R. L.—Australasia as a Contributor to the World's Supplies	1902	301
Nation, The Railways for the.—By G. H. PERRIS, F.S.S.	1898	283
National Debt, The: Its Origin, Growth, and the Methods which have been Adopted from time to time for its Reduction.—By W. A. S. HEWINS...)	1889	227
National Expenditure Accounts and Audits.—By W. E. SNELL	1888	315
Nationalisation, Land.—By A. J. OGILVY	1890	131
Nationalisation, Land.—By ROBERT BLATCHFORD.	1898	241
Nationalisation, Would the, of Railways be of Advantage to the Country?—By H. DUNCKLEY, M.A., LL.D.....	1895	203
Naval, Military and, Forces of the World, and their Cost.—By H. DUNCKLEY, M.A., LL.D.	1893	427
Navigation, Inland.—By J. W. HARVEY.....	1888	127
Neale, E. V.—The Legislation Relating to Indus- trial and Provident Societies	1887	344
Newman, P. L., B.A., F.I.A.—Superannuation.....	1898	349

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE "ANNUAL" FROM 1885 TO 1903.

Title of Article.	"Annual."	Page.
New Food Products, with Suggestions on the Introduction and Cultivation in Britain or the British Colonies of New and Little Known Fruits and Vegetables.—By J. R. JACKSON, A.L.S. Illustrated by J. ALLEN.....)	1895	279
Nicholson, Professor J. S., M.A., D.Sc.—Money ...	1887	137
Nicholson, Professor J. S., M.A., D.Sc.—The Influence of the Production of the Precious Metals on Industry and Trade	1895	456
Niven, J., M.A., M.B. (Cantab.)—On the Production of Cows' Milk and the Diseases Caused by its Use	1897	282
Nuttall, W.—Melbourne and its District	1888	194
Ogilvy, A. J.—Land Nationalisation	1890	131
Old-Age Pensions.—By R. L. EVERETT, M.P.	1893	464
Oliver, T., M.A., M.D., F.R.C.P.—The Food of the People	1896	147
On the Production of Cows' Milk and the Diseases Caused by its Use.—By J. NIVEN, M.A., M.B. (Cantab.)	1897	282
Owen, Robert, as a Social Reformer.—By W. S. MURPHY	1903	111
Parliament, The Evolution and Work of the Scots. By WILLIAM WALLACE, M.A.	1897	331
Pauperism: Its Nature and Extent, its Causes and Remedies.—By GEORGE HOWELL, F.S.S., M.P.	1890	187
Payment of Members of Parliament.—By Sir E. GREY	1892	345
Payment of Members of Parliament: A Historical Note.—By A. H. WORTHINGTON	1893	555
Pensions, Old-Age.—By R. L. EVERETT, M.P.	1893	464
People, Influence of the Land Laws upon the Prosperity of the.—By Professor JAMES LONG...	1895	422
People, The Land and the.—By ARTHUR ARNOLD...	1887	184
People, The University and the, and the University of the Future.—By Professor S. S. LAURIE	1894	380
Perris, G. H., F.S.S.—The Railways for the Nation	1898	283

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Porritt, Edward.—Canada in 1898	1899	356
Porritt, Edward.—Cotton Mill Towns of New England	1900	195
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Title of Article.	"Annual."	Page.
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Rochdale School Board.....	1885	407
Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers, First Rules of the	1895	544
Roden Estate of C.W.S.	1900	421
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Slatter, Henry, J.P.—Co-operative Production.....	1886	188
Slatter, Henry, J.P.—The Royal Commission on Education	1889	334
Slatter, Henry, J.P.—The Origin and Growth of the Art of Printing.....	1893	285
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Snell, W. E.—Rings, Trusts, and Syndicates	1890	209
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Society, The Progress of.....	1886	77
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Title of Article.	"Annual."	Page.
Statistics of Trade Unions	1885	360
Statistics, Articles from Bureau of Labour.....	1886	218
Stevenson, D. M.—Coal and Coal Mining	1897	450
Stock Exchanges: Their Origin and History.—By HENRY DUNCKLEY, M.A., LL.D.	1893	171
Stoker, The late Wm.	1903	356
Stokes, W. L.—Irish Creameries	1897	419
Stores: Retail and Wholesale	1886	185
Storr, F.—Higher Education	1885	437
Strikes, Great, Their Origin, Cost, and Results.— By GEORGE HOWELL, F.S.S., M.P.	1889	266
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Swann, The late Mr. Thomas	1900	427
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Watts, Dr. J., Primary Education in England	1885	393
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W. C. J.—The Birth of Popular Freedom in England.	1886	250
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Wheat Flour	1888	332
"Wholesale," The, of To-day	1902	337
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Williams, W. M. J.—The Expenditure and Taxation of the United Kingdom, 1875-1900	1901	345
Williams, W. M. J.—Budget and Taxation	1902	139
Williams, W. M. J.—The Sugar Question in 1902..	1903	267
Witherington, R.—History of Milling	1887	304
Wood, G. H., F.S.S.—A Glance at Wages and Prices since the Industrial Revolution.....	1901	244
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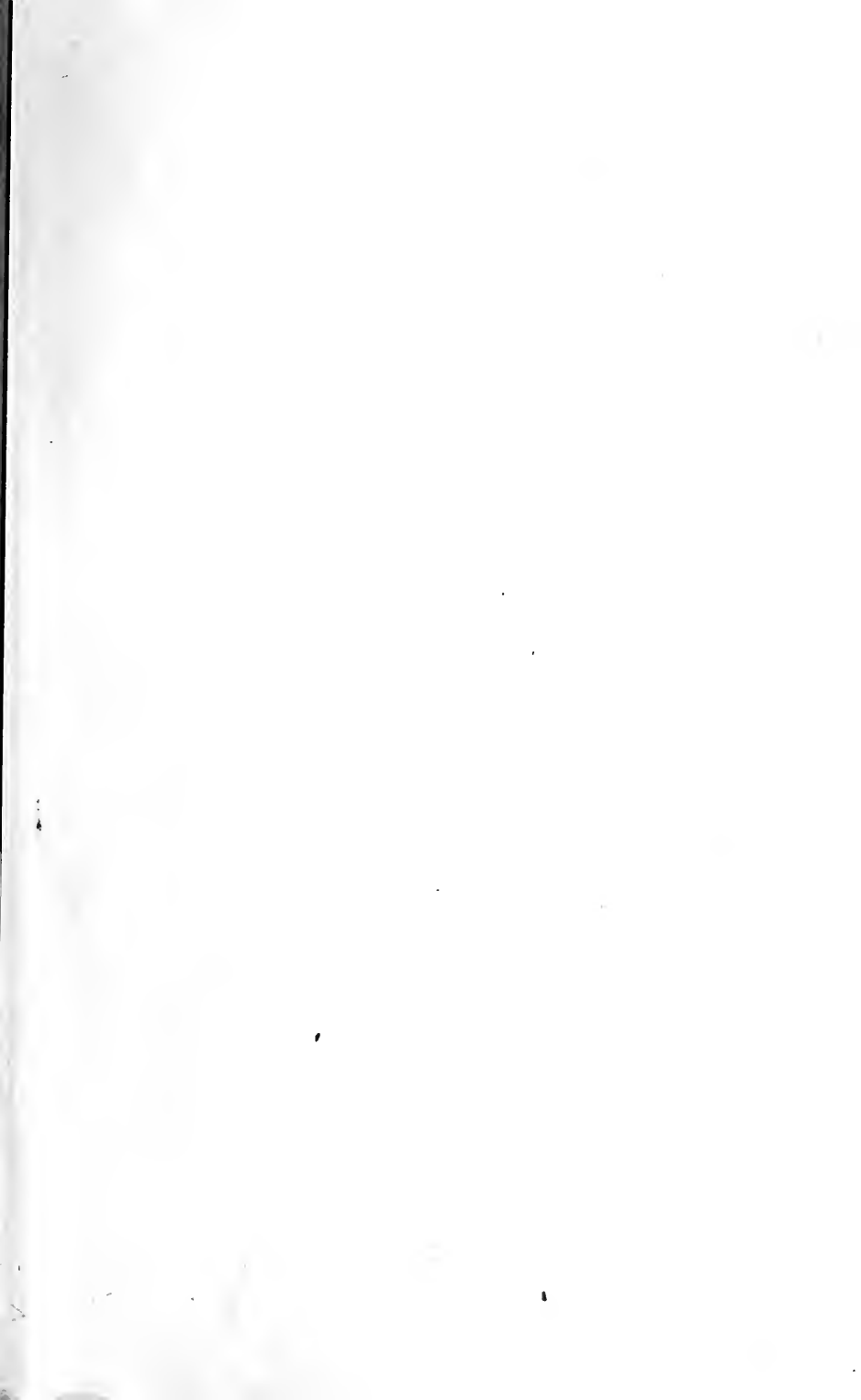
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Working Classes and Political Economy, The	1886	279
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Working Classes, Housing of the	1886	203
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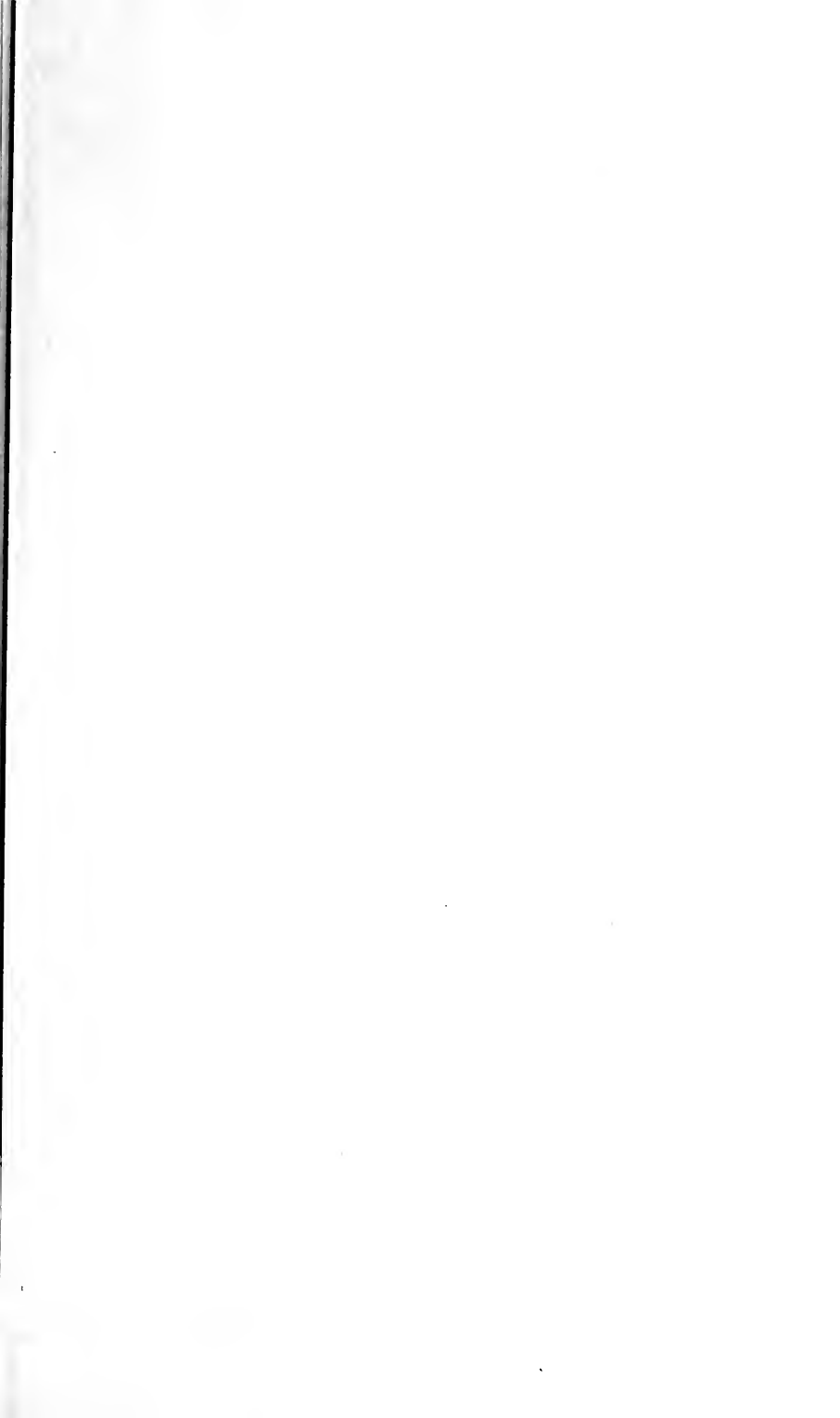


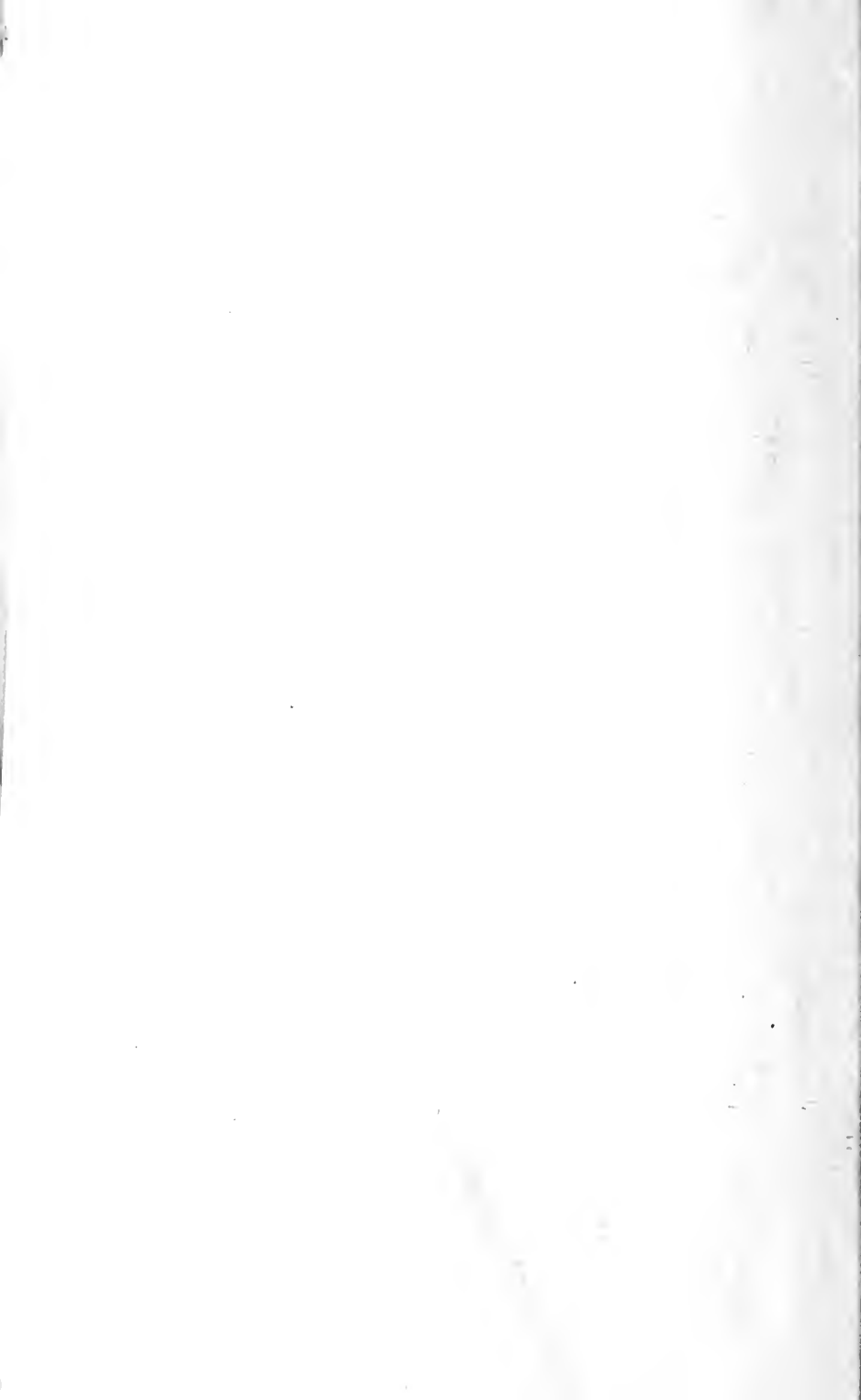
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